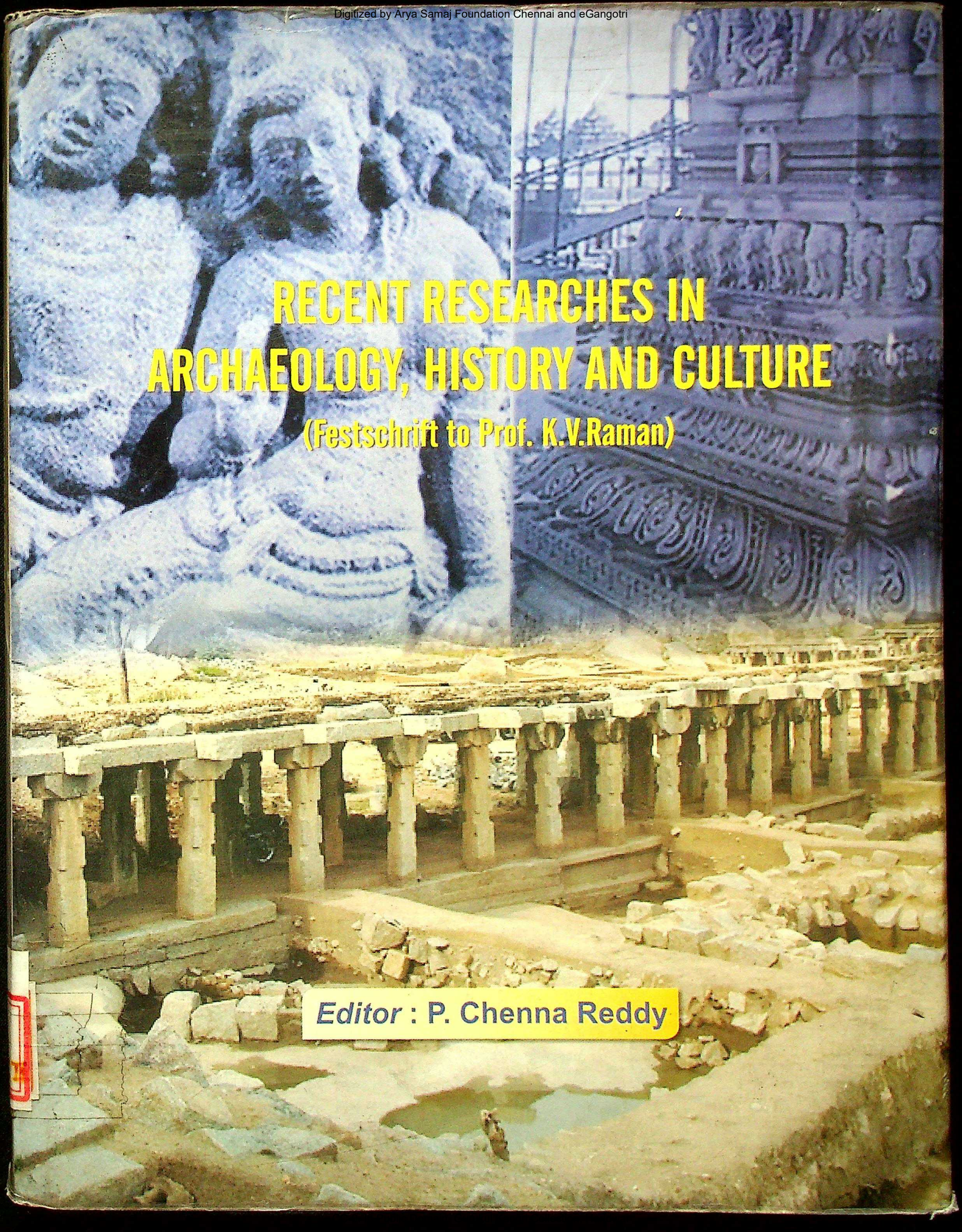
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



RECENT RESEARCHES IN ARCHAEOLOGY, HISTORY AND CULTURE

(Festschrift to Prof. K.V.Raman)

Editor : P. Chenna Reddy

VOL. I

RECENT RESEARCHES IN ARCHAEOLOGY, HISTORY AND CULTURE

(Festschrift to Prof. K.V.Raman)

Editor :
P. Chenna Red

930.1
RED-R

Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai a
Domain. Gurukul Kangri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

930.1
RED-R

R
152736

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Stock Verification-2024

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Recent Researches in Archaeology, History and Culture

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Recent Researches In Archaeology, History and Culture

(Festschrift to Prof. K.V. Raman)

Vol. II

Editor

Prof. P. Chenna Reddy

AGAM KALA PRAKASHAN
DELHI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

First Published : 2010
© Editor
ISBN : 978-81-7320-087-8

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, or otherwise, without the prior permission of the Editor.

R
930.1
RED-R

Published by:
Dr Agam Prasad, M.A., Ph.D., Diploma in Museology
for **Agam Kala Prakashan**
34 Central Market, Ashok Vihar,
Delhi-110052
Ph. 27212195, 47098550, 65688806-7
Fax : 91-11-27212195
Email : agambooks@gmail.com
agambook@yahoo.com

Laser Typesetting by:
River's Edge Graphics
B-83, Fateh Nagar,
New Delhi-110018
Ph. 25143135

Printed at:
Salasar Imaging Systems
C-7/5, Lawrence Road Industrial Area
Delhi - 110 035
Tel. : 011-27185653, 9810064311

Printed in INDIA

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Contents

Foreword xi

From the Editors Desk xiii

Professor K.V. Raman : A Versatile Scholar, Historian, Art critic and Archaeologist–A Profile xv
–Prof. P. Chenna Reddy

Professor K.V. Raman : A Unique Scholar xxxv
–*Prof.* A.V. Narasimha Murthy

List of Contributors xxxvii

List of Plates xliii

Volume-I

Section – I

ARCHAEOLOGY & LITERATURE

1. Palaeoart of the Lower Palaeolithic 1
Robert G. Bednarik

2. Radiological Methodology in the study of a human fossil with in the ferricrete 15
P. Rajendran

3. Life of Orissa in Ancient times 19
Bishnu Prasada Panda

4. The Neolithic Artifacts from the Khudar Valley, Madhya Pradesh. 39
Krishna Kumar

5. Dissent and Protest in Tamil Tradition During the First and Early Half of the Second Milleninum CE 47
P. Chandrasekaran

6. Typological Survey of the Dolmens of Palani Hills, Tamilnadu 55
R.N. Kumaran & M. Saranyakumaran

7. Megalithic Phase in Andhra Pradesh Retrospect 65
P. Krishnamohan Reddy

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

8. Medieval and Early Historic Settlements of Porbandar District — 77
Atusha Bharucha Irani

9. Necessity of Garhasthya and Duties Involved therein: Vedic Period — 87
Pranathi Ghosal

10. Megaliths: Mathematics and Astronomy — 97
K.V. Ramakrishna Rao

11. Archaeology of the Early Historic Period of Northern India — 117
C. Margabandhu

12. Discarded Dynasties in Ancient Indian History (Gleanings from Sri Bhavishya Mahā Purāṇa) — 149
K. Siva Rama Krishna Rao

13. Personality of Vizhinjam, Kerala: Perspectives from Archaeology and History — 163
Rajesh S.V. & Ajitkumar

14. A Unique Terracotta Bosindicus (Bull) Artifact from Andipatti Excavation — 175
S. Vasanthi

15. Unravelling Dholavira's Geometry — 179
Michel Danino

16. Andhra Culture – An Obscure Phase in the Early Historical Archaeology of Andhra Pradesh. — 195
S. Rama Krishna Pisipaty

17. Archaeological Remains in Edakkal Region of Kerala – A Preliminary Report — 209
V. Selva Kumar, Shibu, Abu Joseph, Aji

18. Medical Tips from Athervaveda and Āyurveda in Relation to the Siddhas — 213
V. Balambal

19. Cultural Formation in Ganga Valley — *225*
Sushant Kumar

20. Decline of the Mature Harappans due to Failure of Monsoon: A Historical Analogy of Anavrishti as a Model — 241
M.D.N. Sahi

Section – II
ART & ARCHITECTURE

21. Iconography-Kerala Traits and Matrixes — 247
T. Satyamurthy

22. Nandisanugraha Murti of Śiva Sculptures from Malapanagudi — 255
K. M. Suresh

23. Vāmana – Trivikrama Sculptures of Kerala — 257
Preeta Nayar

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

24. Culmination of Chola Architecture 265
K.T. Narasimhan

25. A Sculptural Study of the Hoysala Costumes 271
T. Dayananda Patel &
Laxmansing R. Rathod

26. Gopinatha Temple at Kakudia: A Study on Art and Architecture 287
Ratnakar Mahapatra

27. Superb image of Yajña Varāha in Khajuraho 293
Haripriya Rangarajan

28. A Newly Discovered Jain Sarvatobhadrika Image from Tumain, Distt – Ashok Nagar, Madhya Pradesh. 301
Navneet Kumar Jain

29. Vishnu Temples in Nannilam Taluk with special reference to Kirupa Samudra Perumal Temple, Sirupuliyur. 303
Rukmani Vathanam

30. Aykkudi Temples at Vizhinjam an Account of Vanishing Heritage 307
S.V. Rajesh & Smita S. Kumar.

31. Tāntric Cult with Art of Kanchipuram 311
B. Sasisekaran

32. Esthetic Approach to Nāyakkar Art 315
Nirmal Selvamany

33. Royal Temples and Bhakti Temples 331
Geeta Vasudevan

34. Unravelling the Mysterious Diagram in the Form of Chakras (sacred circles) Mehrangarh Fort, Jodhpur 339
R. Kannan and R. Balasubramanian

Volume-II

Section – III

EPIGRAPHY & NUMISMATICS

35. A Note on some fifth Century CE Roman Gold Coins from Southern Tamilnadu 383
R. Krishnamurthy

36. Arabic and Persian Inscriptions from Haryana and Punjab 391
S.S. Hussain

37. Jagaddēva Paramara-Folk-Lore and Epigraphs 397
Brahmanand Deshpande

38. Branding on human in Medieval Tamil Society 407
S. Chandni Bi

39. Pūjās and Festivals in Navatiruppattigal 411
Lakshmi Narayanan

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

40. A Sanskrit Poet of the Pallava period (As Gleaned from Inscriptions) *Charu Madhavan* 419
41. The Glory of the Tenkāsi Pāndyas – A Brief Survey *T. S. Mira Devi* 423
42. Relations of Gujarat Sultanate with the Bahmanids of the Deccan (1407-1536) *Shama Mahmood* 427
43. Epochal Reckoning of Eastern Gangas of Kalinga *P.K. Naik* 431
44. Inscription of Brahadamba Temple - Devikapuram *R. Segar* 453
45. The History and Coinage of Lakhana Dandanayaka *M. Girijapathy* 459
46. Marker Stone and two Lime Concrete Pieces of Mayadevi Temple in Lumbini *Swoyambhu D. Tuladhar* 463
47. A Survey of Menhirs in Kerala *C. Kumaran* 477
48. Identification of Gajapati Ganapati *C. Somasundara Rao* 485
49. Writing History: A Study of Military Eulogies of the Chālukyan Families *Aruna Pariti* 489
50. Feudal Setup of Medieval Deccan and the Temple Dancing Girls *Rekha Pande* 499
51. The Kaikeyas of Coastal Uttara Kannada Region *Ganapati Gowda* 513
52. Akbar's Dasā (One tenth of a Rupee) *Devendra Handa* 517
53. The Kalabhras – An Overview *S. Saroja & M.D. Sampath* 523
54. The Art of Ancient Writing *M.D. Sampath* 527
55. Vedic Sacrifices Performed by the Pallava Kings *Chithra Madhavan* 535
56. Management of Irrigation Tanks during Vijayanagara Period *C.S. Vasudevan* 539
57. The Telugu Folklore in the History of Andhra Pradesh *P. Sumabala* 549
58. Interface between India and South–East Asia *Amar Nath Khanna* 555
59. Ayodhya in Inscriptions *R. Jayasri* 559
60. Reflections on Indian Cultural Motifs in Vietnam P. Shanmugam 563

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

61. Disintegration of Matrilineal and its Impact on Kerala Society 569
T.P. Sankara Kutty Nair
62. Some aspects of the Coins of Medieval Karnataka 575
A.V. Narasimha Murthy
63. A Study of Urbanization in Early Medivel North India on the basic of Epigraphic Sources 600-1200 CE 583
Santosh Kumar Singh

Section – IV
RELIGION & PHILOSOPHY

64. Imprints of Buddhism in Karnataka 593
Hampa Nagarjaiah
65. The Diplomatic approach of Buddha in Propagation of Buddhism 597
Dillip Kumar Khamari
66. The Impact of Sri Chaithanya's cult on the society of Orissa: An Introspection 601
R.C. Miscro & R.P. Tripathy
67. Role of Early Jain Proselytizers in the Integration of The Nation: Some observations 627
J. Manuel
68. Sacred Geography of Majjhimodesa in Early Buddhism: Microscopic Appraisal 633
Anand Singh
69. Terracotta Art: Breaking the Myth 645
Suniti Pandey
70. An eminent Image of Sun God from Purvanchal Region 649
Shashi Bala Srivatsava
71. Varadaraja Temples at Tekal and Kāñchi 651
Vanamala Pardhasarathy
72. The Interface between India and Suvarnabhoomi 663
Amar Nath Khanna
73. Some Essential Materials for Construction Works in Ancient Inida 665
Nandita Bhattacharjee Goswami
74. Women of India – A Bird's Eye view 671
D. Ranganathan
75. Social Response to a Venereal Disease in Medieval Andhradesa 675
P. Hymavathi
76. Folklore of Nilgiri tribes as a source of History 681
G. Balaji
77. History of Oil Seeds in India: A Study 687
A.K. Singh
78. Harappan Elements in Tamil Culture-An over view 691
D. Dayalan
79. Indian Art and Nature 701
V. Meenakumari and P. Chenna Reddy
80. Ancient Dhanvantari Shrines of Tamil Nadu 707
T. Padmaja and Chithra Madhavan

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Dr. A.K.V.S. Reddy
Director General

महानिदेशक, राष्ट्रीय संग्रहालय एवं
कुलपति राष्ट्रीय संग्रहालय संस्थान, नई दिल्ली
Director General, National Museum & Vice
Chancellor, National Museum Institute, New Delhi

Foreword

It gives me immense pleasure to know that several academicians and scholars are bringing out a Felicitation Volume in honour of Prof. K.V. Raman, a well known historian and eminent archaeologist. I feel it a privilege to express my greetings and appreciation for his outstanding contribution to the fields of archaeology, art-history, epigraphy and numismatics for the past forty years in the position of Superintending Archaeologist in Archaeological Survey of India and as Head of the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology in the University of Madras, Chennai.

The discovery of Kaveripoompattinam or Pumpuhar, the port-town of the Cholas won him national and International reputation. The UNESCO has bestowed upon him with Regional Award in recognition to his commitment towards the preservation of Cultural Heritage in 1972. His report on Uraiyur, the capital city of the Cholas is outstanding. His notable work on Indo-Roman site at Arikamedu in Pondicherry in collaboration with reputed archaeologists like Dr. Vimala Begely drew wide attention among the field archaeologists.

He has participated in excavations at many Megalithic and early historical sites in Tamilnadu and Kerala. His excavations at Kanchipuram is well-known. His book entitled *The Early History of the Madras Region,* being the history of the Madras city before the advent of the English. The book on *Sri. Varadarajaswamy Temple at Kanchipuram* (1972) is well known for his valuable research on art history. His other works include *Sculptural Art of Tirumala-Tirupati Temples* (1993) which is a fine treatise on the art history of the famous temples. His field study in the countries of South-East Asia resulted in the publication of a volume on *The Temple art icons and Culture of India and South-East Asia* (2000). His *Principles and Methods of Archaeology* has gone into three editions, revealing the popularity among the academicians.

He received several honours from academic and Professional bodies. He was elected as the President of the ancient India section of the 46th session of *Indian History Congress,* 1985; General President of the *Numismatics Society of India* at Shantiniketan in 1989; President of the *South Indian History Congress* in 1996; President of *Tamilnadu History Congress* in 1997; General President of the *Numismatic Society of South India* in 1995. He was a member of the Indo-Japanese team to visit and study Indian cultural relations with South-East Asian countries between 1993-95. He had the distinction of having been selected for the Fulbright Fellowship in USA in 1983 and Senior Fellow of the Commonwealth Association, UK in 1989. He was a visiting Professor of Art History, in the University of Georgia, USA (1998). He is a recipient of the Dr. V.S. Wakankar Award for excellence in the field of Archaeology for the year 2002 by the *Indian Archaeological Society,* New Delhi. He was a Member of the Advisory Board of Archaeology in India in 1980s and later Member of Indian Council of Historical Research (ICHR), New Delhi and rendered valuable services for the cause of preserving Cultural Heritage of India.

No doubt that the festschrift is indeed a very valuable collection of papers. With his long and ever cherished academic career it is no wonder that he has a large circle of students, scholars and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

admirers who wished to bring out a Felicitation Volume in his honour. I am glad to associate myself in this admirable task. I take this opportunity not only to appreciate Prof. P. Chenna Reddy, the editor of this volume, and the Director, Dept. of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of A.P. in shouldering the responsibility of honoring the eminent scholars of South India whose contributions stir the younger generation in Historical research and brought out many felicitation volumes so far and still on the job. He never bothers to spend time and money, for such invaluable tasks resulting into outstanding volumes. May, the God of seven hills bestow upon Prof. P. Chenna Reddy a long life, good health and wealth enabling him to continue his mission of honoring the field Archaeologists, historians Numismatists, Folklosists, Museologists. and Epigraphists.

I also wish a prosperous and peaceful life to Prof. K.V. Raman and his family members.

18-9-2007

Dr. A.K.V.S. Reddy

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Prof. P. Chenna Reddy MA, MTM, PhD
DIRECTOR

Dept. of Archaeology and Museums
Government of Andhra Pradesh
Gunfoundry, Hyderabad - 500 001
Tel/Fax : +91 40 2323 4942, Mobile : 9849254956, 9440047299
email : chennareddyp@gmail.com

From the Editor's Desk

History repeats : History repeats when an eminent historian and archaeologist turns into a teacher. The teacher with a vast experience and wide range of knowledge creates history in the class room. It is true in case of Prof. K.V. Raman, who began his career as a field archaeologist and historian. He left an indelible mark wherever he worked. He trained many archaeologists and groomed equal number of historians. He never confined only to class room but went beyond the academic premises which resulted in bringing out many books on history, epigraphy, numismatics, bronzes, jewellery, art history and architectural studies. This many faceted personality not only won appreciations from International academic bodies but also has his own admirers from his colleagues, students, scholars and readers. This necessitated bringing out a festschrift to Prof. Raman with a view to honour him for his astounding scholarship. Thus, plethora of research material gathered automatically in the form of articles contributed by many a scholar in variety of fields in Indology and Archaeology.

Proposing a felicitation volume to a scholar is easy. The follow up action such as requesting the scholars to contribute repeatedly is a great task than any other job. However, Prof. Raman's reputation took the cause and resulted into a volume itself. In this connection, as an editor and also as an admirer of such a great scholar, my requests were respectfully honoured and the result is this volume: *Ramaniyam.*

To accomplish this herculean task, many people extended their support in many a way from behind the curtain, whether it be, contributing articles, supplying photographs of himself and his family or proof reading etc.

I could never have thought of fulfilling my solemn responsibility of bringing out this volume, but for the unflinching support and cooperation particularly of Dr. J. Gita Reddy, Hon'ble Minister for Information, Public Relations, Tourism, Culture, Archaeology & Museums, State Archives, Sri Anam Ramanarayana Reddy, Hon'ble Minister for Municipal Adminsitration & Urban Development, ***Rytu Mitra***, Sri N. Raghuvira Reddy, Hon'ble Minister for Agriculture, Prof. Tumati Donappa, former Vice-Chancellor of Telugu University, Dr. Yedem Gopal Reddy, Sri Mandali Buddha Prasad, Former Minister for Animal Husbandry & Fisheries, Sri Jayesh Ranjan, Secretary Tourism, Archaeology & Museums, Mr. G.N.Rao, Special Secretary, Mrs.D. Lakshmi Parthasarathy, Principal Secretary, Higher Education, Mr. G. Sudhir, IAS, Principal Secretary for Finance, Mr. J. Raymond Peter, IAS, Transport Commissioner, Sri Sabyasachi Ghosh, IAS, Director, Tourism, Sri Burra Venkatesam, IAS, Managing Director, Mr. P.V. Ramana Reddy, IFS, Executive Director, Mr. Vutukuru Venkatarami Reddy, Officer On Special Duty, A.P. Tourism Development Corporation,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Prof. C. Ramanayya, Vice Chancellor, Dravidian University, Prof. V. Narayana Reddy, Registrar, Simhapuri University, Mr. K.V. Reddy, MD, Infrastructure Corporation of Andhra Pradesh, Prof. N. Bhaktavatsala Reddy, Former Registrar and a number of well wishers, my colleagues in P.S. Telugu University such as Prof. C. Krishna Reddy, Mr. P. Dilip Kumar Reddy, Dr. Gandham Subba Rao, Prof. G.Venkata Ramayya, Dr. P. Muralidhar Reddy, and also I am extremely thankful to Sri S. Srinivas, Mrs.R.Sunita, Dr. P. Gayathri, Sri K.Trimurthy Raju, Sri K.S.B. Kesava, Sri C. Krishna Murthy, Sri C.Venkatesam Chetty, Sri.S.S.Rengachary, Sri D. Pattabhi Reddy, Dr. K. Padmanabha and other colleagues in the Dept. of Archaeology & Museums for their unstinted co-operation.

I am extremely beholden to the members of the Editorial Advisory Board, Prof. Robert G. Bednarik, Mrs Haripriya Rangarajan, Dr. V.V. Krishna Sastry, Dr. A.K.V.S. Reddy, Dr. G. Kamalakar, Sri C.B. Patil Dr. A. Nagender Reddy, Prof. K. Timma Reddy, Prof. E. Sivanagi Reddy, Dr. Ms. Chitra Madhavan, Prof. V. Kishan Rao, Dr. B. Subramanyam, Late Dr. Jitendra Das, Ms. Sumalini Reddy, and all the scholars who sent their valuable papers in time.

I am greatly beholden to ***Abhinava Bhagiratha, Rytu Bhandhava*** Dr. Y.S. Rajasehara Reddy, the Hon'ble Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh who is great inspiration for me to bring out this volume, I am extremely thankful to Sri S. Jaipal Reddy, Hon'ble Union Minister for Urban Planning Sri J. C. Diwakar Reddy, Hon'ble Minister for Panchayat Raj, Sri Kunuturu Nallapa Reddy, Hon'ble Chairman, A.P. State Irrigation Development Corporation, Sri C. Anjaneya Reddy, CMD (Retd.), A.P. State Tourism Corporation, Prof Y. Venkatarami Reddy, Chairman, A.P. State Public Service Commission, Prof. K.C. Reddy, Chairman, Dr. N. Rajasekhar Reddy, Joint Director, A.P. Council for Higher Education, Sri Gopinatha Reddy IPS, DGP, Sri S. Prabhakar Reddy, Commissioner of Police, M.K. Sarangapani ACP, Mr. G. Kalyan Kumar, CAO, NITHM, Prof. D. Subramanyam Reddy, Prof. Kusuma Reddy, Dr. G.C. Sekhar Reddy, Dr. Dudipala Ashok Reddy, Dr.Rakasi Surender Reddy , Guntaka Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy, Dr. M. Sarat Babu, Dr.K. Jhansi Lakshmi, Dr. Swetcha for their wonderful co-operation.

I am also indebted to Smt. and Sri. T.L.N. Reddy, Chief Engineer, Retd, Smt. and Sri Pullalarevu Peddarapu Kesava Reddy, Prof. K.C. Anki Reddy, Founder Registrar, S.K.University, Smt and Sri Y.C. Narayana Reddy, Smt. and Sri Kunuturu Govinda Reddy, Smt and Sri L.Konda Reddy, Sri C.Narayana Reddy, Smt. and Sri V. Ramamohana Reddy, Smt. and Sri Karunakar Reddy, General Manager, Human Resources Development & Pharmacy, Appollo Hospitals, Smt. and Sri T. Ratnakar Reddy, USA, Dr. Kunturu Krishna Reddy, Smt. & Sri Pullalarevu Peddarapu Mallikarjuna Reddy, Dr. India Rama Subba Reddy, for their constant encouragement.

I wish to express my affectionate regards to my father late Pullalarevu Peddarapu Malli Reddy, my mother Smt. P. Chandramma, to my wife Dr. P. Subhashini Reddy, my daughter P. Namrata Reddy for relieving me from household botherations.

My thanks are also due to Dr. Agam Prasad, Agam Kala Prakashan, 34, Central Market, Ashok Vihar, Delhi for bringing out this volume in time and with excellent get up.

31-07-2009

Prof. Peddarapu Chenna Reddy

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Professor K.V. Raman: A Versatile Scholar, Historian, Art critic and Archaeologist – A Profile

Prof. P. Chenna Reddy

Dr. K.V. Raman (Kunnavakam Vinjamur Raman) is a distinguished historian and archaeologist of International whose discoveries and publications are well-known to the seholarly world.

K.V. Raman was born in 1934 at Chengalpattu (70 km from Chennai) as an eldest son to Sri K.V. Parthasarathy Iyengar and Smt Janaki. He had his school education in St. Joseph's school. Chengalpattu and Christian College, Tambaram respectively. He studied under distinguished teachers like Dr. A.J. Boyd and Prof. Macnicol, Dr. Chandran Devanesan and Dr. Sargurudass. He started publishing articles in *Modern Review*, (Calcutta), and *Indian Review* in his college days. After passing M.A. Degree, he joined in the Department of History and Archaeology, University of Madras in 1955. He took his M. Litt. Degree for his thesis entitled *The Early History of the Madras Region* in 1957 under the guidance of *Padmashri* T.V. Mahalingam and Dr. M. Arokiaswami. The thesis has been published with a foreword by *Padma Bhushan* K.A. Nilakanta Sastri. This book dealts with the history of the then Madras city and its surroundings during the pre-English. His doctoral thesis was on '*Sri Varadarajasvami Temple, Kanchipuram*' under the guidance of Prof. Dr. K.K. Pillay.

He joined the Archaeological Survey of India, Southern Circle, Madras as Exploration Assistant in 1957, and was posted to Madurai where he did village to village exploration and brought to light many pre-historic and historic sites whose details are published in the volumes of *Indian Archaeology: A Review*. His important findings included stone-age sites on the banks of the River Gundar, Neolithic sites near Periakulam and extensive megalithic habitation and several burial sites on the banks of the River Vaigai. He wrote a detailed paper entitled 'Distribution Pattern of Pre and Proto Historic sites in Madurai' in a *Araichi* (1972) research journal. He discovered the Vaigai bed inscription of the early Pandyan king Chendan. Later on, along with Dr.Y. Subbarayalu, he discovered a new Tamil Brahmi inscription at Arittapatti near Madurai and wrote a paper in *Journal of Indian History*.

In 1959-60, he joined the first batch of the School of Archaeology (now Institute of Archaeology) under the Directorship of Prof B.B. Lal who later on became the Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India. The school was started in accordance with the recommendation of a committee headed by Sir Mortimer Wheeler. The first batch consisted of nine trainees selected on an all India basis and included persons who became distinguished archaeologists of the country

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

like Shri Jagatpati Joshi (former Director General of Archaeology), Dr. S.P. Gupta (of the National Museum who later became the Director of the Institute of Archaeology, New Delhi), Prof. N.C. Ghosh (Professor, Vishva Bharati, Shantiniketan), Mr. B.M. Pande (Director, Archaeological Survey of India) and A.C. Pal (Professor of Calcutta University) and Dr. R.T. Parick (Professor in Museology in Baroda).

Important Excavations: Sangam Age Archaeology

K.V. Raman was posted at Southern Circle, Madras and during this period. He conducted three important excavations in Kaveripumpattinam (Pumpuhar), the ancient port-city of the Cholas (1963-67), Kanchipuram, the ancient capital of the Pallavas (1963), and Cranganore or Vanji, the ancient Chera capital. His explorations in Pumpuhar helped to identify certain ancient habitation sites dating back to the Sangam period and these important sites were brought to light-an ancient brick-built jetty (at Kilaiyur), a beautiful water reservoir (at Vanagiri) and a Buddhist-Vihara or monastery (at Melaiyur) mentioned in Tamil and Buddhist literature.

Besides these, sites Raman has discovered many Roman coins and pottery. These have been recognized as outstanding discoveries throwing light on the ancient Sangam age of Tamil literature. He was honoured by of Tamil Nadu Government on receipt of UNESCO regional award. A detailed article on the excavations has been published by *Handbook* published by the Government of Tamil Nadu. A monograph on the excavation at Kaveripattinam was published by the Archaeological Survey of India in 1994.

Dr. K.V. Raman was also honoured by the Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu at Kaveripumpattinam in 1992 under the Directorship of Dr. Natana Kasinathan.

Excavations at Kanchipuram – (1963)

The small-scale excavation at Kanchipuram conducted by Dr. Raman in association with Dr. R. Subrahmanyam (Nagarjunakonda excavations fame) was exceedingly fruitful. It exposed the deposits of the early Sangam period, followed by the Pallava, Chola and Vijayanagara eras with significant antiquities including coins. He wrote two articles *viz.*, 'Pallava Coins at Kanchi' (*JNS*, Vol. XXXI, 1969) and 'Terracotta Figures from Kanchi Excavations' (*Journal of Indian History, 1964*). Later on, he wrote a detailed paper on the Kanchipuram excavations which was published in *Tamil Civilization* of Tamil University, Tanjavur, in 1987.

Cranganore Excavations (Kerala) 1967-69

This place is variously identified by some as the ancient site of Vanji, the capital of the Cheras of the early period and by some as the vicinity of the later Cheras of Mahodayapuram. This work was carrid out in association with Sri K.V. Soundara Rajan, the then Superintendenting Archaeologist of the Southern Circle, A.S.I., A detailed paper was published by Dr. Raman in *Araichi* (1972).

Madurai University (1970 - 72)

Dr. K.V. Raman joined the University of Madurai in 1970 as Lecturer in the Department of Ancient History headed by Prof. N. Subramanian, a well-known Tamil scholar and historian. On the occasion of the seminar on Pandyas, Dr. K.V. Raman took a leading part in organizing an exhibition on the Pandyas which included photos of art and architecture which was appriciated by Dr. Mu. Varadarajanar, the Vice-Chancellor. It was during this period that Dr. Raman and Dr. Y. Subbarayalu explored the area around Madurai and discovered an important early Brahmi inscription at Arittapatti dated to the 2nd century BCE.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1. Prof. K.V. Raman with Family

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

2. Prof. K.V. Raman and Smt. K.V. Vanaja

3. Smt. Vanaja, Prof. K.V. Raman and Prof. P. Chenna Reddy, Director,
A.P. State Archaeology & Museums Hyderabad

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

4. Prof. K.V. Raman Addressing the Senate, University of Madras

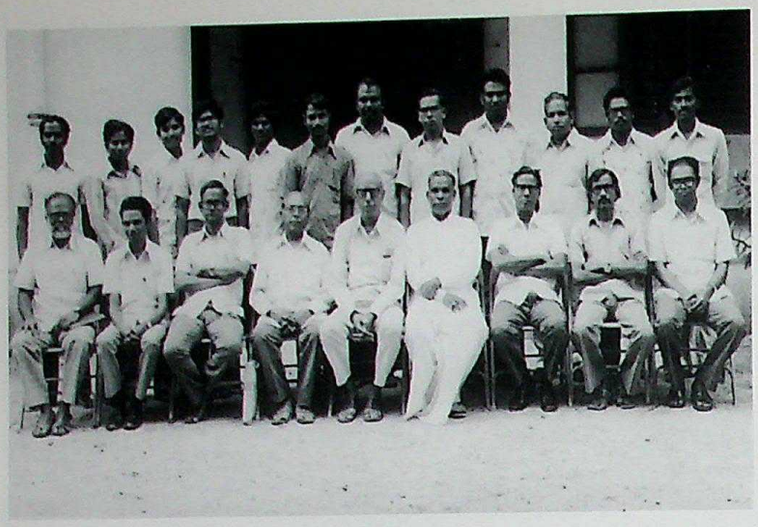
5. Prof. K.V. Raman with First set of students of school of Archaeology, 1960

6. Prof. K.V. Raman, expalins the artifacts to Dr. Malcolm Ad Seshia (Vice Chancellor) and others.

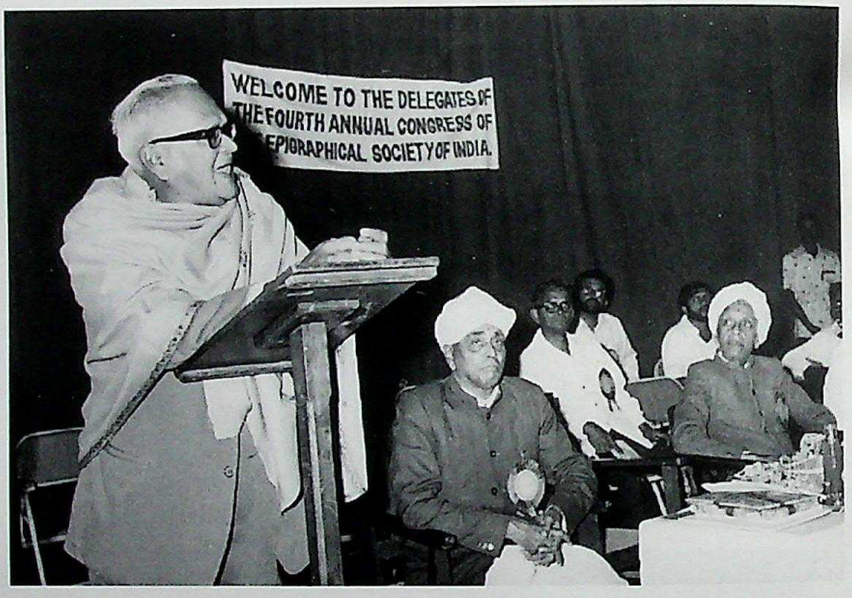
7. Prof. K.V. Raman with Sri K.R. Srinivasan and K.V. Sounderarajan during the felicitation volume of K.R.S. 1983

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

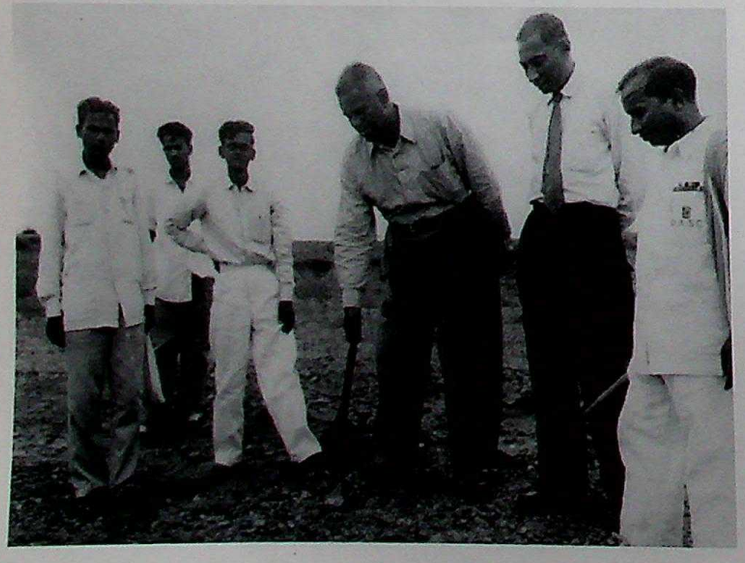
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



8. Prof. K.V. Raman with Japanese and Indian Scholars, Prof. Y. Subbarayulu and Prof. S. Shanmugan



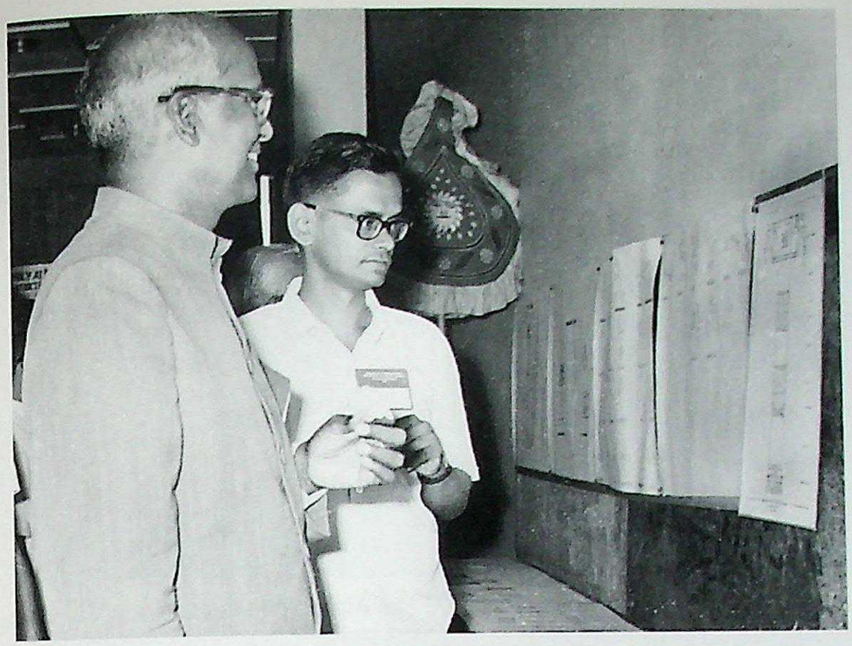
9. Prof. K.V. Raman with Dr. D.C. Sircar, Prof. T.V. Mahalingam and Dr. Pachamukhi in epigraphical Society at Madras, 1977



10. Prof. K.V. Raman, with the famous archaeologist Sri V.D. Krishna Swami at Pallavaram Site, 1962

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



11. Prof. K.V. Raman, Explaining in the exhibition on Pandyas to Dr. M. Varadarajan Vice Chancellor of Madurai University

12. Prof. K.V. Raman and Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri

पुस्तकालय
152736

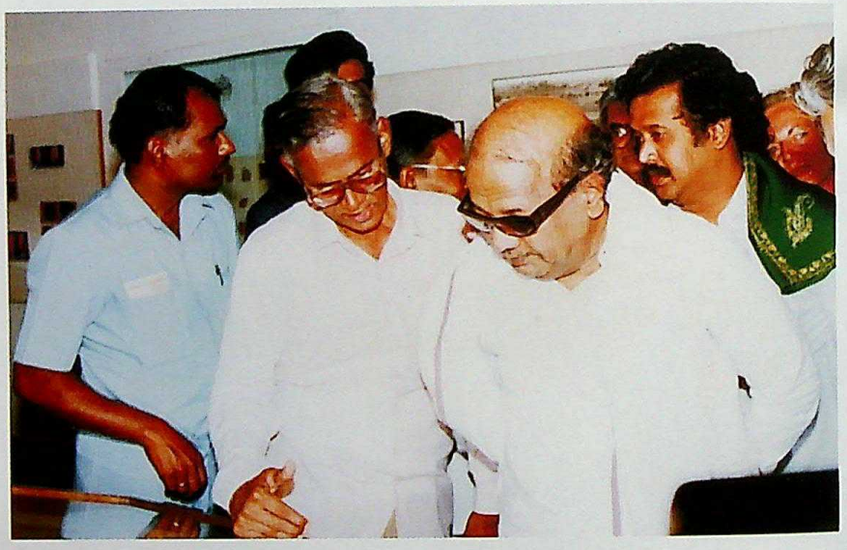
13. Explaining the exhibits to Sri R. Venkataraman, Former President of India and Governor of Tamilnadu, during the centenary celebration of Prof. Nilakanta Sastri.

14. Prof. K.V. Raman and Prof. N. Karashima examining the artifacts, Tokyo, 1977

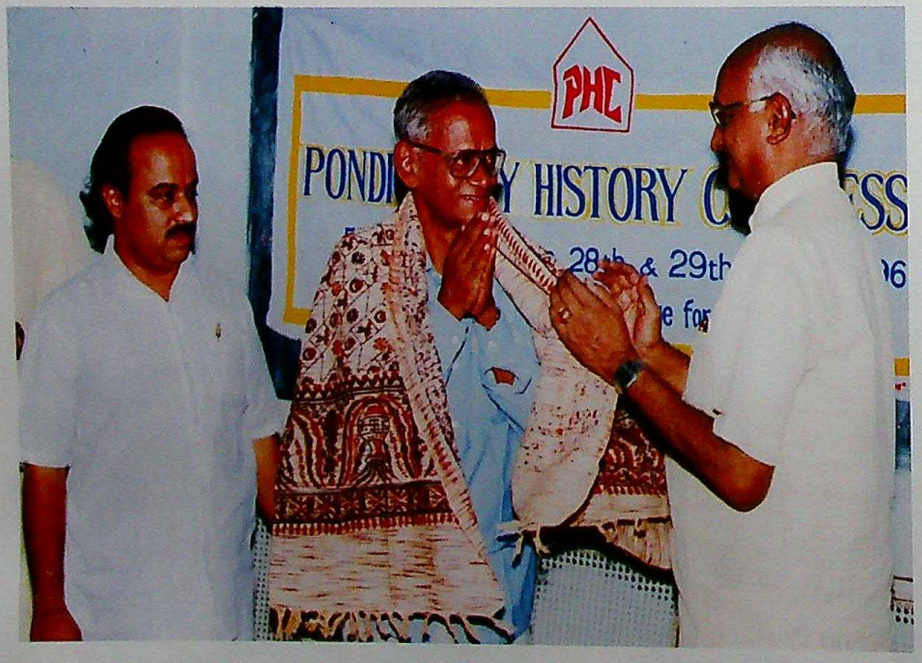
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

15. Prof. K.V. Raman with Japanese and Indian Scholars, Prof. Y. Subbarayulu and Prof. S. Shanmugan



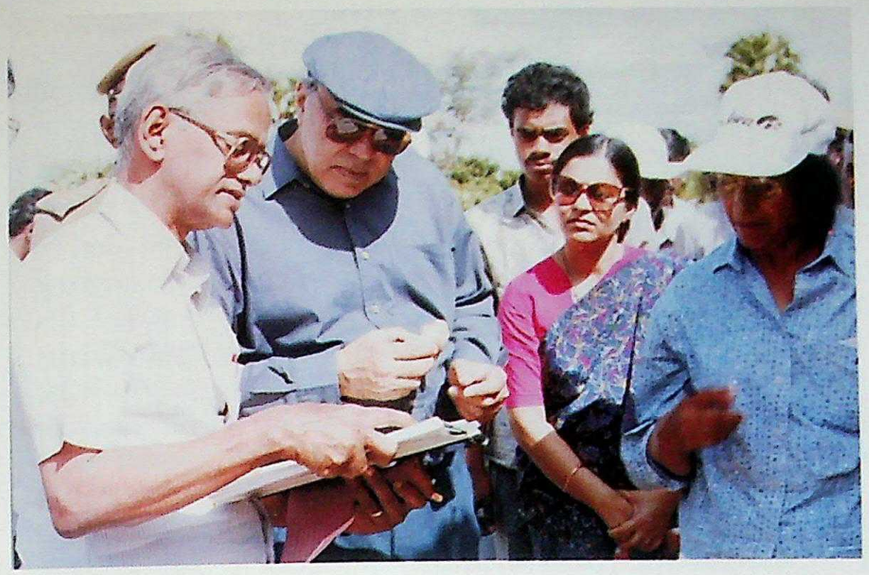
16. Prof. K.V. Raman explains Pumpuhar exhibits to Dr. M. Karunanidhi, Chief Minister of Tamilnadu during the Silk Route conference



17. Prof. K.V. Raman is honored as the General President of the First conference of History Pondicherry 1996

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



18. Arikamedu Excavation, 1992, Prof. K.V. Raman and Dr. Vimala Begly explain to Governor of Pondicherry

19. Prof. K.V. Raman with Dr. Stella Kramrish in Philadlphia, U.S.A.

20. Prof. K.V. Raman honored by Dr. R. Krishna Murthy President of the South Indian Numismatic Society

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

21. Dr. Avai Natarajan, Vice Chancellor of Tamil University honoring Prof. K.V. Raman during farewell party. Prof. C.E. Ramachandran and Dr. Thilakakavathi are also seen

22. Prof. K.V. Raman as Chairman of South Indian Numismatic Society at Thanjavur, 1991Prof. A.V. Narasimha Murthy, Dr. R. Krishna Murthy and K.G. Krishnan, Chief Epigraphist are seen with Vice Chancellor

23. Farewell meeting Prof. K.V. Raman with colleagues, scholars and Students, 1994

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Superintending Archaeologist, A.S.I., (1972-76)

In 1972, Dr. Raman was selected as the Deputy Superintending Archaeologist of the Government of India and posted at Southern-Circle, Madras where he devoted attention to the conservation of monuments. At that time, the Southern Circle included Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Karnataka which much later were made into three independent Circles. In 1976, he was posted as Superintending Archaeologist in the Temple Survey Project, Madras. Dr. Raman was invited to deliver Sir S. Subrahmania Aiyar Memorial Lectures and the same were published as *Some Aspects of Pandyan History in the Light of Recent Discoveries* by the University of Madras as a booklet in 1976. He also wrote an interesting paper on Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions – A Historical Assessment which was published in the *Journal of Epigraphy*, 1972. During his tenure in the A.S.I., Dr. Raman had the unique opportunity to work with many distinguished Indian archaeologists and scholars like Sri V.D. Krishnaswami, a doyen in prehistory; *Padmabhushan* K.R. Srinivasan and K.V. Soundara Rajan, well known scholars on temple architecture and art; Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, chief of the Nagarjunakonda excavations and Dr. S.R. Rao of Lothal fame to mention only a few.

Professor of Archaeology, University of Madras, 1976

In 1976, he joined the University of Madras as Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology. He reintroduced the publication of the Madras University Archaeological Series in which more books were published including the *Excavations of Uraiyur (Tiruchirapalli)* in 1988.

It was during this period that the M.Phil. programme was introduced in the University of Madras which became popular for the working lecturers to gain research experience and broaden their knowledge. Dr. Raman focused his attention on erstwhile North and South Arcot districts and excavated in places like Appukalu (Megalithic habitation site), Mallapadi where prehistoric rock-painting, the first of its kind in Tamil Nadu, was discovered. Another pre-historic painting was plotted by him near Gudiattam.

Indo-Roman Archaeology

Another area which drew his attention was Indo-Roman archaeology. He conducted the excavation at Kudikadu or Karaikadu, a coastal site near Cuddalore which yielded interesting Roman antiquities simitar to Arikamedu. A detailed paper was presented by him in the colloquium at Archaeological Institute of America at San Antonio in 1986 and later published by Dr. Vimala Begley in *Rome and India*, Wisconsin, 1991.

Collaboration with American Archaeologists led by Dr. Vimala Begley

Prof. Raman also brought about collaboration of the Department of Archaeology with the American team of archaeologists in reviving research work in the Indo-Roman site of Arikamedu near Pondicherry. This gave an opportunity for Indian archaeologists to collaborate with the American experts in classical archaeology. Work was done for three seasons and the results were published in two monumental volumes entitled *The Ancient Port of Arikamedu – New Excavations and Researches 1989-1992* written by Vimala Begeley in association with K.V. Raman, Peter Francis, Steve E. Sidebottom, Elizabeth L.Will, Iravatham Mahadevan, Noburu Karashima and others. It was brought out as a monograph entitled *Memoires Archaeolgiques* by Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient. The collaboration with the American team was an opportunity to our students to familiarize themselves with the latest techniques in excavations, conservation of antiquities, publication of the report, etc.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Silk–Route Conference at Chennai, 1992

Closely connected with this was another important, international seminar on the Silk-route conference held at Madras by the A.S.I. when archaeologists from India and different countries like France, U.S.A. and Japan, were invited. Dr. Raman presented his paper on the latest excavations in South India which included recent discoveries in the sites like Arikamedu and Kariakadu.

Collaboration with Japanese Scholars led by Professor Noburu Karashima

Another area of collaborative research which he engaged was the Indo-Japanese joint work in two areas. One was the socio-cultural change in the villages in Tiruchirapalli district in Tamil Nadu (in the years 1979-1982) and another was the research project on the relations between South Asia and South-east Asia during ancient and medieval times (undertaken in 1991 and 1995). Scholars from Japan led by Prof. Noburu Karashima of Tokyo University took great and sustained interest in the project which was published later.

The first project was published in two parts and Part I pertained to pre-modern period. It was edited by Prof. Noburu Karashima in 1983 under the auspices of the Institute of the Study of Languages and Culture of Asia and Africa, Tokyo. The chapter on the Aspects of village settlements, art tradition and village deities in Lalgudi district contributed by Prof. K.V. Raman and Dr. P. Shanmugam was published with forty-nine photographs and several maps and appendices. The other valuable papers which consisted of land assessment of Chola times, terms in inscriptions, etc. were the contribution of Prof. Karashima and Dr.Y.Subbarayalu.

The second project in which Prof. Raman was an active participant was entitled '*Reconsidering the Relations between South Asia and Southeast Asia*' during the ancient and medieval times (1991-1995). This was published by Dr. Noburu Karashima under the auspices of Taisho University, Japan in 2002. This gave Prof. Raman unique opportunity to visit South-east Asian countries and in contributing valuable articles to journals and newspapers like *The Hindu*. Later on these papers were included in his book entitled *Temple Art, Icons and Culture of India and Southeast Asia*, published in 2006.

Research in Numismatics

Prof. K.V. Raman took keen interest in numismatic studies and his excavations brought out the ancient coins to light. His work on the coin finds in excavations of Kanchi like Pallava and Satavahana coins and also moulds were published in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* and also in *Studies in South Indian Coins* (S.S.I.). He also wrote on the Roman coins of Tamil Nadu in S.S.I. He was elected the General President of the Numismatics Society of India in the year 1989. and his presidential address was published. He along with scholars like Prof. A.V. Narasimha Murthy and Dr. R. Krishnamurthy (Editor, *Dinamalar*) was the founder of the South Indian Coin Society. He was made the President of the Society for five years and later was made the Editor of the *Journal of the Society* from 1997 to 2002. In 2006 the Society honoured him by conferring the Honorary Fellowship of the Society.

Awards and Felicitations Received by Prof. K.V. Raman

In recognition of his distinguished services, Dr. Raman has received coveted honours from several academic bodies including nomination to various boards.

1. Member of the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology (1985 onwards).
2. Member of the Advisory Board of Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu (1980)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized By Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

3. Elected President of the Ancient Section of Indian History Congress, 1988.
4. President, History Section, World Tamil Conference, Kuala Lampur, Malaysia, 1988.
5. General President of the Numismatic Society of India, Santiniketan, 1989.
6. General President of the South Indian History Congress (1995-96).
7. General President of Tamil Nadu History Congress, Thanjavur (1996).
8. Visiting Professor, Department of Art, University of Georgia, Athens, U.S.A. in 1997.
9. Member, ICHR, New Delhi, 2002.
10. Nominated Chairperson of Advisory Board (Ancient period) for 2001 by Indian National Science Academy and nominated as member of National Commission for History of Science, 2002 by Indian National Science Academy.
11. Received Dr. V.S. Wakankar Award for excellence in Field Archaeology for the Archaeological Society of India for the year 2002.
12. Conferred Honorary Fellowship of the South Indian Numismatic Society, 2006.

Participation in Academic Programmes Abroad

1. 1980 : He visited Canada and presented a paper in the International Congress for religious studies, Winnepeg, Canada.
2. 1981: He visited Thailand at the invitation of Prof. M.C. Subadradis Diskul of the Univeristy of Silpalorn. He delivered lectures on Indian archaeology and art.
3. 1982: Visited Tokyo, Japan at the invitation of Prof. Noburu Karashima. Visited archaeological sites and delivered lectures on South Indian art.
4. 1983 : Visited the University of Pennsylvania, U.S.A. as a Fulbright Scholar and participated in academic programmes in the Department of Anthropology and was kindly hosted by Prof. Gregory Possehl. Visited St. Antonio, U.S.A. to participate in the colloquium on *Rome and India – Sea Trade* (convened by Dr. Vimala Begley) under the auspices of the Anthropological and Archaeological Institute of America.
5. 1988 : Went Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia as an official delegate to preside over a section on History in the Tamil Conference.
6. 1989 : Visited U.K. as a Senior Fellow of the Commonwealth Universities, London. Attended academic programmes at Oxford, Cambridge and Birmingham museums.
7. 1989 : Visited Rome and Pompeii in Italy at the invitation of ISMEO where Dr. Raman delivered talks on the recent findings in India.
8. 1990-94 : Visited South east Asian countries like Thailand, Vietnam, Laos, Malaysia, Indonesia-as a member of joint programme of Japan (led by Professor Noburu Karashima) and India.
9. 1997 : Visiting Professor at University of Georgia at Athens, Department of Art- also visited museums and art departments at Washington D.C. and New York. He gave a series of lectures on religion and iconography and was kindly hosted by Dr. Bradley Tindall, Professor of Art history.

Book Published by Prof. K.V. Raman

1. *The Early History of the Madras Region*, Amuda Nilayam Press, Madras, 1959.
2. *Sri Varadaraja Swami Temple Kanchi*, Abhinav Publications, Delhi, 1972.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

3. *Some Aspects of Pandyan History*, University of Madras, Madras, 1972.
4. *Tolliyal Ayvugal (Arcaeological Researches in Tamil Nadu)*, Sekhar Padippagam, Madras, 1972.
5. *Pandiyar Varalaru (History of the Pandyas)* in Tamil, Tamil Nadu Text Book Society, Madras, 1977.
6. *Principles and Methods of Archaeology*, Parthajan Publications, Madras (1996 and 1988)
7. *Excavations at Uraiyur (Tiruchirapalli)*, by K.V. Raman, *et.al.*, University of Madras, 1988.
8. *Sculptural Art of Tirumala Tirupati Temples*, Published by Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam Tirupati, 1993.
9. *Temple Art, Icons and Culture of India and Southeast Asia*, Sharada Publishing House, Delhi, 2006.
10. *Socio-Cultural change in villages in Tiruchirapalli District, Tamil Nadu, Part I,* (pre-modern period)-co-authored with Noburu Karashima (Tokyo, 1983).
11. *The Ancient Port of Arikamedu (1989 and 2004)* – (two volumes) Dr. Raman was one of the co-authors with Dr. Vimala Begley, et.al, Paris

Volumes Edited by Dr. Raman

1. *Aspects of Indian History and Culture* (edited with Prof. C.E. Ramachandran), Indian Culture and History Society, Books and Books, New Delhi, 1984.
2. *Srinidhi: Perspectives in Indian Archaeology, Art and Culture* (co-editor, 1983), New Era Publications, Madras.
3. Edited *Studies in South Indian Coins*, 1997 to 2002.

Translations

1. Prof. Raman translated Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri's monumental volume *Colas* into Tamil under the Indian Council of Historical Research's scheme and published by New Century Book House, Madras in 1988.

Prof. Raman has contributed several articles to *The Hindu* on art and archaeology particularly about South-east Asian countries. He was a regular contributor of book reviews to *The Hindu* for several years. Besides three books in Tamil cited above, he has contributed several articles in Tamil to newspapers like *Dinamalar* and periodicals like *Gitacharyan*.

Professor Raman is a dedicated teacher and inspiring guide ever ready to help the students. He is known for qualities of humility, rare combination of vidya and vinaya. He is acclaimed for his eloquent exposition of Indian art, history and culture. Nearly twenty scholars obtained Ph.D. Degrees and scores of students obtained M.Phil. Degree under his guidance.

On behalf of the contributors to this Felicitation Volume and the innumerable friends, admirers, research scholars and students, we express our profound gratitude and best wishes to Prof. K.V. Raman, his wife Smt.Vanaja Raman and members of their family.

Exerpts of Eminent Scholar's opinions on Prof. K.V. Raman's Research and Publications

1. *The Early History of the Madras Region* (published in 1959)

The eminent historian Padma Bhushan Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri in his foreward writes: 'Sri Raman has aimed in his monograph at presenting as continuous and complete a narrative of the history of the region……right down to the middle of the seventeenth century CE. This was a work

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized By Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that needed to be done and it has now been done with commendable competence. The author has availed himself of all the sources……and made critical use of them in his study of all aspects of the history and life of the region…..I hope the book will be a forerunner of other essays in local history.'

2. *Sri Varadaraja Svami Temple Kanchi* (published in 1975)

(i) The book deals with one of the most famous temples of south India. The development of the plan of the temple from the eleventh century to the Vijayanagara period and later together with the sequence of architectural and sculptural styles is presented with great care and thoroughness. The clear and logical argument is used to illuminate the role the temple played in the life of the community and Vaishnavite religion and in the organization of the temple itself, its pujas and festivals. I much enjoyed this excellent book. Dr. Douglas Barret Keepter, Dept. of Oriental Antiquities, The British Museum, Lodnon.

(ii) There is a great need for detailed published surveys of the history and architecture of the great South Indian temples. Dr. Raman's book on Sri Varadaraja Swami temple in Kanchi provides a wealth of hitherto unpublished material concerning the famous temple and will be essential reading for all scholars interested in the development of both Vaishnavism and temple architecture in Tamil Nadu. Dr. J.C. Harle Keeper, Dept of Eastern Art Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

(iii) Padma Bhushan Dr. C. Sivaramamurti (former Director, National Museum, New Delhi), in his forward to this book has observed…..'the temple of Varadaraja in Kanchi has long remained without a proper exposition of its treasures, both artistic and religious. I am glad that Dr. K.V. Raman has written an excellent account of this famous temple discussing its history, epigraphy, ritual, religion, philosophy and thought. He has chosen suitable illustrations to visually present its importance. I have great pleasure in requesting the discerning scholarly world to appreciate this very interesting monograph on a great temple.'

3. *Sculptural Art of Tirumala Tirupati Temples* (published by Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam, Tirupati 1993).

The learned Executive Officer in his foreword observes: 'The sacred shrine of Lord Venkateshwara is a storehouse of excellent sculptures in stone and bronze. Here we find a synthesis of various forms that existed from time to time….They are noted for dynamic harmony and perfect balance. It is our pleasure to publish the monograph on 'Sculptural Art of Tirumala Tirupati temples' written by Dr. K.V. Raman, an internationally known archaeologist and art historian rediscovering the beauty and grace of the sculptures at Tirumala-Tirupati.'

4. *Dr. Raman's Article on 'Tamil Brahmi Inscription– A Historical Assessment'*

D. Kamil V. Zvelebil, the noted Tamil scholar of international fame has extensively commented on his paper and observed, 'The paper by K.V. Raman is most instructive and highly inspiring.' Page 85, in his book, *Comparitive Studies in the History of Tamil Literature*, Leiden, N.Y. (1992).

SEAL

UNESCO, MANDRAM

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION YEAR, 1970 AWARDS TO DR. K.V. RAMAN,
Archaeological Survey of India, Southern circle,
Madras

A dedicated archaeologist and innovator of excavation work at Kaveripoompattiam

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Given by
Tiru. M. Karunanidhi, Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu
On 27-6-1970

*****

SEAL
DR. WAKANKAR AWARD, 2002

The Indian Archaeological Society has the honour of conferring the Dr. V.S. Wakankar Award for excellence in Field Archaeology on Professor K.V. Raman, Former Head of the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Madras for the year 2002.

(Sd.) S.P. Gupta
(Chairman)

(Sd.) K.N. Dikshit
(General Secretary)

*****

CITATIONS IN HONOUR OF PROF. K.V. RAMAN
by
THE SOUTH INDIAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, CHENNAI

Professor K.V. Raman has been conferred the Fellowship of the
South Indian Numismatic Society
for his outstanding contributions to
Indian Numismatics
given under the seal of the Society
By
Dr. R. Krishnamurthy, President
and
Prof. A.V. Narasimha Murthy, General Secretary

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized By Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAPERS PUBLISHED BY PROF. K.V. RAMAN

Archaeology

1. 'Some Ancient Arts, Crafts, and Technology of ancient Tamilnadu as revealed in the Excavations', *International Conference of Tamil Studies,* Vol. II, Madras, 1968.
2. 'Distribution Pattern of Culture Traits in the Pre and Proto-Historic Times in Madurai Region,' *Aaraichi,* Tirunelveli, 1970.
3. 'Archaeological Investigations in Kerala', *Aaraichi,* Tirunelveli, 1971.
4. 'Excavations at Pumpukar', *Aaraichi,* Tirunelveli, 1972.
5. 'Hero-Stones of Pandyanadu', *Proceedings of the Seminar on Hero-Stones,* Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Tamilnadu. 1974.
6. 'Robert Bruce Foote's Contributions to Neolithic Studies in India', *Journal of the Madras University,* Madras, 1979.
7. 'Archaeological Excavations at Kanchipuram', *Tamil Civilization,* Vol. V, Tamil University, Tanjavur, 1987.
8. 'Port Towns of Tamilnadu, some Field Data and Prospects of Marine Archaeology: Marine Archaeology in Indian Ocean Countries', *National* Institute of Oceanography Goa, 1988.
9. 'Further Evidence of Roman Trade from Coastal Sites in Tamilnadu, Rome and India', (Ed.) Vimala Begley and R.D. De Pume, University of Wisconsin, 1991.
10. 'Pre-Historic Paintings in India', *Vivekananda Rock Memorial Committee,* Madras, 1981.
11. 'Archaeological Investigations in the Recent Past', *A Decade of Archaeology,* Dharwar.
12. 'South India's Maritime Relations-Recent Findings', *General President's Address, South Indian History Congress,* Gulbarga, 1996.

EPIGRAPHY, HISTORY AND CULTURE

1. Antiquities of Tenneri', *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society,* Vol. XLVII, Bangalore, 1956.
2. 'Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar', *Bharatiya Vidya,* Vol. XXIX, Bombay, 1969.
3. 'Religious Inheritence of the Pandyas, *Minakshi Temple Kumbhabhiseka Malar,* Madurai.
4. 'A New Tamil-Brahmi Inscription in Arittapatti', *Journal of Indian History,* Vol. XLIX, 1971 (with Y. Subbarayalu).
5. 'Epigraphical Gleanings on Vaishnava Acharyas', *Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri Felicitation Voume,* Madras, 1971.
6. 'Jainism in Tondaimandalam', *Bullettin of Institute of Traditional Cultures,* Madras, 1974.
7. 'Karavandapuram or Ukkirankottai', *An ancient fortress of the Pandyas, Journal of Indian History,* Vol. LVII, 1974.
8. 'Historical Glimpses of Tiruvannamalai', *Kumbhabhisheka Malai,* Tiruvannamalai, 1976.
9. 'Hoysalas in Kanchi', *Seminar on Hoysalas, (Ed.) B. Sheik Ali, Mysore.*
10. 'Historic Places in and Around Madras', *Fourth Annual congress of the Epigraphical Society of India,* Madras, 1978.
11. 'Sri Ramanuja and Epigraphy', *Studies in Ramanuja, Sri Ramanuja Vedanta Centre,* Madras, 1979.
12. 'Chieftains of Maladu', *Journal of the Madras University,* University of Madras, Madras, 1980.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

13. 'The role of the Merchant Guilds in Pandyanadu', *South Indian History congress Proceedings,* Vol. I, 1980.
14. 'Art and Culture of Thailand', *Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures,* Madras, 1980.
15. 'Religion as an Instrument of Change', *Indian History and Culture Society,* New Delhi.
16. 'Divyaprabhanda Recital in Vaishnava Temples', *Prof. K.R. Venkataraman Felicitation Volume,* 1981.
17. 'Indian Cultural Ties With Thailand', *Yuva Bharati,* 1983.
18. 'Tamil Brahmi and Vatteluttu: Aspects Regarding Chronology And Evolution', *Bullettin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures* Madras, 1983.
19. 'Cultural Heritage', A Synthesis, *Indian History congress Procedings, 46th Session,* 1985.
20. 'Inscriptional Sources for the History of Pondicherry', *Published by Historical Society of Pondicherry,* Vol. 15, Pondicherry, 1987.
21. 'Religious Trends During Rajaraja's Reign', *Rajaraja The Great, Ananthacharya Indological Research Institute,* Bombay, 1987.
22. 'Political and Social Conditions of Tamilnadu During the Early Vijayanagar Times', *Early Vijayanagara Studies,* (Ed.) G.S. Dikshit Bangalore, 1988.
23. 'Recent Discoveries in Pandyan History', *Journal of Indian History.*
24. 'Historical Glimpses of Solasimhapuram', *Porf. O.S. Ramachandrayya Felicitation Volume,* 1993.
25. 'Folk cults and Practices, The Undercurrent of Cultural Unity of India' *(Ed.) S. Varadhan,* Delhi, 1996.
26. 'The Ecological Tradition in Tamil Literature and Epigraphy', *The Ecological Traditions of Tamilnadu, C.P.R. Environmental Education Centre,* Chennai, 1997.
27. 'Sri Lakshmi-Legends and Lores', *Anantacharya Indological Research Institute,* Mumbai, 1999.
28. 'Indian Influences on Place Names in South Asia', *Sandhan-Journal of Centre for Studies in Civilizations,* Vol. II, No. I, Jan. 2002, New Delhi.
29. Pilgrimage-Indian Concept and Practice', *Ananthacharya Indological Research Institute,* Mumbai, 2002.
30. 'Sacred tanks of Tamilnadu', *Sacred Tanks of South India,* C.P.R. Environmental Education Centre, Chennai, 2002.

Art History

1. 'Uttaravedi Concept in Temple Architecture', *Bharatiya Vidya,* Vol. XXVIII, Bombay, *1968.*
2. 'Folk Themes in Indian Sculptures', *Journal of Indian History.*
3. 'Balustrade Sculptures of Kerala', *Journal of Kerala Studies,* Vol. I, 1973.
4. 'Hoysala Influence of Vijayanagara Art', *Srikantika,* Mysore, 1974.
5. 'Temples the Treasure House of Sculptures', *Temple India,* Vivekananda Rock Memorial Committee, Madras, 1981.
6. 'Iconographic concepts and Forms from Early Tamil Sources', *Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures,* Madras, 1980.
7. 'The Role of the Temple in Socio-Economic Life of the People', *Temple India,* Vivekananda Rock Memorial Committee, Madras, 1981.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

8. 'Ananda Coomaraswamy on early Indian Architecture', *Ananda Coomaraswamy Centenary Volume,* Calcutta, 1981.
9. 'Temples as Patrons of Dance, *Dances of India' (Ed.) Eknath Ranade, Vivekananda Kendra Patrika,* Madras, 1982.
10. 'Art Heritage of the Pandyas', *Heritage of the Tamils, International Institute of Tamil Studies,* Madras.
11. 'Ananda Coomaraswami', *A Varsatile Art Historian, Journal of Institute of Tamil Studies,* Madras.
12. 'Gopura Sculptures from Vriddhagirisvara Temple', *Srinidhi: Perspectives in Archaeology, Art and Culture,* Madras, 1983.
13. 'Vijayanagara Paintings in Kanchipuram', *Itihas,* Hyderabad, 1976.
14. 'Gopuras of Tirumala – Tirupati Temples', *Indian Epigraphy and Its Bearing on Art History,* American Institute of Indian Studies, 1985.
15. 'A Datable Sculpture of Nammalvar', *Indian Epigraphy and Its Bearing on Art History,* American Institute of Indian Studies, 1995.
16. 'Architecture in the Vijayanagara Period', *South Indian Studies, (Ed.)* H.M.Naik and B.R. Gopal, Mysore.
17. 'Village Goddesses of South India', *Shakti in Art and Religion,* The C.P.Ramaswami Aiyar *Institute of Indological Research,* Madras, 1991.
18. 'The Art Heritage of Kanchi', *Kanchi: A Heritage of Art and Religion, (Ed.) Nanditha Krishna, The C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar Institute of Indological Research,* Madras, 1992.
19. 'Some Rare Sculptures from the Pallava Temples at Kanchi', *Indological Essays (Ed.) Michael Lockwook, Madras Christian College,* Tambaram, Madras, 1992, (with B. Sasisekaran).
20. 'Bronze Icons of Sri Vaishnava Saints', *A Souvenir Released on The occasion of the the Exhibition of South Indian Bronzes,* Govt. Museum, Madras, 1992.
21. 'Masilmanisvaar Temple-Tirumullavayil: An Architectural and Sculptural Study.'
22. 'Sectarian Factors in Saiva Iconography', *Spectrum of Indian History,* Delhi, 1996.
23. 'Mallapadi Sculptures', *Sri Subrahmanya Smriti,* 2001.
24. 'Rama Temples and Tradition in Tamilnadu', *International Conference on Ramayana,* Leuven, Belgium, 1995.

NUMISMATICS

1. 'Numismatography of Tamilnadu', *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,* Vol. XLIX, 1987.
2. Development of South Indian Numismatics', *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,* Vol LIII, 1991.
3. 'Roman Coins from Tamilnadu', *Studies in South Indian Coins,* Vol. II, Madras, 1992.
4. 'An Early Chola Coin from Arikamedu', Studies in South Indian Coins, Vol. III, 1993.
5. 'A Note on Two Roman Aurei from Karur', *Studies in South Indian Coins,* Vol. IV, 1994.
6. 'Pallava Coin Moulds from Kanchipuram Excavations', *Studies in South Indian Coins,* Vol. V, Madras, 1995 (with P. Shanmugam).
7. 'South Indian Numismatic society', 6th. Annual Conference, Presidential Address Mysore, 1996.
8. 'A Note on a Signet Ring from Karur', *South Indian Numismatic Society* Madras, 1996.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Professor K.V. Raman, A Unique Scholar

Prof. A.V. Narasimha Murthy

Professor K.V. Raman is a distinguished ***historian*** and ***archaeologist*** of our country. My acquaintance with Dr. Raman goes back to half a century ago when we were all contemporaries in the archaeological survey of India. Raman had the distinct advantage of being guided by Stalwarts like K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, K.K. Pillai, T.V. Mahalingam and others. As I had the privilege of being a student of Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, I used to visit Madras very often and this gave me opportunities of meeting young Raman in those days. In 1957 both of us were appointed as Exploration assistants in the Archaeological survey of India. But Raman was posted as Madurai whereas I was posted to Hyderabad. During this period Dr. Raman discovered many important archaeological sites and won appreciation from his superiors. After a short stint at Madurai University, he worked at ASI and become a superintending Archaeologist and distinguished himself in that position. However, when a call came from his Almamater, without any hesitation he joined the Madras University as Professor and Head of the Department of Archaeology and served there till his retirement. During this period and under his leadership archaeology department of Madras University become a center of excellence in archaeology. Raman trained hundreds of students in archaeology who are now occupying important positions in circles of archaeology.

His one more contribution during this period was making Exploration and Excavation, a compulsory part of the syllabus in Archaeology. Thus the students were given good training in the field of archaeology and this was copied by many South Indian Universities later.

Dr. Raman is a good excavator. He had been trained in this branch by distinguished persons, which he inculcated to his students. He took part in or conducted excavations at Kaveripattinam, Kanchipuram, Adamankottai, Karaikadu, Cranganore, Arikamedu etc. thus he is a trend setter in this field in south India.

Another field in which Dr. Raman has done research is architecture and sculpture. His works on Varadarajaswami temple and sculptural art of Tirimala are of immense value to the students of art. Prof. Raman has also published many papers on epigraphy. In fact his assessmet of the Tamil Brahmi inscriptions has won him great acclaim from professors like Dr. Zvelbil. Dr. Raman's interest in South Indian numismatics is well known. He was one of the founders of the South Indian Numismatic Society which has been doing excellent work in the field of South Indian numismatics and also publishing an annual journal of which Dr. Raman was an editor for some years. This society has honoured him with the honorary fellowship. Dr. Raman has a large number of publications to his credit. Many students have obtained Doctorate Degree under his guidance.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

No important conference has taken place in India and abroad for the past three decades without the active participation of Prof. Raman. His clarity of thought and presentation in Seminars and Conferences has endeared him to the participants, young and old. I have had the good fortune of attending many conferences with Prof. Raman and listening to his erudite presentations.

I and Prof. Raman used to meet very often either at Madras or Mysore or other places in connection with meetings, selection committees etc, where Raman's opinion always counted with respect. His assessment of candidates was always fair and based upon academic considerations. It is a rare quality nowadays! Prof. Raman always commanded respect and appreciation in the company of not only youngsters, but elderly scholars like Prof. B.B. Lal, K.D. Bajpai, S.P. Gupta, I.K. Sarma and others. This quality endeared him to the foreign scholars too and invited him to join many academic collaborations which he did with distinction. Thus, he is an ideal academic.

Dr. Raman is a pleasant person to work with. Special mention should be made of his wonderful family. Smt Raman is a congenial nice lady and an excellent host. In fact she has been an active partner in the successful career of Dr. Raman. One of his daughters Dr. Padmaja is following in the footsteps of her father and her Ph.D. thesis '*Krishna in South Indian Tradition*' is a scholarly work. Unfortunately Dr.Raman had a family tragedy which shook him for sometime. But like a sthithapragnya he came out of this tragedy and all his friends and admirers are happy to see him as usual an enthusiastic academic. God fearing and religious the entire family of Dr. Raman is a model South Indian family with good and noble qualities of Indian tradition. I and my wife Smt. Kamalamba have been visiting the Ramans at Madras for decades. It is a unique experience by itself. This is the experience of our common friends like I.K. Sarma, Dinamalar Krishnamurthy, late A.M. Shastri and many others. I salute Prof. Raman and pray to god to shower him with health and long life so that he would continue to be with us in academic and social service.

Finally, I Would like to congratulate Prof. P. Chenna Reddy, Director of Archaeology Museum, shouldering the responsibility of honouring Senior Scholars in the field of Indology, Archaeology, Anthropology, History and Folklorists of India and abroad.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

List of Contributors

Ajit Kumar
Reader,
Deptt. of Archaeology
University of Kerala
Kariavattom, P.O.,
Trivandrum- 695 581 (Kerala)
E-Mail: ajitarchaeology@rediffmail.com

Amar Nath Khanna
Formerly Archaeological
Survey of India
G-26, Sarita Vihar,
New Delhi - 110 076

Anand Singh
Institute of Management Science
University of Lucknow,
Lucknow - 226 007 (U.P)

Atusha Bharucha Irani
202,B, Paradise Apartment
316 Off North Main Road,
Koregaon Park,
Pune - 411 001 (Maharashtra)
Email.archgujarat@rediffmail.com
Email.atushairani@satyam.net.in.com

Aruna Parithi
Plot No. 11, Phase-2,
Saket Town Ship,
Kapra Municipality, ECIL (Post)
Secundrabad - 500 062 (A.P.)

G. Balaji
Research Officer,
C.P.R.Institute of Indological Research
1, Eldams Road, Alwarpet.
Chennai - 600 018 (T.N.)

V. Balambal
Sr. Fellow, ICHR,
159, 94th Street, Sector 15,
K.K. Nagar
Chennai - 600 078 (T.N.)
Email: drbala50@hotmail.com

Brahmananda Deshapande
Mahamahopadhyaya Vidya Vibhushana,
'Aitihasik' 14 Anupam Colony,
Shreya Nagar
Aurangabad - 431 005 (MAharashtra)

Chandini Bi,
Professor, Deptt.of History,
Aligarh Muslim University
Aligarh (U.P.)
Email: chandinibi@gmail.com

P. Chandrasekaran
Associate IIAS, Shimla
Reader in History,
Rajapalayam Rajus' College
Rajapalayam - 626 117 (T.N.)

Charu Madhavan
35, Bishop Garden
Raja Annamalaipuram
Chennai - 600 028 (T.N.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Chithra Madhavan
35, Bishop Garden
Raja Annamalaipuram
Chennai - 600 028 (T.N.)

P. Chenna Reddy
Director,
A.P. State Archaeology and Museums
Government of Andhra Pradesh
Gunfoundry
Hyderabad - 500 001 (A.P.)
chennareddyp@gmail.com

D. Dayalan
Sup. Archaeologist,
Temple Survey Project
Southern Region
Fort St. George
Chennai – 600 009 (T.N.)

T. Dayananda Patel
Former Special Officer
University of Mysore, Mysore,
No. 206, 9th Cross, Gokulam,
3rd Stage,
Mysore – 570 002 (Karnataka)

Laxmansing R. Rathod.
Lecturer in Applied Art,
Chamarajendra Academy of Visual Arts,
University of Mysore
Sayaji Rao Road,
Mysore - 570 001 (Karnataka)

Dilip Kumar Khamari,
Archaeological Survey of India
B-Block, G.T.B. Complex, T.T. Nagar,
Bhopal - 462 003 (M.P.)
Email: manuelsmriti@yahoo.com

Devendra Handa
Former Professor
#1401, Sector 49B,
Chandigarh - 160 047
Email: dkhanda@rediffmail.com

Ganapati Gowda. S.
Selcetion Grade Lecturer
Field Marshal K.M. Kariappa College,
(Constituent College of Mangalore University),
Madikeri,
Kodagu- 571 201 (Karnataka)

Geeta Vasudevan
12, 7th Cross, Karpagam Gardens
Chennai - 600 020 (T.N.)

M. Girijapathi
K.R. Hally, Hiriyur Taluk,
Chitradurga District
Karnataka

Haripriya Rangarajan
C/o, Dr. C.Rangarajan
(Former Governor of Andhra Pradesh)
AB-13, Tilak Marg
New Delhi - 110 001

Hampa Nagarajaiah
Professor Emeritus
#1079, 18th A Main, 5th Block,
Rajaji Nagar,
Bangalore - 560 010 (Karnataka)
Email:hampana@yahoo.com

S.S. Hussain
Yadgar Manzil
First Floor
Bhaldarpura
Nagpur-440018
Maharashtra

P. Hymavathi (Prof.)
Deptt. of History
Kakatiya University
Warangal - 506 009 (A.P.)

R. Jayasri
11, J.K.Towers
77, 7th Avenue, Ashok Nagar
Chennai - 600 083 (T.N.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

R. Kannan Ph.D., IAS,
Commissioner of Museums
Govt.Museum, Egmore,
" Srivatsam"
Old 35, New 1, Shriram Nagar
Alwarpet,Chennai - 600008 (T.N)
Email: govtmuse@md4.vsnl.net.in

R. Balasubrahmanyam
Curator, Archaeology Section
Govt. Museum, Egmore,
Chennai - 600 008 (T.N.)

C. Kumaran
Asst. Atchaeologist
Archaeological Survey of India
Bangalore (Karnataka)

R.N. Kumaran
Asst. Sup. Archaeologist
Archaeological Survey of India
Excavation Branch-V,
"VUDA" Bhavan, 3rd Floor,
Near L & T Circle, VIP Road, Kareli Baug
Vadodara - 390 018 (Gujarat)

M. Saranyakumaran
Research Scholar
Dept. of Epigraphy & Archaeology
Tamil University
Thanjavur (T.N.)

R. Krishnamurthy
Editor,
Dinamalar Tamil Daily,
New No. 219, Anna Salai
Chennai - 600 002 (T.N.)

Krishna Kumar
Former Dy. Sup. Archaeologist
Archaeological Survey of India
184, Qaziyana, Kotawali Road,
Fatehpur - 212 601 (U.P.)

P. Krishna Mohan Reddy
Assoc. Prof., Deptt. of History,
Sri. Venkateshwara Univeristy,
Tirupati - 517 502 (A.P.)

Lakshmi Narayan
Reader, Deptt. of History
Meenakshi Autonomous College
Chennai - 24 (T.N.)

C. Margabandhu
Former Director,
Archaeological Survey of India
116, Venus Aprtments, New Rohtak Road,
P.O.Sunder Vihar,
New Delhi - 110 087

Michal Danino
80, Swarnambika Layout
Ramnagar,
Coimbatore - 641 009 (T.N.)

J. Manual
Archaeological Survey of India
B. Block, G.T.B. Complex, T.T. Nagar
Bhopal - 462 003 (M.P.)

V. Meenakumari (Prof.)
Deptt. of Ancient History, Culture & Archaeology,
Osmania University
Hyderabad - 500 007, (A.P.)

T.S. Mira Devi
479, 3rd Cross, JRD Nagar
Bangalore - 92 (Karnataka)
Email: Meera_ts@Yahoo.com

R.C. Miscro
Prof. P. G. Deptt. of History
Berhampur University, Bhanjabihar
Berhampur - 760 007 (Orissa)

R.P. Tripathi
Research Scholar
Deptt. of History
Delhi University
Delhi - 110 007

P.K. Nayak
Professor
P. G. Deptt. of History
Sambalpur University
Jyoti Vihar - 768 019
Sambalpur (Orissa)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A.K. Singh
Deptt. of AIHC & Archaeology
Banaras Hindu University
Varanasi - 221 005 (U.P.)

P. Sumabala
Asst. Professor,
C.P.R. Institute of Indology,
1, Eldams Road,
Alwarpet,
Chennai - 600 018 (T.N.)

Nandita Bhattacharjee Goswami
Dept. of Sanskrit, Cotton College
Guwahati - 781 001 (Assam)

Nirmal Selvamony Ph.D.,
President,
OSLE - India Reader in English
Madras Christian College
Chennai - 600 059
nirmalselvmony@gmail.com

Navneet Kumar Jain
Junior Research Fellow
Deptt. of AIHC & Archaeology
Jiwaji University,
Gwalior

Swayanbhu D. Tuladhar
Architect,
3/20, Santi Niketan,
New Delhi - 110 021

K.T. Narasimhan
Former Sup. Archaeologist
Archaeological survey of India
Temple Survey Project (S.R.)
For St. George,
Chennai – 600 009 (T.N.)

A.V. Narasimhamurthy
7A/2, Gokulam Main Road,
Jayalakshmi Puram
Mysore - 570 012 (Karnataka)

Bishnu Prasad Panda
Prof., P.G. Deptt. of History,
Berhampur University, Bhanjabihar
Berhampur - 760 007 (Orissa)

T. Padmaja
Door No. 7, Flat No. 3
4th Trust Cross Street
Mandrlipakkam,
Chennai, 600028

Pranathi Ghosal
Junior Research Officer
Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts
B-1/3, Lane No.2,
Ravindrapuri Extention,
Varanasi - 221 005 (U.P.)

Preeta Nayar
Reader
Dept.of Archaeology,
University of Kerala
Kariavattam P.O.
Trivandrum - 695 581 (Kerala)
Email: preeta_nayar@yahoo.com

S. Ramakrishna Pasipaty
Faculty of Sanskrit & Indian Culture,
Sri Chandrasekarendra Saraswati Viswa Mahavidyalaya (Deemed University)
Enathur,
Kanchipuram - 631 561 (T.N.)

Rajesh S.V.
Research Scholar
Deptt. of Archaeology and Ancient History,
Faculty of Arts,
M.S. University of Baroda
Vadodara - 390 002 (Gujarat)

Smitha S. Kumar
Deptt. of Archaeology & Ancient History
Faculty of Arts
M.S. University of Baroda
Vadodara - 390 002 (Gujarat)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

P. Rajendran
Professor
UGC Research Scientist-C,
Deptt. of History
Kerala University
Kariavattam - 695 581 (Kerala)

K.V. Ramakrishna Rao
25 (Old 9), Venkatachal Iyer Street
West Mambalam
Chennai - 600 033 (T.N.)
Email: kopallero@yahoo.co.uk

D. Renganathan
Lecturer in History
Govt. of Arts College
Villapuram - 605 602 (T.N.)

Ratnakar Mahapatra
ICHR Junior Research Fellow
P.G. Deptt. of History,
Sambalpur University,
Sambalpur, (Orissa)

Rekha Pande
Prof. & Director
Centre for Women Studies
Maulana Abdul Kalam Urdu University
P. O. Central University, Gachibowali,
Hyderabad - 500 046 (A.P.)

Robert G. Bednarik
President
International Federation of Rock Art Organisation
(IFRAO),
P. O. Box - 216,
Caulfield South, Vic. 3162
Australia

Rukmini Vanthanam
Reader, Deptt. of History
Meenakshi College for Women
Chennai - 600 024
Tamil Nadu

M.D. Sampath
Director
Epigraphy (Retd)
Archaeological Survey of India
D/133, MIG House, 22nd Cross,
Vijayanagara,III State
Mysore - 570 017 (Karnataka)

T.P. Sankaran Kutty Nair
Former Director,
Institute of Kerala Studies
Sree Sankaracharya University of Sanaskrit,
P.R.A.-G, 58, G.P.O.Lane
Trivandrum (Kerala)

S. Saroja
D/133, MIG House, 22nd Cross,
Vijayanagara IIIrd State
Mysore - 570 017 (Karnataka)

Sushant Kumar
PO. Shahpur
Danapur Cantt
Patna - 801502

Santosh Kumar Singh
Deptt. of AIHC & Archaeology,
Banaras Hindu University,
Varanasi - 221 005 (U.P.)

M.D.N. Shahi
223, Adarsh Nagar,
Marris Road,
Aligarh - 202 001 (U.P.)

Shama Mahamood
Reader, Deptt. of History
M.S. University, Baroda
Gujarat

Shashi Bala Srivastava
Reader in Ancient History
344-A, Bhatpar Rani, Devaria
Ghorakhpur - 273 015 (U.P.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

K. Sivaramakrishna Rao
Plot No. 267, Sri Chakra
Vivekananda Nagar Colony
Kukatapally,
Hyderabad - 500 072 (A.P.)

R. Segar
Lecturer in History
Govt. Arts College
Tiruvannamalai (T.N.)

V. Selvakumar
Deptt. of Epigraphy and Archaeology
Tamil University,
Thanjavur - 613 010 (T.N.)

Shibhu
RASTA
Kambalakad, Wayanad Dist.,
Kerala

Abu Joseph,
HARA
Kothattukulam
Ernakulam Dist. (Kerala)

Ajit
HARA
Kothattukulam,
Ernakulam Dist. (Kerala)

B. Sasisekharan
Scientist-D,
National Institute of Ocean Technology,
NIOT Campus, Velchery-Tambaran Road,
Pallikaranai, Chennai - 601 302 (T.N.)

T. Satyamurthy
Sup. Archeologist (Retd)
Archaeological Survey of India
F1, Rajalakshmi Complex, 7, Janakiraman Street,
West Mumbalam,
Chennai - 600 033 (T.N.)

P. Shanmugam
Retd. Professor, Head,
Deptt. of AIH & Archaeology,
University of Madras
Chennai - 600 005 (T.N.)

K.M. Suresh
Director
Kannada University Museum, Hampi
Vidyaranya - 583 276,
Dist. Bellary
Karnataka

Suniti Pandey
Sr.Lecturer, Deptt.of History,
University of Allahabad,
Allahabad - 211 002 (U.P.)

C. Somasundara Rao
Dept. of History & Archaeology
Andhra University
6-21-12, East Point Colony
Visakhapatanam - 530 017
Andhra Pradesh

Vanamala Parthasarathy
84, Namagiri, Versova Layout,
Kaggadapura Road,
Bangalore - 560 093 (Karnataka)
Email:prpathasarathy@vsnl.com

S. Vasanthi
Archaeologist,
Deptt. of Archaeology
Govt. of Tamil Nadu
Tamil Valarchi Vallagam
Chennai - 600 008 (T.N.)
Email:s.vasanthi42@rediffmail.com

C.S. Vasudevan
Deptt. of Archaeology
Kannada University,
Vidyaranya Puri, Hospet taluk,
Hampi.
Bellary Dist. - 583 276 (Karnataka)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Lists of Plates

Pl.1.1 Wolf incisor from Repolust Cave, Austria, preforated at its root.
Pl.1.2 Cupules on vertical quartzite wall in Daraki-Chattan Cave India of the Acheulian
Pl.1.3 Cobble from Olduvai George Bearing a cupule on each side (after M.D.Leaky)
Pl.1.4 Middle Acheulian quartzite figurine with modified grooves, Tan-Tan Morocco.
Pl.1.5 Jasperite cobble manuport excavated in Makapansgat, South Africa, Pliocene, scale in cm.

Pl.2.1 Human Fossil with in the erricate
Pl.2.2 (a) X-ray (CT) Image of Human Fossils
Pl.2.2 (b) X-ray (CT) Image of Human Fossils
Pl.2.3 (a) Cranial Identification Through 2D Scanning
Pl.2.3 (b) Cranial Identification through 2D Scanning
Pl.2.4 3D Minimum Intensity projection Image of the Skull
Pl.2.5 3D Minimum Intensity Projection Image of the Face
Pl.2.6 Dumbell Shape of the RBC bone structure & Vessels

Pl.6.1 General View of Dolmen
Pl.6.2 Dolmen with Double Capstone.

Pl.8.1 Stratigraphic Context
Pl.8.2 Lawadiya Loose assorted Archaeological matrix can be seen
Pl.8.3 Grey Burnished ware and Red Slipped
Pl.8.4 Mean trade and blue glass from Dingeshwar
Pl.8.5 Offshore formation located behind Kimeshwar temple to the left
Pl.8.6 Glass from Bharwada
Pl.8.7 Bakharla mines are filled up and used as a lake
Pl.8.8 Ploughed field grey Burnished ware Alaswana
Pl.8.9 Iron Slag from Sarmani Wav (step well)
Pl.8.10 Smelter at Katwana is now a disused well.
Pl.8.11 Red Burnsihed Wave

Pl.11.1 Mathura : A General view of the Ancient Fortifications.
Pl.11.2 Mathura Cutting across Dhulkot.
Pl.11.3 Mathura : Cutting across Dhulkot, Details of phases
Pl.11.4 Kausambi : Defence Revetment.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Pl.11.5 Ahichchhatra : View of the Defenses and trench across Fortification Wall.
Pl.11.6 Ahichchhatra : Five phases of the Fortification.
Pl.11.7 Rajgir : Fortification at the top of hills.
Pl.11.8 Rajgir : Cutting across Defenses
Pl.11.9 Rajgir : Cutting across the Defenses showing a brick retaining Wall.
Pl.11.10 Vaisali : Three periods of the Defences
Pl.11.11 Balirajgarh : Brick Fortification
Pl.11.12 Balirajgarh : Fortification Wall, Details.
Pl.11.13 Ropar : Curved portion of the enclosure wall of the Tank.
Pl.11.14 Ropar : Retaining Wall of the Tank with the brick built inlet.
Pl.11.15 Mathura : A Tank Complex, brick built at Kankali Tila
Pl.11.16 Sravasti : Water Tank oriented east-west of Monastic Complex.
Pl.11.17 Sravasti : Flight of steps leading to the Tank.
Pl.11.18 Tamluk : Water Tank (partly exposed).
Pl.11.19 Sringaverapura : Excavated tank
Pl.11.20 Sringaverapura : Flight of steps leading to the Tank.
Pl.11.21 Jaugada : View of the Rampart.
Pl.11.22 Jaugada : Cutting across the Rampart with rubble wall on the inner phase.
Pl.11.23 Hastinapura : Terracotta Ring-well and baked brick drain and an adjoining wall.
Pl.11.24 Hastinapura : Jars with perforated bottom and Terracotta ring well used for soakage of refuse water.
Pl.11.25 Masaon : Brick built drain with connecting house plan.
Pl.11.26 Tamluk : Ring lined Soak-wells.

Pl.17.1 An Excavated Cit Burial at Andikavala
Pl.17.2 A Lady Sculpture found in the Jungle near Puttenangadi.

Pl.22.1 Nandisanugraha Murti of Shiva Sculpture from Malapangudi.
Pl.26.1 Temple of Gopinath

Pl.34.1 Meharangarh Fort, Jodhpur
Pl.34.2 Brahmovtsava (Ashavaanam)

Pl.46.1 The Marker Stone at Situ of Stage Ist and the Brick wall with rich of the Stage IInd.

Pl.63.1 (a) Excavations at site B, from South East, Ahar, District Bulandshahar
Pl.63.1 (b) Excavations at site E, showing circular brick structure, from North-West, Ahar District Bulandshahar
Pl.63.2 (a) Muhammadan Pottery from sites A and C. Ahar, District Bulandshahr
Pl.63.2 (b) Earlier pottery from site B. Ahar. District Bulandshahr
Pl.63.2 (c) Earlier pottery from site B. Ahar. District Bulandshahr
Pl.63.2 (d) Excavations at site A. Showing strafications from South West Ahar. District Bulandshahr
Pl.63.2 (e) Medieval stone antiquities from several Excavations, Ahar. District Bulandshahr
Pl.63.2 (f) Copper antiquities from site B, Ahar. District Bulandshahr

Pl.65.1 The East Pillar of North Gateway: the spread of Buddhism.

Pl.78.1 Dholavira : North Gate Complex of Castle, Harappan.
Pl.78.2 Dholavira : Street of Lower Town, Harappan

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

35

A Note on Some Fifth Century CE Roman Gold Coins from Southern Tamil Nadu

R.Krishnamurthy

The trade between Roman Empire and South India became brisk during the reign of the first Roman Emperor Augustus (27 BCE - CE 14) and was more vigorous and extensive during the time of the Tiberius and continued unabated in the first two centuries of the Christian Era.

After the death of Caracalla in 217 CE, the commercial enterprises had received a set back and trade had practically ceased to exist. After 220 CE Roman gold coins hardly came to India for the next 150 years. On the other hand, Roman bronze coins of the second half of the 3rd century were found in India. By this time the traffic in transporting small goods seems to have begun[1] and there was an increase in the inflow of late Roman copper coins. This is corroborated by the large quantity of such coins found at Karur town and to a lesser extent in Madurai city, both in Tamilnadu, documented by this author.[2] These late Roman and Byzantine *solidi* found in India coincide with the beginning of the rule of Emperor Theodosius-II (402-450 CE) and end with Justinus-I (518-527 CE).[3]

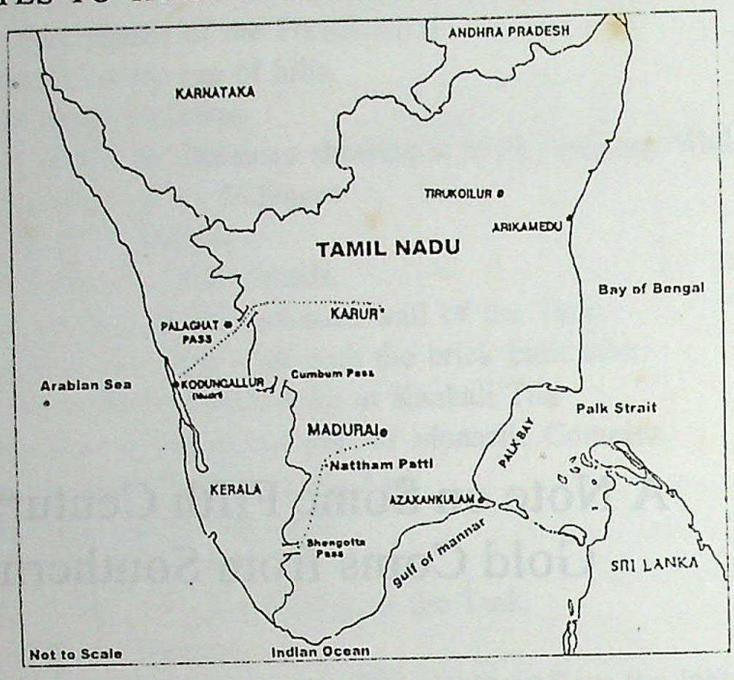
Roman coins brought to India attracted the attention of the local people and rulers due to their precious metal value, purity and superior technique. They possibly served as a medium of exchange in the areas they were found. As a result of demand for Roman coins imitations of these coins began to appear in some places in South India. Natthampatti and Karur are among those places.

In this paper an attempt is made to give details about seven late Roman *solidi*, out of nine discovered in Natthampatti[4] village in Virudhunagar district and four *solidi* from Amravathi river bed near Karur, in Karur district, both in Tamilnadu. Out of the eleven coins, five are found to be imitations.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TRADE ROUTES TO TAMIL NADU THROUGH WESTERN MOUNTAINS



Coins of Theodosius-ii, 402-450 CE

Coins No. 1

Weight and dia not available

Obverse. DN THEODOSIVS PF AVG. Bust, pearl - diademed, helmeted, cuirassed, facing, holding spear over shoulder in right hand and shiefl in left.

Reverse. VOT XXX MVLT XXXX. Roma seated left, shield by side, holding cross on globe in right hand and scepter in left.

Pierced twice above the crown of the emperor. The coin appears to have been used as a pendant.

Solidus, Constantinople, A.D. 430 to 439.[5]

Mint mark: $\frac{*}{\text{CONOB}}$

Provenance: Natthampatti Village.

Coin No. 2

Weight: 4.250 gm; Dia: 2 cm.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Obverse: Similar to coin no. 1

Reverse Similar to coin no. 1

Pierced twice above the crown of the Emperor. Mint marks have been partly pierced.

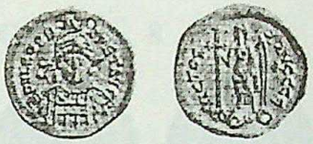
Solidus, Constantinople, A.D. 430 to 439.

Mint mark: *
C-------B

Provenance: Kanur.

COINS OF LEO-I, 457 - 474 CE

Coin No. 3



Weight and dia not available

Obverse: DN LEO PERPET AVG; Bust, pearl - diademed, helmeted, cuirassed, facing, holding spear over shoulder in right hand and shield in left.

Reverse: VICTORIA AVGGG; Victory standing left, holding long cross in right hand.

Pierced twice above the crown of the Emperor, Mint marks have been partly pierced.

Solidus Constantinople, 460 CE[6]

Mint mark: *
CO-O–

Provenance: Natthampatti Village.

Coin No. 4

Weight and dia not available

Obverse: Similar to coin no. 3.

Reverse: Similar to coin no. 3.

Pierced twice as in the previous coin.

Solidus Constantinople, *c.* 460 CE

Mint mark: *
CONOB

Provenance: Natthampatti Village.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

COIN OF ZENO, 476 - 491 CE

Coin No. 5

Weight and dia not available

Obverse: DN ZENO PERP AVG; Bust, pearl diademed, helmeted, cuirassed facing, holding spear over shoulder in right hand and shield in left.

Reverse: VICTORIA AVGGG, Victory standing left, holding long cross in right hand.

Pierced twice above the crown of the Emperor.

Solidus Thessalonica, 476 to 491 CE.

Mint mark: * | *
CONOB

Provenance: Natthampatti Village.

COIN OF ANASTASIVS, 491 - 498 CE

Coin No. 6

Weight: 4.200 gm; dia: 2 cm,

Obverse: DN ANASTASIVS PP AVG; Bust, pearl diademed, helmeted, cuirassed facing, holding spear over shoulder in right hand and shield in left.

Reverse: VICTORIA AVGGG, Victory standing left, holding long cross in right hand. The last letter 'I' is an officina letter 1.

Solidus Constantinople, *c.* 495 CE[8]

Mint mark: *
CONOB.

Provenance: Karur.

COINS OF THEODOSIUS-II (IMITATIONS)

Coins No. 7

Weight and dia not available.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Obverse: Similar to coin no. 1

Reverse: SALVS REIPVBLICAEB. Two emperors, nimbate, seated facing, enthroned, each holding mappa in right hand, and globe in left; above star.

The two emperors on the reverse are Theodosius and Valentinian-III, the latter shown a much small figure emphassing both his age and his junior status.

This coin is an imitation. The obverse belongs to THEODOSIVS-II and reverse belongs to VALENTINIAN-III

The reverse is similar to coin no. 1544[9] and was issued during 425 - 426 CE and the date of obverse could not be fixed.

Mint mark: CONOB.

Provenance: Nathampatti Village.

Coins No. 8

Weight and dia not available.

Obverse: Similar to coin no. 1.

Reverse: CONCORDIA AVGGI. Constantinopoles seated facing, head right holding a scepter in right hand and victory on globe in left, right foot on prow.

Pierced twice above the crown of the Emperor.

This coin is evidently an imitation. The reverse should contain the legent CONCORDIA AVGGGI. Instead we have CONCORDIA AVGGGZ.

The original Solidus was issued in constantinople in 408 - 20 CE.[10] The date of issue of this imitation piece is not known.

Mint mark: $\frac{*}{\text{CO-OB}}$

Provenance: Nathampatti Village.

Coin No. 9

Weight and dia not available.

Obverse: Similar to coin no. 1.

Reverse: CIVTORI VCCCAV

Pierced twice above the crown of the Emperor.

This coin also appears to be an imitation since the obverse belongs to Theodosius-II and reverse belongs to a different period.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mint mark: * / CONOB

This imitation coin may have been issued after the reign of Theodosius-II 402 - 450 CE.

Provenance: Nathampatti Village.

COIN OF ANASTASIVS (IMITATION)

Coin No. 10

Weight: 4.250 gm; Dia; 2 cm.

Obverse: DN ANASTASIVS PP AVG. Similar to coin no. 6

Reverse: V-CTŌRI VACCI

Two letters on the reverse are not the same as in the previous coin. There is a diacritical mark above the letter O and the letter A, at hte end of VICTORIA, is inverted and looks like hte letter V. Pierced twice above the crown of hte Emperor. Evidently this coin is an imitation.

Mint mark: * / CONOB

Provenance: Karur.

COIN WITH GARBLED LEGEND (IMITATION)

Coin No. 11

Weight: 3,500 gm; Dia: 2.1 cm.

Obverse: Legend not readable, Bust, pearld diademed, helmeted, cuirassed facing, holding spear over shoulder in right hand and shield in left.

Reverse: Legend not readable, Victory standing holding long cross in right hand.

Pierced twice above the crown of hte Emperor. Mint marks have been pierced. This coin is an imitation.

Mint mark: $\overline{0\,0}$ incomplete.

The coin is in impure gold.

Provenance: Karur.

All the eleven coins have the mint mark CONOB. We are not sure whether the imitations were also minted in Constantinople mint. One imitation coin (coin no.7) is a hybrid variety. The reverse belongs to Valentinian-III, (425-455 CE) of Western empire. From the study of the late Roman

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Copper coins found at Karur and Madurai by this author it appears that these coins reached Tamil Nadu in large numbers at the beginning of 5th century and there was a fall in their arrival during 408 to 425 CE. Subsequently, it picked up during 450 to 474 CE. Most of the Roman gold coins described above may have come during this period and some at the end of 5th century.

References

1. Peter Berghaus, 'Roman Coins From India and their imitations; see P.L. Gupta, Coins in Rome's Trade, In: A.K. Jha (ed.) *The 3rd Internationa Colloquium, Coinage, Trade and Economy,* Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Anjaneri, Nashik, p.111.
2. R. Krishnamurthy, *Late Roman Copper* Coins *from South India: Karur and* Madurai, Garnet Publications, Madras, 1994; This monograph, now out of print, contain xxxv plates, illustrating 1347 coins of this period in the author's collection. An appendix, by Sarada Srinivasan on metallurgical studies of late Roman coins is also included.
3. For details about spread of these solidi see, Peter Berghaus, *op. cit.,* pp.63-73.
4. V. Vedachalam and C. Santhalingam, 'Discovery of Roman Gold Coins from Natthampatti in Tamilnadu', *Studies* in *South Indian* Coins, Vol.IX, New Era Publications, Madras, pp.53-64.
5. R.A.G. Carson, *Principal* Coins *of the Romans,* Vol III, The Dominate 294-498 CE, British Museum Publications Limited, Coin No.1601.
6. *Ibid.,* Coin No.1622.
7. *Ibid.,* Coin No.1651.
8. *Ibid.,* Coin No.1660
9. *Ibid.,* Coin No.1544.
10. *Ibid.,* Coin No.1587.
11. *Ibid.,* Coin No. 1544; It is not uncommon to find such hybrid varieties in Roman coins found in India; Such varieties are noticed in Tirukkoilur hoard also in which 163 out of 191 pieces retrieved were found to be imitations. For more details see Peter Berghaus, 'Strange Mould Links out of the Tirukkoilur Hoard', in, R. Nagaswamy (ed.), *Sangam: Numismatics and Cultural History-Essays* in *Honour of Dr. R. Krishnamurthy,* New Era Publications, Chennai, 2006, pp. 11-20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

36

Recent Discoveries and Re-examination of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions from Haryana and Punjab

S.S. Hussain

No systematic efforts were made in exploring the possibilities of new Arabic and Persian inscriptions during pre-Independence or post-Independence days in Haryana and Punjab States which are having, in the words of Professor R.R. Sethi,[1] "the abundant wealth of naterial - lay hidden almost a virgin story was both a challenge and a promise to any investigator". Having pecullar situation, vast plains, war-like people, these states have always played important roles in the history of the entire Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. It is a pity that these states which were once having a large number of stone inseriptions of various languages and a large number of architectural remains of the past are now losing their archaeological wealth due to recent land grabbing activities by all type of industry owners, agriculturists, general public and even the government for the construction of reads, bridges, bus-stands etc. Moreover, whatever inscriptions on the monuments like mosques, *darghas,* palaces, carvan-sarāis, gates etc. were intact one or two decades ago, have now either disappeared or plastered completely by the inhabitants of these buildings who are mostly refugees migrated from Pakistan after Independence and occupied these buildings.

Before this vast source of nformation on medieval history is lost for ever, the epigraphy branch of the Archaeological Survey of India, stationed at Nagpur, planned to survey the whole region of Haryana and Punjab and to copy all the available inscriptions to bring them on record and to list them properly in the Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy.

Consequently, the survey of some important towns and villages was surveyed by the officers of the office of the Epigraphy Branch. During the last two decades nearly 196 (154 from Haryana and 42 from Panjab) inscriptions were copied from Ambala, Hissar, Karnal, Kurukshetra, Mahendragarh, Rohtak and Sirsa Districts of Haryana and Amritsar, Bhatinda, Gurdaspur, Jullundhar, Patiala and Sangrur Districts of the Punjab State. These have been listed in the Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy during respective years. Out of 196 inscriptions listed in the Annual Reports, 67

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

represent seven different dynasties *viz.* Ghori, Mamluk 6, Tughluq 3, Lodi 7, Sur 2, Mughal 47 and British 1. The highest number 47 belongs to the Mughal period and represent 7 kings *viz.* Babur 6, Humayun 3, Akbar 15, Jahangir 6, Shahjahan 11, Aurangzeb 5 and Shah 'Alam II 1.55 inscriptions are of miscellaneous nature; while the remaining 74 contain religious and literary texts of having no historical value except that they how different styles of calligraphy.

The inscription, dated A.H. 588 (1192-93 CE.) of the reign of Muhammad bin Sam is the eldest record in this region which most probably records the construction of a mosque in the fort of Hānsi after its conquest. Of the Mamluks the records dated A.H. 671 (1272 CE.), A.H. 676 (1277 CE.) belong to the reign of Balban (1265-87 CE.) pertain to the reign of Mu'īzzu'd Din Kaiqubad (1287-90 CE.), three inscriptions are without dates. These records, provide the names of high nobles like 'Umer son of Muhammad Ghori, Qurbek son of Aibek, the Muqta' of sonpat, Taju'd-Daulat Wa'd-Din Mahmud son of Khalj (or Qilij) Arsalan Sultani, Commander Taju'd-Daulat Wa'd-Din, Mir Miran Salari, as builders of the mosques. Royal titles like al-Mujahid (*i.e.* the Fighter in the Holy war), Zillu'llāh (*i.e.* Shadow of Allah), and other titles assumed by the nobles *viz.*, al-Sipahsalar (*i.e.* the noble, the Commander-in-Chief), are found mentioned in the epigraphs. The two records of Firuz Shah Tughluq) (1351-88 CE.) one dated A.H. 767 (1366 CE.) and the other undated; and one record of Muhmūd Shah II (1399-142 CE.) dated A.H. 815 (1412 CE.) provide the names of the nobles-Cum-builders like Shahin Sultani of the reign of Firuz Shah and Malik Ishaq Lashkari of Mahmūd Shah II's reign who was the builder of Hazira (*i.e.* tomb) of Jalalu'l-Haq, a saint of Panipat. The most important of the Tughluq records is from Fatehabad in Hissar District of Haryana. Though the record engraved on a pillar believed to have been set up by Firuz Shah Tughluq was known as early as lamost a century ago, its contents have remained totally unknown. According to Mr. H.B.W. Garrick, the Assistant Archaqeological Surveyor, who saw the epigraph in 1883 (*Arch. Sur. Ind. Rep.* XXIII P. II), it was translated by Maulavī Ziyud'd-Din Khān Nayyar Rakhshan, the well known scholar and then Extra Asstt. commissioner (who, according to one report, spent more than a month there trying the decipher the inscription), but neither the said translation has been published so far nor did Mr. Garrick give any information about its contents or purport. According to Dr. Paul Horn of Strassburg too, to whom its burrings were sent by Mr. C.J. Rodgers, "it is not possible to decipher this evidently most important document", whose "letters have been much injured and many patches of the stone have fallen off", "only single words are here and there legible, it "belongs to a king of the Tughluq dynasty and contains long historical accounts". "Tughluq Shah himself is mentioned" and "an occuring date the reference of which is not clear, is the first Shaban 725 (13th July 1325) which falls in the first year of Muhammad son of Tughluq Shah". No efforts seems to have been made since then to have the inscription copied and deciphered, nor does it seem to have been taken notice of by historians of the Tughluq dynasty.

The writing of this record is so much deteriorated that its full purport can not be determined. But what sustained efforts have yielded by way of decipherment from the rubbing amounts to this (which is quite interesting). The record seems to comprises a notice of some sort of memorial set up by Firuz Tughluq. The notice is prefaced by a brief account of the Tughluq dynasty . . . . circumstances under which the dynasty was founded by Ghiyathu'd-Din Tughluq Shah, his being succeeded by Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah and the latter's nomination of Firuz Shah as his successor. The record also contains reference to the Mongol menace and names Mongol Chief Tarmash'rīn and Iqbāl and mentions one place Ahmadabad (evidently other than the capital of Gujarat) in connection with its visit by Muhammad Shah's Prime Minister Khwaja-i-Jahan. It has also furnished exact date of the death of Tughluq Shah, i.e. last day of Rajab A.H. 725, specifying the period of his rule as 4 years and 2 months and the accession of Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

as 1st Shaban A.H. 725 about which there is difference of opinion among the historians and it also specifies the period of his rule as 26 years, 5 months, and twenty one days.

Inscriptions of Sikandar Shah Lodi (1488-1517 CE.) dated A.H. 896 (1491 CE.), A.H. 897 (1491-92 CE.), A.H. 901-902 (1496-97 CE.) and A.H. 904 (1499 CE.) provide the names of high nobles like Aba-Bakr Bam Jilwani who was the deciple of Shaikh Abu'l-Fath, and Firuz Muhammad Lutfu'llah Afghan, the builders of mosque and tomb at Hansi and Panipat respectively. One of the records provides the name of Bibi Jan daughter of Sultān Buhlul Shah and her date of death. The record dated A.H. 896, further provides the name of deputy Qādi of Hansi, Radi Qutb by name who was also the scribe of one record. Dharman, a servant of Malik Aba-Bakr was the Shahna (*i.e.* prefect) and *Karfarma* (*i.e.* Superintendent of the work) when Ladhan, son of Jalal Nagauri was the mason (lit. stone carver). Another three inscriptions of Lodi dynasty listed in the Annual Reports, belong to Ibrahim Shah Lodi (1517-26 CE.). Two are dated A.H. 928 (1522 CE.) and A.H. 930 (1524 CE.). Though all the three have already been published but on re-examination, the one from Hansi, dated A.H. 928, it is found that the person responsible for the repairs to and construction of the gate of the 'Alai-fort was Malik (?) Kamal, son of Bakhtyar andnot Asaf, son of Kamal Bakhtyar as deciphered earlier. Also, the name of the writer of the record reads like Chainladh, son of Nasir Mufti Hanswi.The other recrod of A.H. 930 from Sonepat provides the genealogy of Miyan Khwaja Khidr who was the most respected saint of his age.

On re-examination of the published records and listed in the Annual reports, one of the two records of Sur dynasty, set up on the Tomb of Sher Shah's grand father at Narnaul was found to contain the names of the composer Muhammad Narnauli and writer Yusuf, son of Maulana Rukn Narnauli which were overlooked in their published readings (*Jour.* Asiatic Society fo Bengal N.S. Vol. III, 1907, p. 641).

Maximum number of inscriptions of Bābur (1526-30), the founder of the Mughal dynasty were copied from Haryana. Two are from Rohtak, dated A.H. 930 (1523-24 CE.) and A.H. 934 (1528 CE.), two from Panipat, one dated A.H. 935 (1528-29 A.D.) and the other is undated and one each from Maham and Sonepat dated A.H. 936 (1529 CE.) and A.H. 937 (1530 CE.) respectively. These records along with the name of high officials and composers provide the information regarding the building activity of Bābur's four years short reign. These records also show his keen interest in laying out gardens, digging of wells for public use and construction of mosques at various places.

Two new records of Humāyun, both unfortunately fragmentary, have been found in Haryana. One of them, from Panipat, records the name of an official diyāu'd-Din Amir Nur. Its date and other details are unfortunately lost. The other from Sonepat is much damaged; all its details except the date A.H. 945, Safar and the name of the emperor, are lost.

About fifteen inscriptions of Akbar have been listed in the Annual Reports so far. Of theese five have already been published and the rest are new ones. The dates of these 15 records range between A.H. 964 (1556-57 CE.) and A.H. 1008 (1600 CE.). A published epigraph from Rohtak in Haryana, records the construction fo a mosque in A.H. 966 (1558-59 CE.) and not the tomb of Mast Jānas stated in the published version. It also contains the name of the scribe Sultan Muhammad Samarqandi who was also the composer of the record. another published record of Akbar from Batala, Gurdaspur District in Punjab, dated A.H. 997-998 (1589-90 CE.), was found on re-examination that the published version did not give at all the name of the builder's father, earlier read as Dastagir Khan. While the name of the pargana to which the builder belonged, namely Nasrabad, was left unread, the name of the writer of the record which is remarkable for its fine Naskh style of calligraphy and which was left out in the published illustration is now read as Ustad Ahmad, son of Zakariyya.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Among the unpublished records of Akbar, the one from Chintanwala, Patiala District, Punjab records the construction of a mosque and a well in A.H. 976 (1568 CE.). The builder Khwājam Qulī by name is mentioned in the text as a servant of both Abu'l-Mafakhir (lit. father of glories) Mirza Sharafu'd-Din Muhammad Hussain and Nawwab Mahd'ulya (lit. of lofty couch, *i.e.* Her excellency) Begam Sultan. We know that Mirza, a man of noble descent had come from Kashghar and entered the service of Akbar, who gave him his sister Bakhshi Banu Begam in marriage. The latter is most probably nawwab Begam of the record. The inscription tends to show that the princess and her consort held their fief in this part of the country.

Next record is from Barechan, a locality of Samana in the Patiala District, Punjab, where it is fixed on the facade of a mosque. The inscription is in a badly damaged condition with heavy lime coatings. The historical text comprising four persian couplets is almost obliterated, with the result that only a small portion of the text could be deciphered. Fortunately, the name of the king, *i.e.* Jalālu'd-Din Muhammad Akbar and the date is quite clear. On the other hand the portion containing the name of the builder whose name starts with the word Khwaja is lost. It records the construction of a mosque in A.H. 983 (1575-76 CE.).

The next four inscriptions of the reign of Akbar are dated A.H. 989, 990, 993 and 997. These are new records discovered by me from Narnaul, District Mahendragarh, Haryana. The first three inscriptions are the most important discovery which enable us to add in the list one more anme *viz.* Islam Qulī Khān of lofty lineage, and a person of great authority who was connected with Narnaul in some capacity or the other. He had erected mosque and *Madrasa* in the present locality of Islāmpura which obviously owes its name to the nobleman of our record. It is surprising to note that most of the historical works are silent about him except one travelogue known as *Safarnāma-i-Latīf* written in the early 17th century. In this travelogue he is mentioned as the borther of Shāh Qūlī Khān, the famous general and governor of Narnaul during Akbar's time. It is clear from the three records that Islām Qulī Khān, had taken part above with his brother in beautifying and extending the limits of the two of narnaul. His rank and position in the government is difficult to say. One of the above records also provides the names of Yār Muhammad Aghā, the supervisor and Muhammad Qasim son of Muhammad Baqir al-Hussaini, the scribe, who are not known from the historical works. All the three records are in Persian verse written in beautiful Nasta'līq characters.

An inscription dated A.H. 997 (1589 CE.) engraved on a marble slab is fixed on the western gate of a huge complex locally called Hawa-Mahal. It is also in Persian verse and records the construction of a palace by Shah Quli Khan during the reign of Muhammad Jalalu'd-Din Akbar. This noble was a famous high ranking official of Akbar who was chiefly responsible for erecting splendid buildings, lying out beautiful gardens and dugging large tanks at Narnaul where he specially lived during his governorship and even after his retirment. An inscription from Samana, Punjab dated A.H. 1008 (1600 CE.) provides the name of Shafiq Khan at shose orders an old mosque was reconstructed under the supervision of Mansur during the reign of Akbar. Both the officials are not known in the contemporary chronicles. One badly damaged inscription of the reign of Akbar from Barwala. Hissar District Haryana, throws light on the cost of constructing a well in those days. It quotes 31000 tankas, the cost of a well built by one Malan son of Kakan.

Only six inscriptions of Jahāngir, three each from Haryana and Punjab have been copied so far. The earliest is dated A.H. 1014/1605-06 CE, and the latest one, is of A.H. 1035 (1625-26 CE.). These provide the names of Farīd (entitled Murtada Khan, Ismail son of Ra'ib, 'Abdu's-Samad son of Makan 'Abbasi, Mirza Mumin, Siddiq son of 'Abdu'llah as builders, Hasan, the martyr and Badru'd-Din the scribe. These records refer to the construction of Mosques, tombs and a Sarai at Nur Mahal, Punjab which is called Nur-Sara named after Nur Jahan Begam, wife of Jahangir.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Eleven inscriptions of Shahjahan and five of Aurangzeb copied from different places have also been published which provide information about officials both Muslims and Hindus.

Among the later Mughals, a solitary record of Shah-'Alam II (1759-1788 CE.) was copied from Sohna in Haryana, which mentions Mir Masum Khan of Khusht (in Afghanistan) as having reconstructed the Jami' Mosque at the Kund (*i.e.* famous Hot-water spring of Sohna) in A.H. 1188 (1774 CE.).

Another solitary urdu record dated 1878 CE. set up in the reign of Queen victoria at Bauawalla Tank at Jhajjhar in Haryana is interesting as it mentions the names of G. Nok, E.F. Moore and David, Deputy Commissioners, on whose orders and advice, the old tank which was first built in the reign of Shahjahan by a woman of Kalal tribe (wine seller) was cleaned and repaired. It also provides the names of donors and contributors and the amount of donation.

Of the records which do not mention the name of the reigning monarch, they are from Sonepat, Rohtak District, Haryana and one of them the most remarkable on accounts of its early date. It assigns the construction of a mosque in A.H. 461 (1088 CE.) to Sayyid Abi-Bakr Muhammad al-Hussini al-Fudaili. It is written in Naskh characters with strong *Kufi* flourishes; the reading of the word in date denoting the hundred figure seems to be four and not 7, 9 or 11 as deciphered previously. Four extremely interesting epigraphs, also previously noticed but whose importance was overlooked, are again from sonepat. Originally constituting one inscription, as is clear from the plate facing page 138 of *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, they contain the date of the demise of certain person in A.H. 889 (1484-85 CE.), and a few Persian poems composed by Yūsufi who was probably the deseased himself and whose identity remains still unknown. The date is not that of the erection of the tomb as stated in the published version. But what is more important to us is that if this record, which is almost completely inscribed in *Nasta'liq*, was carved immediately after the above date and there is no room for doubt. It would mean that the *Nasta'līq* script appeared in Indian inscriptions earlier than is generally believed.

An inscription from Narnaul, furnishes the name of a high official (of the time of Akbar) not known from other source, namely Khwaja Dust who is spoken of as a second Asaf, *i.e.* a great minister. The epigraph also clearly states that the mosque constructed by him in A.H. 990 (1582-83 CE.) was intended to be a mosque-cum-madrasa (school or college).

An epigraph from Firozpur Jhirka in Haryana records the death of a saintly person namely Shaikh Hafiz in A.H. 1007 (1598-99 CE.) and the name of the composer Hussain who was also the disciple of the saint. An epigraph from Chhat in Patiala district, Punjab, is an epitaph of Khwaja Mirza Muhammad son of Khwaja Tahir Muhammad al-Hirawi who died in A.H. 1008 (1600 CE.). In a brief reference to this epitaph, the Khwaja was wrongly stated to have died in A.H. 1000 (*Punj. Dist. Gazis.* Vol. XVII A, Lahore, 1909, p. 193 f.n. 2, No. 1). Nothing could be traced from available records about the deceased; his father is probably the same Khwaja Tahir Muhammad al-Hirawi who is reported to have been retainer of Nawwab Bairam Khan (*Tedhkira-i-Humayarn wa Akbar,* p. 86).

An epigraph from Samana in Punjab Helps in determining the age of the tomb on which it appears. It was built by Mir 'Abdu'llah al-Husaini in A.H. 1020 (1611-12 CE.).

In a record from Narnaul, one Lutfu'llah is mentioned as having built a mosque in A.H. 1044 (1634-35 CE.) which falls in the reign of Shah Jahan. It is difficult to say if the builder is identical with either Lutfu'llah son of Sai'd Khan entitled Zafar Jang (who was governor of Punjab in the reign of Shah-Jahan) or with Lutfu'llah son of Lashkar Khan or is entirely a different person. However, the name of the ruined mosque situated in a old grave-yard is localloy called Sheikh sa'di-ka-Maqbra which is quite interesting.

According to one inscription from Kaithal, Karnal District, the Shiqdar Mir Wali Baig son of Mir Ku'inud-Din supervised the construction of a tomb in A.H. 1068 (1657-58 CE.) when Nawwab

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Qasim Khan held the jagir. Another record from Narnaul, recording the death of some one in A.H. 1082 (1672 CE.), provides the name of two masons Salar and Lala who were the inhabitants of the twon (Qasba) of Narnaul. Another record from Ferozepur Jhirka provides the name Wajhi who composed the death record of 'Abdu'l-Qawi in A.H. 1105 (1693 CE.). Two more epigraphs from the same place, refer to the death fo Kartalab Khan Bahadur son of Shaikh Muhammad Asaf in A.H. 1123 (1711 CE.) and Bibi Buzurg daughter of 'Abdu'l Khaliq in A.H. 1129 (1717 CE.). Kartalab Khan Mewati as he is called appears to have been an official of high position, for he is stated to have received favours from emperor Aurangzab as early as in A.H. 1080 (1669 CE.) alongwith other nobles of high rank. The epigraph providing information about his last resting place, the exact day of his death and the name of his father is an important information, as nothing was known about him so far.

Lastly, an inscription found at Nur Mahal in Jullundhar District is an interesting record, published earlier (Arch. Sur. Ind. Rep., Vol. XIV, p. 63) and purports to be an order issued by the governor of the province, Nawwab Dhakariyya Khan Bahadur ramitting road tax and other imposts. The record is undated but according to General A. Cunnimgham who published it, the Nawwab governed the province of Jullundhar under emperor Jahangir. He does not give any authority for this, but he was probably led to think so from the fact that the findspot of the epigraph, Nur-Mahal was founded after Jahangir's wife Nur-Jahan. This is not correct. The Nawwab is none other than Nawwab Dhakariyya Khan who was appointed governor of the province of Lahore (*i.e.* Punjab) in the 7th regnal year of Muhammad Shah (A.H. 1137-38 or 1725-26 CE.) on transfer to Multan, of his father Nawwab 'Abdu's-Samad Khan Saifu'd-Daula Dilari-Jang. He died in A.H. 1158 (1745-46 CE.). This Dhakariyya Khan who has gone down in history as just and very able administrator, is evidently the same person who is responsible for the remission of imposts as stated above. This would mean that the order was issued during the time of Muhammad Shah, but the omission of the emperor's name in the text is rather striking. It may perhaps be explained by the fact that the Nawwab finding it difficult to face Nadir Shah had submittede to him and had also, at least once, gone to sind in response to the latter's call.

The inscriptions from Haryana and Punjab throw much light on social, economic and political condition of this part of the country. A detailed village to village survey if done will bring more inscriptions into light which shall be helpful to the curious scholars and writer's who have special interest in the history of Haryana and Punjab.

References

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II.
2. *Epigraphia Indo Moslamica*, 1911-12, 1913-14, 1917-18
3. *Epigraphia Indica*, Hrabic and Pession. Supplement, 1953-54, 1953-54, 1965, 1971, 1972, 1976, 1977.
4. A. Cunningham; *Archaeological Survey of India, Report* Vols. XIV, XX, XXIII.
5. C.J. Rodgers, *Revised List of objects of Archaeological Interest in Punjab*, (Lahore, 1891).
6. *Report of Punjab Circle Archaeological Survey*, 1888.
7. *Procedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1873, 1877.
8. *Ibid.*, New Series, Vol. III (1907).
9. *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, Vol. III (1907).
10. *Catalogue of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions in Indian Museum* Calcutta, Part. I.
11. *Puranatna, (J.P. Joshi Felicitation Volume)*, Vol. 3, p. 473, Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi.
12. Nijjar, b.S. *Punjab under the Gr. Mughal.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

36

Jagaddēva Paramāra-Folk-Lore and Epigraphs

Brahmanand Deshpande

1. The Hero

The folk-lore of Madhya-pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarath, Utter-pradesh, Haryana, Punjab, Bihar, Bengal and Garhwal is replete with stories, anecdotes, songs, ballads *(paṅwārās)* and poems narrating the deeds of a great hero called Jagaddeva Paramāra. He was a popular hero *par excellence*.

Jagaddeva belonged to the illustrious Paramāra dynasty of Dhārā and flourished in the 12th c. CE.[1] A fearless free lancer he faught with his foes single-handed and earned the title *ekāṅga-vīra*.[2] Such heroes were popularly known in the Maratha history as *ekāṇḍe śiledāra*.[3] Three such adventurers became famous in the Peshwa period. *One* of them was Captain Stewert. The Marathas called him as Ishṭur Phākḍā.[4]

2. The Folk-lore

The folk-lore is analogous to a river, acquiring new material and changing course during its flow. The Jagaddeva-kathā is also not an exception to this rule. But the actaelogical form of the story can be narrated as follows:

(a) Udayāditya Paramāra of Dhārā had two sons, the elder, Ranadhavala and the younger, Jagaddeva.

(b) But Jagaddeva was more valiant and hence was chosen by the king as the heir-apparent. But Jagaddeva rejected the crown in favour of his elder brother, left Malwa and embarked on the career of a free-lancer.

(c) He went to the Chālukya king of Gujarath *viz.* Jayasiṁha Siddhāraja and accepted services under him. The city-guard of the Chālukya capital tried to molest the wife of Jagaddeva but the brave lady killed the lustful fellow.

(d) Jagaddeva sacrificed all the members of his family and was even ready to cut off his own head to avoid the untimely death of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja but when the latter planned an

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

invasion on Malwa, Jagaddeva left the Chālukya services and repaired to the court of Kantalendra (the king of Kuntala country).

(e) He was a great philanthropist, always helping the needy and rewarded the *bhatas* and *char an* as lavishly.

3. The unparalleled deed of Jagaddeva

The unparalleled deed of Jagaddeva, which made him a legend and the hero of many a folk-lores, is cutting of his own head and offering it to the goddess Kaṅkālī. Jayasiṁha Siddharāja always envied the greater generosity of our hero and vowed to donate four times more than his donations. Jagaddeva severed his own head and offerred it to the goddess Kaṅkālī. This feat, of course, could not be surpassed.

This *fait accompli* of Jagaddeva acquired wild publicity. The story is available in many folk-forms. The name of the goddess is also given differently as Kaṅkālī, Chāraṇī, Kandall, Chamunda and Durgā. This event has been immortalised in the following two *dohas* extremely popular in the Malwa region.[5]

(a) *Saṁvat gyārāso chahotarā Chaitra tīja ravivāra |*
sīsa Kaṅkālī bhāṭane diyo Jagaddeva paramāra ||

(b) *Yaśakāraṇa Harischandra nīcha ghaṛa nārī samarpyo |*
yaśakaraṇa Jagaddeva sīsa Kaṅkālīnī arpyo ||

The date (Saṁvat 1174, Chaitra 3, ravivāra) need not to be taken seriously as the *dohas* are composed by bards but the comparison between Jagaddeva and the mythical hero, Harischandra, speaks volumes of the popularity and qreatness of Jagaddeva.

4. The Prabandhachintāmaṇi of Merūttuṅga

Prabandhachintāmaṇi, a collection of *prabandhas* (stories, anecdotes) compiled by Meruttuṅga, is the earliest work to narrate the heroic deeds of Jagaddeva under the title *ekāṅga-vīra-prabandha.*[6] It contains all the features of *Jagaddeva-kathā* listed above and gives the additional information that Jagaddeva, while serving under Kuntalendra, developed brotherly relations with Mālhaṇadevī, the spouse of Kuntalendra and faught many a heroic battles to protect and expand the Kuntala kingdom.

Meruttuṅga has quoted 15 *ślokas,* composed by anonymous poets, eulogising the generosity of Jagaddeva. One of the *slokas* places Jagaddeva in the court of a Mughal emperor too. *(Mugadala-pādasāhī-ṣamipāt=samāgata. . .)* Yet another *śloka* praises Jagaddeva as a great patron of the literati.

5. The Rasikasañjivanī of Arjunavarmadeva

Arjunavarmadeva, the Paramāra king of Dhārā, who had assumed the biruda *trividha-vīra-chūḍāmaṇi,* was a great literator also. He wrote a scholarly commentary on the famous work *Amaruśataka* of Amaruka,wherein he has quoted the following *śloka* of a poet called Nāchirāja, praising the handsomeness of Jagaddeva.[7]

Yath=āsmat=pūrvaja-varṇane Nāchirājasya ||
Satrāsa iva sālasā iva lasad=dagvī
iv=ārdrā iva
vyājiṁha iva lajjitā iva paribhrāntā
iva=ārthā iva |

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tvad=rūpe nipatanti kutra na *Jagaddevo*
prabho subhruvā
vāt=āvartina-nartit=otpala-dala
droṇi-druho dushṭayāḥ ||

Similarly, *Subhāshitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra and śāraṅgadharapaddhati* contain several *ślokas* in praise of Jagaddeva.

6. The Spread of Jagaddeva-kathā

Jagaddevā-katha is full of dramatic elements which attracted the fancy of the poets and folk-singers. Its spread can be compared to the wild fire. The extant forms are listed below.[8]

1. The *ekānga-vīra-prabandha* of Merutuṅga
2. The Gujarathi form as given in *Rāsamālā*
3. The Rajasthani fom collected by Agarchand Nahata
   (a) *Khyāl* type composed by Nanulal of Chidawa
   (b) *bāt* type composed by Suryakaran Parik
4. The Vraja form of *paṅwāra* type
5. The Awadhi form collected by Gangasharanji Tripathi ‘
6. The Gadhwali form collected by Govindaji Chatak
7. The Hindi form of *Bhaktamāla*
8. The Bengali form of *Bhaktamāla*
9. The Bundeli form collected by Maithisharanji Gupta
10. The *paṅwarās* of Himachal Pradesh
11. The Gujarati form in *Jaina Gurjara kaviyaon*
12. The punjabi form collected by Sir Temple (erstwhile) Montgomery District.
13. The folk-lore of Maharashtra and Goa
14. Let us now peruse the historical aspects of the heroic deeds of Jagaddeva.

7. Udayāditya Paramāra of Dhārā

Bhoja Paramāra, who weilded the pen and sword with equal proficiency, was defeated by a coalition of the Gurjjara king Bhīma I and Karṇa, the son of Gāṅgeyadeva of Tripurī around 1055 CE.[9] The Mandhata copper-plates, the earliest record of his successor, Jayasimha, is dated in vikrama Saṁvat 1112 (1055 CE).[10] The very existence of the Paramāra house was thus in jeopardy. Jayasimha wasthe compelled to seek help from the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī, the erstwhile arch-enemies of the paramāras.[11] Someśvara I, the Chālukya ruler of Kalyāṇī responded magnanimously and sent his son, Vikramāditya VI, at the head of a large army to assist Jayasiṁha. The Chālukya prince installed Jayasiṁha on the Paramāra throne Jayasiṁha, as a token of gratitude, married his daughter to Vikramāditya VI.[12]

After the death of Someśvara I, a war of succession broke out between his sons, the elder, Someśvara II and the younger, Vikramāditya VI. Jayasiṁha sided with the latter, his close relative. An irrited Someśvara II, invaded the Malava region with a formidable army. He was accompanied by his feudatories, Udayāditya Gaṅga and Eḍeyaṅga Hoyasaḷa. The sudi inscription[13] of Udayaditya Ganga and the Balgamve inscription[14] of Edeyaṅga Hoyasaḷa stand testimony to fierce invasion. Jayasiṁha Paramāra could not bear the brunt of this invasion and was probably killed.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Udayāditya, a cousin brother of Bhoja, came forward to save the situation. The Nagpur Central Museum inscription of the Paramāra rulers (Nagpur *praśasti,* Vikrama Samvat 1161, 1104 AD.)[15] clearly extols this in the following *sloka.*

Yen=odhṛitya mahārṇav=opama-milat-
Karṇāṭa-Karṇa-prabhṛi- |
t=yūrvipāla kadarthitām bhavam=imāṁ
śrīmad=varāhāyitaṁ || śloka 32.

Udayāditya thus retrieved the last Paramāra glory and ruled from 1070-1086 AD. The Kollanupak inscription[16] gives his genealogy as Gondala-Udayāditya. Gondala was a brother of Sindhula, the father of Bhoja. Hence Udayāditya becomes a cousin brother of Bhoja. The Dongargaon inscription[17] calls him as the *bhrātā* of Bhoja.

The folk-lore speaks of two sons of Udayāditya, Raṇadhavala, the elder and Jagaddeva, the younger. Jagaddeva rejected the crown in favour of his elder brothers. This fact stands corroborated by the epigraphic evidence also.

8. The Dongargaon Inscription of Jagaddeva

Inscribed on the lintel of a much ruined Śiva temple at Dongargaon (Tq. Pusad, Dist. Yawatmal, Maharashtra). This record clearly extols the renouncement of throne by Jagaddeva. The relevant *śloka* runs as follows.[18]

Diwaṁ prayāte pitari svayaṁ prāptām=api śriyaṁ |
parivitti-bhayāt=tyaktvā y=ograjāya nyavedayat ||

Parivitti is a sin that one incurrs by marrying or ascending throne before the elder brother.[19]

The record further states that Kuntalendra accepted Jagaddeva as his first son and the right hand. This Kuntalendra is, obviously, the Chālukya emperor, Vikramāditya VI. The date of the Dongargaon inscription is Chaitrī (paurṇimā) Śaka 1034, Nandana Saṁvatsara (15th March 1112 CE, Friday.).

The Huṇasi-Hāḍagali inscription[20] of Vikramāditya VI clearly records that the emperor, while camping at Koṭitīrtha on the banks of Narmadā (wrongly given as Godavari) met Jajjugi Jagadeva, the son of Udāyī. (*Udāyīya makaḷa Jajjugi Jagadevanaṁ kāṇasikoṇḍu baruttaṁ)*

9. The Jainad Inscription of Jagaddeva

Jainad (Dist. Adilabad, Andhra-pradesh) has yielded a long inscription of Jagaddeva.[21] The beautiful *slokas* are composed by a poet called Aśvatthāmā who proudly declares.

Labhatāṁ jagatāṁ śrotraiḥ saṅgamaṁ hṛidayaṅgamā-
Sajjana-nyasta-bhārey=am=Aśvatthāma-kaveḥ kṛitiḥ ||

ornaments[24] while Vishṇuvardhana, powerful as Yama, str iking with his arm, drank up the rolling ocean which was the army of the Malava king, Jagaddeva, sent by Chakrī (Vikramāditya VI).[25]

Yet another inscription[26] depicts a spirited engagement between Jagaddeva, riding an elephant and Ballala on his steed during which Jagaddeva hailed the Hoyasa!a prince as a brave warrior to which Ballāḷa replied that he was not an ordinary knight but vira Ballāḷa himself.

10. The Kollanupak Inscriptions of Jagaddeva

Kollanupak (Tq. Bhuvangiri, Dist. Nalgonda, Andhra pradesh) has yielded three inscriptions[27] of Jagaddeva, described below.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Inscription A

Inscribed on the wall of the Vīranārāyaṇa temple the record is dated in Chalukya-Vikrama varsha[29], Tāraṇa Saṁvatsara, Chaitra paurṇimā, Lunar eclipse, Ravivāra (Sunday, March 13, 1104 CE). The script is Kannaḍa and language Sanskrit. It purports to register the temple of Jagaddeva-Nārāyaṇa by Somala, the *mahāsāndhivigrahika* of Jagaddeva.

Jainad lies 65 miles to the east of Dongargaon and is .situated on the banks of Godavari. The record purports to register the construction of a temple of the Sun-god (Nimbāditya) by Padma, the spouse of Lolārka, an officer under Jagaddeva.

The record claims for Jagaddeva, victories over the rulers of Āndhra, Chakradurga, Malahara and others. The Kuruspal inscription of the Nāgavaṁsī ruler Someśvaradeva I[22] notes Chakrakoṭa as the other name of Bastar.

The ruler of Malahara was probably the Hoyasaḷa king Eḍeyaṅga. He had three sons, *viz.* Ballāḷadeva I, Vishṇuvardhana and Udayāditya. The Hoyasaḷas were the loyal feudatories of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. Around 1104-05 AD. they tried to shake off the Chālukya yoke and rose in rebellion. Jagaddeva was deputed to chastise them Waxing eloquent about the heroism of these princes, the Hoyasala records proudly declare.

After depriving Jagaddeva of his kingdom, Vira Ballala succeeded his elder brother as ruler. (The Gadog inscription of Vīra Ballāḷava).[23] Accompanied by his brother Ballāḷa, Vishnuvardhana annointed the goddess of victory with the safforn of the blood from the faces of his (Jagaddeva's) elephants and captured his treasury.

These records register the following facts about Jagaddeva.

(a) Jagaddeva belonged to the *Hutavaha-vaṁśa (Agni-kula).* His genealogy is given as Gondala-Udayāditya-Jagaddeva. Gondala was a brother of Sindhula (Sindhurāja). Udayāditya had, not two, but many sons.

(b) Jagaddeva was lovingly invited by Vikramāditya VI, who always treated him as his first son. Jagaddeva faught with the rulers of Veṅgī, Dramiḷa, Chakrakūṭa and Ahira to protect the Chālukya glory.

(c) A vast region upto the mounṭ Lokāloka (not identified) was given to Jagaddeva as a fief by the Chālukya emperor.

(d) Ll. 35-36 of inscription B give a graphic account of the fierce fight between Jagaddeva (on his elephant) and the Hoyasaḷa prince, Ballāḷa (on his steed).

11. The Rani-Savargaon Inscription of Jagaddeva

Rani-Savargaon (Tq. Gangakhed, Dist. Parbhani, Maharashtra) has yielded a short but very important inscription of Jagaddeva.[28] The village is situated on the banks of the river Godavari (locally known as Gaṅgā). A Devī temple, on a small hillock near the village, attracts , the crowds of devotees fom far and wide. The record is inscribed on a pillar of one the cells built for the pilgrims. The inscr iption runs into eight lines and contains only one *śloka,* in the *sragdharā* metre, which reads as follows:

1. *Svasti || Satrāse Kālidāse drava -*
2. *ti vigalati kv=āpi Karṇṇāṭa-daṇḍe*
3. *Pāṇḍye kṛidhrasya randhraṁ paṭati jhaṭi-*
4. *ti cha bhraśyati sv=epi sainye Bhānau*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

5. *purvv=ādri-sanau bhramati bhujabala śrī-*
6. *Jagaddeva-devo lakshaṁ dhīraḥ pravī [raḥ]*
7. *[a]jayad=iha dṛiḍhaḥ Kālamegh=ādhi-*
8. *rūḍhaḥ || Aśvatthāma-kaveḥ ślokah |*

The poet Asvatthama is obviously identical with his namesake and the composer of the Jainad *praśasti*. Kālamegha was the name of Jagaddeva's war-elephant accoding to the Kollanupak inscription C. The terse *śloka* means as follows. The invincible and brave Jagaddeva, mounted on (his war-elephant) Kalamegha, looks on his foes with courage. He melts with pity for the troubled *(saritrasta,* defeated?) patches instantaneously the hole created by an irritated Pāṇḍya (king), baffles the tender Sun just risen on the eastern mountain *(pūrv=ādri)*, rains favours on his own army and liquidates the Karṇṇāta-army.

Inscription B

Inscribed in Devanāgarī script and Sanskrit language, this record purports to register the donations of Jagaddeva himself, and the construction of a tank called Jagaddeva- mahodadhi. The date is same as record A.

Inscription C

Inscribed on a pillar in front of the Vīranārāyaṇa temple, in Kannaḍa script and Sanskrit language, the record is dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama Samvat 31, Vyaya samvatsara, Vaiśākha, Akshayya Tṛitīya, Ravivāra (April 3, 1106 CE) and purports to register chariteis of Brahmadeva Nāyaka, the son of Dhakkuṇe Nāyaka, administering the town of Kollanupak.

Inscription C, in the *śloka* cited below, gives us the name of Jagaddeva's war-elephant *(vijaya-gaja)* as Kālamegha.

sainye Kārṇṇāṭakānāṁ diśi diśi nikhile
kāndidśike svakīye=
py=eke bāhubalena prabalam=aribalaṁ
shaṭ-sahasraṁ nihatya |
Ballālasy=ājirange jayam=apahṛitavān
lilay=ābhīlam=uchchai=
=r=ārūdhaḥ Kālameghaṁ nija-vijaya-gajaṁ
śrī-Jagaddeva-bhūpaḥ ||12||

Obviously, the war with the Hoyasaḷa army (*Karṇṇaṭa-daṇḍa)* is hinted at. The Hoyasaḷa legions were completely shattered by Jagaddeva. He completely baffled the young and rebellious Hoyasaḷa pince, Udayāditya *(bhānau pūrvv=ādri-sānau)* and quickly won back the Chālukya regions won by the Paṇḍyas. Kālidāsa was a general under Vikramāditya VI.[29] He was defeated and compelled to beat a hasty retreat by the Hoyasaḷas. He belonged to the Vanāsa dynasty.[30]

Rani Savargaon is famous for the Devī temple. Jagaddeva was a staunch devotee of the goddess Durgā. He severed his head as an offerring to the goddess and Savargaon *pujārī* family of the *Devī* temple at Rani Savargaon is Gaḷākaṭu. The word *Rānī (rāṇe)* suggests the Rajput population of the town.[31]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

930.1
RED-R

12. War with Chālukya Someśvara III

Vikramāditya VI was succeeded by Someśvara III Bhūlokamalla, also known as rāya-śarvajña-bhūpa, and the composer of the encyclopaedic. work *Abhilashitārthachintamaṇi* or *(Rāja) Mānasollāsa.* His Dharmapuri (Tq. Ambajogai, Dist. Beed, Maharashtra) inscription, edited by the present author, is dated in Śaka 1056, Ānanda Saṁvatsara, Āshāḍha vadi 5, Somavāra (July 23, 1134 CE)[32] This record speaks of some kings, who under the leadership Jagaddeva, faught with Someśvara III. Jagaddeva, the record claims, was defeated and chased beyond the ranges of Sahyādri *(Sahya-girim ninãya)* what was the cause of this conflict?

Vikramāditya VI had four sons, *viz.* Someśvara III, Jayakaraṇa, Tailapa III and Mallikārjuna. The last was appointed as the heir apparent by the ageing emperor. After his death a war of succession broke out in which, Jagaddeva, a faithful friend of Vikramaditya VI, sided with Mallikārjuna and thus invited the wrath of Someśvara III. The Dharmapuri inscription, probably, hints at this conflict. Jagaddeva, who was on the wrong side of life, had to eat an humble pie and seems to have retired to the Koṅkaṇa region.

13. Udayāditya II of Ambajogai

Two inscriptions from the Beed District, listed below, speak of a king called Udayāditya.

(a) The Ambajogai inscription of Udayaditya.[33] Saṁvat 1066, Raktākshī saṁvatsara, Āśvina Śu.1 Guruvāra (August 31, 1144 AD.)

(b) The Garsoli inscription of Udayāditya[34] saṁvat 1071, Pramoda saṁvaṭsara, Jyeshtha paurṇimā, Ravivāra (May 13, 1150 CE)

Garsoli is 7 kms to the south of Ambajogai. The script of these two records is exactly identical with that of Ujjain inscription of Paramāra Udayāditya. This enables us to reconstruct the Paramāra genealogy as follows:

Udayāditya I of Dhārā

(1076-1086 CE)

|

Jagaddeva

(known dates 1104, 1106, 1112 and 1134 CE)

|

Udayāditya II of Ambajogai
(known dates 1144-1150 CE)

Traditionally also the son is always named after the grandfather.

14. Coins of Jagaddeva

Two coins of Jagaddeva, one from Madhya Pradesh and the other from Assam, are published.[35] They are exactly similar to each other. The obverse bears the figure of a square surmounted by a triangle (temple?) and a legend *Śrī Jagadeva.* Metal is base gold. The coin weighs 57 grains. The fabric of these coins closely resembles with that of the coins of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi and hence we can safely identify *Jagaddeva* of this legend with Jagaddeva Paramāra

15. The Tuljapur Silver plate Inscription

On a silver plate fixed on the southern door of the famous Bhawani temple at Tuljapur (Dist. Osmanabad, Maharashtra) are inscribed 15 *ślokas* in Marathi language eulogising the Paṅwar

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(Paramāra) dynasty.[36] The poet is Nārāyaṇa. The record is dated in Śaka 1803 (1881 CE). This record also alludes to the unparalleled deed of Jagaddeva as follows:

Tushṭy=artha bhūpati kari tava pūjanāte |
arpi padāvarī tujhyā nija mastakāte ||

16. The Gaon-Dongare Paḍa of Jagaddeva

Gaon-Dongre is a small hamlet in the Kāṅkoṇ a mahal of Goa. A *paḍa* (locally known as *ṭakā*), bearing the date Krodhana Saṁvatsara, Āshāḍha Śu 10, Bhomavāra (July 5, 1645 CE) is deposited in the treasury of the Mallikārjuna temple.[37] The scroll bears the figues of *Śiva-liṅga*, Śiva in the human form, a warrior, Tulsi *Vṛndāvana* etc. On the scroll are painted some lines in Marathi which speak of *pohārā Toraḍadallu*, Pohārā Jagaddeva *(Paramāra Jagaddeva)* and *Dharātinātha* (Dhārādhinātha?)

Is Gaon-Dongare named after Dongargaon? Is the Mallikārjuna temple connected with the Chālukya prince Mallikārjuna? The answers are difficult.

With this ends the brief account of the unique career of Jagaddeva. How true are words the Dongargaon epigraph which proclaim,

Na Sas deśo na sa grāmo
na sa lako na sā sabhā |
na naktaṁ-divaṁ yatra
Jagaddeva na gīyate ||

References

1. *EI.*, XII., pp. 54-63.
2. Meruttuṅga. *Prabandhachintāmaṇi.* (Ed.) Jinavijaya Muni. pp.114-120.
3. Vasudeva Krishna Bhave, *peshave-kālina Maharashtra*, p.418.
4. G.S. Sardesai. *The New History of the Marathas*, III, p.160.
5. Satyendra. *Loka-sāhitya-vijñāna.* p.348, Forbes. *Rāsamāla.* p.177.
6. Merutuṅga *op. cit.* pp. 114-120.
7. *EI.*, XII pp.54-63.
8. Satyendra, *op. cit.* pp. 323-354.
9. *EI.*, XII pp.54-63
10. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 46 ff.
11. *Ibid.*, XXII, pp.54-63.
12. Bilhaṇa. *Vikramāṅkadevacharita* (Ed.) G. Bühler, Sarga I, *śloka* 20.
13. *EI.*, XV., pp. 68 ff.
14. Rice. *Mysore Inscriptions*, p.164.
15. *EI.*, II, pp. 180 ff.
16. *Ibid.*, XXXIX. pp. 253 ff.
17. *Ibid.*, XXVI., pp.177-185.
18. *Ibid.*, *sloka* 8.
19. *Manusmṛiti*, III, 172.
20. P.B. Desai, *Jainism in South India and Some Epigraphs*, pp. 241-256.
21. *EI.*, XXII, pp. 60 ff.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

22. *Ibid.*, X., pp.23 ff.
23. *IA.*, II, pp. 300 ff.
24. *EC*, V., *Belur* Taluq. no. 58, Hasan Taluq .,no. 116.
25. *Ibid.*, II. *Śravan Beḷgoḷa no.* 349 (Ed. R.Naraslmhachar)
26. *Ibid*, VI., *Tarikere* Taluq., no.45.
27. *E.I.*, XXXIX., pp. 253 ff.
28. Brahmanand Deshpande. *Shodhamudrā.* Second (Marathi. edition), pp.115-125.
29. *Hyderabad Archaeological Series.* VIII., no.13.
30. Shrinivas of Nanded Dist. Ritti, *Inscriptions* p. xxii.
31. Y.K. Deshpande, *Vidarbha Varshik. Sanshodhan Mandal* 1969. pp.69 ff.
32. Brahmanand Deshpande *op. cit.* pp.36-51.
33. S.G. Tulpule, *Prachin Marathi Koriv Lekh*, pp. 38-42.
34. G.H. Khare, *Marathwada Mandal Varshik., Samshodhan* 1971, pp. 36-40.
35. *Proceeding and Transactions of All India oriental Conference,* 1946, pp. 57-58.
36. J.S. Deshpande. (Ed.) *Nave Navaneet.* p. 340.
37. V.B. Prabhudesai. *Vidarbha Samshodhan Mandal Varshik.,* 1971, pp.148-155.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

38

Branding on Human in Medieval Tamil Society

S. Chandni Bi

Cholas and Vijayanagar are the two major dynasties which ruled over the large regions of South India in the Medieval times. Much has been studied in the economic life of the Cholas, while comparatively very less has been done in the field of social life. In this paper an attempt has been made on a micro-problem of social history of the Cholas, that is the issue of 'branding'.

Branding was a universal custom that existed in the world of Serfdom. Slaves were branded on different parts of their body like a head after a clean shave, while some were put on forehead; others were branded on fore arms or shoulders. The purpose of branding was purely identification. this identification had two strong raits as its background. One is visibility viz., the location for placing of the mark is carefully chosen so that the seal was very conspicuous, the moment the person appeared. The second one was the longevity, that is the identity mark should be long living so that more or less a permanent feature, and not easily erasable. It is for these two factors the slaves were branded universally.

In the Chola society, which lasted for more than four hundred years (875-1279 CE), one could see this particular practice of branding. There were different strata of people who were branded during this time in the society. Slaves, *devaradiyars* and royal servants were the groups of people who were branded are known from the study of the epigraphs of this period. The present study deals with such communities one after the other.

Slavery existed in the society of the Cholas. There are many instances where people had been bought and sold. Slaves were gifted to the bride groom during the marriages by the father in law, while some have bought slaves for money. There appears to be some tax on this in Rajendra's time. There are instances to show where some personal slaves were donated to the temples.

Hence, the information derived from the epigraphy gives us a very clear picture of the existence of slavery in Chola society. Once when it is clear that the slavery was prevalent in the society, then the question of branding arises. The study of inscriptions has its own limitations. Since the epigraphs are related to temple affairs, they fail to give the picture of common people. Hence, we are left in dark as for as certain questions related to the present issue.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

As far as personal slaves were concerned, the lords would not have applied any branding on them for various practical reasons like gift, exchange, sale and resale of slaves is obvious. Every thing would have been easy for the masters as the place of work, nature of job might have been fixed and within the reach of the sight of the master. This may be another reason for the slaves not needing any specific mark on them.

It was all only big institutions like temples, palaces and slave trading organizations needed branding. The reasons for it are numerous like; in the first place theses houses might have owned a large number of slaves. The variety of jobs would be numerous and the ground area might have been too large for which it became necessary for an identification mark.

The medieval ages are known for the complicity of religion and religious institutions. The temples had developed complex structures, accumulated hoards of wealth in the form of land, gold etc. The temples required a large number of human powers to run the day to day affairs like cleaning, decorating the large temple complex, to cultivate the temple lands and gardens, to measure the paddy that reached the temple premises from many sources, and to husk the paddy was a very big task. These were the non-technical professions that engaged huge number of people in the temple affairs. Apart from this there were a number of technical persons like dancers, musicians, drummers, instrumentalists, craftsmen, tailors, barbers, potters, physicians, weavers etc.

The supply of such human service to temples was from many sources. First source was donation. Many had sold themselves to the temple services for a variety of reasons like poverty, and natural calamities like drought and famine.

It is learnt from the inscriptions that apart from the royal appointment the girls were donated to the service of the temple by their family elders. A bow man of some reputation named Achcha pidaran Ganapaty who had the title Alagiya-pandiya Pallavarayan, officially belonged to the regiment of Irumudi Sola Terinda bow-men of the army assigned some women of his family to the service of a temple of Tiruvallam, (Gudiyatam T.K, North Arcot Dt.) which also seem to be his home-town. Large number of inscriptions through out South India show women dedicating themselves singularly and in groups to the service of the temples in the medieval ages, especially in the latter Chola period. Along with the womenfolk of the family, male members too had sold themselves to the service of the temple. In certain cases the whole joint family of more than ten members comprising three generations had sold for some money to the temple.[3] Some times the donors had donated their own slaves; some times the slaves received as a part of the dowry were also donated to the temple retinue.[4] Thus, one could see a number of ways how men and women got in to the service of the temples.

The temple *devaradiyars* were another big group of people who had performed a variety of jobs in the temple complex. (Refer the author's article on 'Female functionaries of medieval south Indian Temples Journal of Indian History and Culture, 12th issue,') Females had a share in the temple functions. Their presence was looked for many of the jobs like cleaning, washing, assisting in cooking, garland making, flower collection, paddy husking and the technical professions like, singing, dancing and playing musical instruments etc. Such a variety of jobs were under taken by females functionaries of medieval South Indian temples.

The sources of supply of these women were also many. They were donations, self dedications, recruitment by the royal authority are some of the known modes of supply of female human powers to the temples. We find these people were branded at the time of initiation itself. The temple servants were stamped with *charkra* or trident respectively in Vaishnavite and Śaivite temples. Such stamps were pressed on their shoulders.[5]

Similarly, we see that the royal palace also engaged a large number of people for daily work. The cleaning and kitchen arrangements were taken over by the ladies. Every member of the royal house like King, queens, princes and princess had separate arrangements for bathing and kitchen establishments.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Anukki Sattan Ramadevi appears as a donor, belonged to the big *Velam* of the king, in 1023 CE during the reign of Rajendra-1.[6] A record of Kulottunga-I mentions that the maid servant of the royal kitchen, made a gift of gold.[7] A woman servant *(pendatti)* belonging to Uyyakkondan *terinda tiru majanattar velam* (bathing establishment) at Gangaikonda Solapuram had donated some money around 1019CE.[8] One more lady belonging to Udaiyar Anaimertunjinar Velam donated cattle in 1022CE.[9] One of the maid servant of the princess named Ariyyaran Deviyanar appears as a donor during the time of Raja Raja-I.[10] A woman servant attached to the royal kitchen at Tanjore figures as a donor.[11] These are only a few examples from many, that we find in the inscriptions.

Thus, we find women were engaged in bathing establishment of kings, queens, princes and princess, the kitchen of the above mentioned personalities and annukkiyar of the kings.

These women folk were also branded by the royal authorities. According to an inscription of Kulottunga's time, some ladies who were recruited for temples service were put in the service of palace by mistake or by force. These ladies through a supervisor reported the matter to the king and the king ordered that the females should be removed off their palace emblem and struck with temple emblems and it should be seen that they took up temple service (1088 CE).[12] So, this epigraph makes clear, that temple and palace service holders were branded with certain particular emblems. There is also much evidence in the inscriptions where the temple servants when observed or bought to temple service they were branded on the spot in the temples and then inducted into service.[13]

From the epigraphical sources it is clear that the temple slaves, devaradiyars and the maid servants of the royal palace were branded. Here the author wants to raise a different question. Is that all those who branded were slaves? How are we to asses this? If we apply the general universal rules for a serf then we could come for certain conclusion.

1. The slaves could change their profession.
2. They could not marry, without the permission of the master.
3. They had no economic freedom.

Interestingly Rajaraja-I's inscription[14] at Thanjavur temple says that in case a particular female servant wanted to leave the profession on various reasons or died, their profession should be taken up by her daughter, and in case of absence of daughter, the close relation could take up or nominate some one in that place to take up the duty and remuneration could be availed by the nominee which applied to other servants too. For this matter all arrangements of temple management like income from various expenses, supply of oil, ghee, were also kept on the same pattern rather like the recurring accounts of our modern banks. All servants of the temple were appointed on the same terms and conditions and referred in the same document. In case of the male servants their sons were given the opportunity to take up their father's profession.

The rule that mentions about the substitution of their children and other close relatives on their profession indicates that they were not bonded to their duties but had the liberty to change the job, provided they could substitute some one, so as to maintain the perpetuity of the profession.

Few examples from epigraphs mention that devaradiyars got married.[15] (Tiruvorriyur, Raja Raja 1016 CE). Ninety five sheep were donated by a devaradiyal named Chathuran Chathuri who has been referred as wife of some Nagan Perungadan, for a lamp to the same temple to which she also belonged. Another inscription from Achuda Mangalam village Tanjavur Dt mentions about the marriage of the devaradiyal of the Śiva temple of the village.[16] The earlier inscription also mentions about the donation the *devaradiyal* made to the temple.

The female servants who were appointed by the royal and temple authorities were paid for their job by them and a housing site also granted at par with other functionaries. They were able

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to live on their profession. When these females made donations to temple then they were remunerated by the temple.

A lady by name Korriyammai donated 25 kalams of paddy to feed female servants especially on Chittirai festival[17] celebrated in the month of Chittirai, the first month of Tamil year which falls on 13th or 14th of April. It was perhaps the first celebration of a New Year.

Many female servants were economically well off to make donations to temples especially the devaradiyars. They have donated lamps (Tiruvidavayal, Tanjavur Dt, 1004 CE),[18] sheep,[19] cow, and goat (Brahma Desam, Vilupuram Tk, S.A.Dt, 1075 CE),[20] to maintain lamps, paddy (Tiruvidavayal, Tanjavur Dt, 1021 CE)[21] land, gold (Virudachalam, S.A Dt, 1017 AD[22] and cash (Viravanallur Vill, Ambasamudram Tk, Tirunelveli CE)[23] on various occasions to temples. Certain *devaradiyars* have paid tax to the government in the 11-th century in the Karnataka State and also four temple girls were exempted from the payment of house tax and a mirror tax.[24]

Thus, the *devaradiyars* do not fit into the term so called 'serfdom' but they were branded. Then how are we to look this whole issue of branding. This appears to be a proud identification bore by them. This can be considered by us, as the dress code of military people or police personalities. Thus it could be concluded that not only the slaves were branded but there were also other strata of free and socially respected and economically well to do communities bore the emblems very proudly in the medieval Chola society.

References

1. *A.R.E.* 230 of 1921
2. K. A Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, p.556
3. *Ibid*
4. *Ibid*
5. *A.R.E.* 230 of 1921
6. *Ibid.*, 401 of 1921
7. *Ibid.*, 553 of 1920
8. *Ibid.*, 121 of 1914
9. *Ibid.*, 212 of 1911
10. *Ibid.*, 20 of 1919
11. *Ibid.*, II of 1914
12. *Ibid.*, 141 of 1922
13. *S.I.I.*, Vol-II, pt-I, No-230 of 1921
14. *Ibid.*, Vol-II pt-3, No-66
15. *A.R.E.* 147 of 1912, 411 of 1925
16. *Ibid.*, 411 of 1925
17. *Ibid.*, 29 of 1918
18. *Ibid.*,]6 of 1918
19. *Ibid.*, 631 of 1916
20. *Ibid.*, 173 of 1918
21. *Ibid.*, 29 of 1918
22. *Ibid.*, 39 of 1918
23. *Ibid.*, 16 of 1918, 720 of 1916
24. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Chalukyas of Kalyani in G.Yazdani* (Ed.) *'The Early History of the Deccan'*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

39

Pūjās and Festivals in Navatiruppatigaḷ

Lakshmi Narayanan

Nava Tiruppathigal are among 108 Vaishnava temples which are glorified by saint Namalvar. These temples are grouped as follows: The three temples located on the southern bank of the river Tambraparani are : 1. Ālvār Tirunagari, 2. Tirukkōlūr, 3. Tentiruppērai. The six temples located on the northern bank of the river are : 1. Srivaikṇtam, 2. Varagnamangai (Nattam), 3. Tiurpulingudi, 4. Perungulam and 5. & 6. Tulaivillimangalam (popularly known as Irattai Tiruppati).

The ordinary daily pūjās or worship in a Hindu temple to the various deities at different times in a day are important and the pūjās are almost common in all the temples and are generally based on an Āgama followed in the temple. The special worship like the festivals is also conducted according to the injunctions of the Āgamas.[1] The day to day ceremonies connected with the worship are called the Nityapūjā while the occasional ceremonies in connection with the worship are called Naimiṭṭika.

The daily offering in the temple are essential to preserve the sanctity of the shrine. The Vaishnava temples follow the injunctions prescribed in the two Āgamas, the Vaikānsa and the Pāncharātra. The Vaishnava holy temples (Tiruppati) are 108 in number and of. these temples 18 are located in Pandya country. Among these 18 temples the Vaikansāna Āgama is followed in 14 temples and Pāncharātra Āgama[2] in 4 temples of Pandya country.

The Vaikasāna Āgama describes the method of worshipping Vishnu and prescribes the way of life for those who adopt the Vaikasāna Sūtra.[3] This is based on the vedic sources and derives its support for the doctrines from vedic texts.[4] The worship of Vishnu in the *Archa* form is stressed.[5] Vaikasāna an ancient sage was a devout worshipper of Vishnu[6]. He was the author of Dharma, Gṛhya, Srauta sūtras. His sūtras deal with the ceremonial aspects and worship of Vishnu[7]. Vaikasāna had nine pupils and among them Kaśyapa, Atri, Marici and Bhṛgu are known to have composed their own Āgama texts.[8]

Vaikasāna taught his pupils in general the conduct of man and his mode of life in regard to Dharma, Gṛhya and Srauta aspects and laid stress on the need to attend to these duties with faith in Vishnu.[9] He had directed his pupils to write the practical aspects of Vaishnavism based on his

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

teachings.[10] The Vaikasāna Āgama texts were composed by the pupils of Vaikasāna like Kaśyapa and Atri.[11]

The doctrines of the Pāncharātra Āgamas are of ancient orgin like Vaikasāna. The doctrines were known to Vyāsa. The Āgama is based on the contents of the Veda.[12] The two Āgamas are as old as the date of the epic *Mahābhārata* which is fixed about 1000 BCE *Mahābhārata* mentions both the Āgamas and gives validity to both [13] The Pāncharātra Āgama could have become popular in the Tamil country by ih century AD.[14] The Pāncharātra Āgama regards Vishnu with Sri as the ultimate reality. Vishnu manifests himself in three forms called Sankarshana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha for the purpose of creation and for worship[15]. These constitute the four fold Vyūha and are divine descents called Avatāras of the Lord which are also enshrined in the temples. Worship is to be done both in the temple and in home according to this Āgama.[16]

Rāmānuja who emphasized the devotional aspects of religion (*Bhakti*) propagated the need for personal God with all auspicious qualities found his inspiration from Pānchāratra Āgama and popularised it in South India by introducing it at Srirangam and Melkote temples.[17]

Inscriptions from Nava Tiruppatigal speak of endowments for conducting worship in the temple. The temples were richly endowed with provisions for daily offerings and also for conducting special services or Sandhi and the performance of a number of festivals. But no where in the epigraphs the time of the performance of worship and the method or manner of conducting them are mentioned.

Nityapūjā or Daily worship

Nityapūjā in Ālvār Tirunagari, Srivaikṇtam and Tentiruppērai take place five times a day till date.[18] But in Tulaivillimaṅgalam, Varagnamaṅgai, Tiurpuliṅgudi and Tirukkōlūr temples the morning service (Orukala pūjā) alone is performed.

The ceremonial worship or pūjā first begins early in the morning. The second one at 10.30 am, the third one 12.00 in the noon, the fourth in the evening around 7.00 pm and the last at 8.30 pm. The pūjās are known as (1) Visvarupam, (2) Kalasandhi, (3) Samba, (4) Sayarkashai (Attalām), and (5) Tiruvisagam. There are different kinds of food offerings for each pūjā. During Visvarupam, Dosa (dish prepared by using rice) is offered. Samba or tha pūjā in the noon is completed by offering plain rice without salt (suddha Annam). During evening pūjā the offering would be Vada, Tenkuḷal, Appam (prepared by using rice and gram) and sundal. The fifth or the last pūjā known as Tiruvisangam would be over by the offering of Tiruppaniyaram (made or rice flour). These offerings to the deities would change during the festivals.

The morning worship consists of six *āsanas* or stages. The *archaka* conducts the worship. Of these, the most important and elaborately done is the early morning service. The first is known as *Mantrāsana* by which, the presence of the almighty is invoked the second is to *Snānāsana* during which time the Tirumañjanam or holy bath is performed to the deity, the third is the *Alaṅkāra āsana* when the deity is clothed and adorned with jewels. The fourth is *Bhoga āsana* when food is offered to the deity. The fifth one is *Mantrāsana* when *archana* is performed by offering *Tulasi* (*Occimum sanctum*) leaves and chanting the *mantras*. A *sloka*[19] in which the names of Nava Tiruppatigal deities are mentioned is recited in the morning pūjā in all these temples. The last stage is *sayana āsana* when the deity is believed to go to sleep. The last mentioned service is reserved for the night.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In the *Nitya Puja Seva Kalam* or the congregational recitation of the portions of the Prabhandams takes place during the entire duration of the pūjā. The ritual ends with Sattumarai[20] after which the consecrated water (Thirtham) and (prasādam) are distributed to the reciters and other devotees.

The pūjā ceremonies at other times of the day are not done so elaborately. In the evening service chanting of *mantras* and *sevakalam* are again done. The last service Tiruvisagam ends with the distribution of Tiruppaniyaram (rice pudding). A portion of the consecrated food is taken and offered to the Āḷvars and Āchāryas in their respective shrines, after the food was offered to the main deity.

The *archakās* are qualified and trained in the Āgamas and Śāstras for the conduct of the rituals.

Special Services or Sandhi

The inscriptions from Nava Tiruppatigal give ample evidence of the special offerings and services (Sandhi) which were instituted in large numbers in these nine temples by the kings and other men of note and rank. The epigraphs also mention the provisions made in the form of land grants, cash entrusted in the temple treasury and other offerings for the conduct of *pūjās* and festivals in these temples.

A record from Tirukkōlūr refers to the mid day sandhi instituted by Tirunelveli Perumal called Virapandyan Sandhi. Some lands were granted in Palikkottai in Surakkudinadu for the purpose. The record also mentioned the distribution of the prasadam from the food offerings.[21]

Sundarapandayan Sandhi was instituted by Sundarapandya II at the. request of Devapiran Tādar a Vaishnava ācārya for which he had granted 10 *ma* of land in Pannankudi in Mullainadu.

Jatavarman Vira Pandya granted 70 ma land Ulagudai Mukkokkila nadi Caturvedi Maṅgalam for the special services to be rendered in Srivaikuṇltam temple called after him as Virapandyan Sandhi.[22]

Endowments

Endowments by individuals made provision for the food offering in Nava Tiruppatigaḷ. Records from Tirukkolur, Tentriruperai, Srivaikuṇltam, Perungulam and Tulaivillimaṅgalam mention the character of these endowments. Endowments were made for lighting the perpetual lamps. Govindan Bhattan a native of Tirtumulikalam (Kerala region) had given one achchu for Sandyadeepam in Vaittamanidhi temple in Tirukkōlūr[23] A record of Kulottunga I shows that 50 sheep were given to the temple for the same purpose.[24] A woman donor had given one Nilaivilakku (lamp) for the lighting of perpetual lamp.[25]

Another interesting record from the same place refers to the name of the archaka Sridharan Govindan Bhattan and states that some lands were allotted to him as a share for his service to the God.[26] (Tiru Ārādanai Pangu). The epigraphs also say that the temple belongs to Vaikasāna Āgama.[27]

The 11th century record states that two individuals were entrusted with the task of providing ghee daily to the temple for which 50 sheep were donated.[28] Cash endowment was also made for the purpose of maintaining the perpetual lamp in Srivaikuṇtam temple. Two achchus (coins) were deposited in the temple treasury for the same.[29]

Land Grants for the Purpose of food Offerings

There are references to the food offerings for which purpose land grants were made. A record of Kulasekara I from Srivaikuṇtam states that 20 *ma* land was allotted for food offerings in the temple[30] (Amudu padikku - rice offering).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Another record from the same temple states that an amount of 110 pon was deposited in the temple treasury by a donor Raiṅgappayyan and from the interest accrued; garland and 1 nali rice were supplied to the temple daily.[31] Māravarman Kulasekara I allotted 20 ma of land for various food offerings in the temple.[32]

An epigraph from Tulaivillimangalam mentions that lands in Perungulam were granted by a donor Manikkan to feed the Vaishnavas every month during Amāvasyā (new moon) in Devapiran temple in Tulaivillimangalman.[33]

Epigrphical references to the festivals of Nava Tiruppathigal

A number of records from Nava Tiruppatigal refer to the land grants and other endowments from the conduct of festivals in these temples.

Two epigraphs from Tirukkōlūr refer to the festivals conducted in Tirukkōlūr Vaittamānidhi temple. Urār for Tirukkōlūr had agreed to conduct a festival in, the month of Ani (June-July) which is stated in a record of Jatavarman Srivallabha.[34] Painguni (March-April) festival was also celebrated with pomp in Tirukkōlūr.[35] Epigraphical evidences from Ālvār Tirunagari refer to the Chittirai (April-May) festival in the temple for which land grants were made in Perungulam alias Uttama Pandya nallur.[36] A donor Arulalan had deposited two Anai Achchu (coin) for the Vaikasi festival.[37]

Tentiruperai Makara Nedunlkulai Kadar temple epigraph refer to an amount of 30 panam given by Ariyapiran Tadar for the conduct of Panguni (March-April) festival, daily recitation of prabandam and the offerings like Kariyamudu (cooked vegetable).[38]

Vaikasi (May-June) festival celebrated on a grand scale in Srivaikuntam for which 30 ma land was granted by Tirunelveli Perumal Vira Pandya.[39] A record from Mayakkuttan temple from Perungulam refers to the monthly festival on the day of Maha Nakshitram (star), the natal star of a donor Kuma Moli Singa Perumal who made provisions for the festival and daily offerings by endowing one veli of wet land.[40]

Festivals conducted in Nava Tiruppatigal

The festivals conducted in the Tamil months of Māsi (Feb-March), Paṅguni (March-April) Chittirii (April-May) and Vaikasi (May-June) are called Brahmotasavams. Vaikasi festival attains significance on the fifth day. The utsava bheras from Nava Tiruppatigal are taken out in procession in Garuda Vahana during the night. Tiruadyānana utsava conducted in the month of Mārgali (December-January) for twenty days is also a significant festival.

Ālvār Tirunagari, Srivaikuntam and Tentirupērai temples celebrate a number of festivals even today. The important festivals in Ālvār Tirunagari are: 1. Chittirai Tirunāl (April-May) 2. Vaikāsi Brahmostavam[41] for Nammlvār (May-June), 3. Tiru Adyayana Utsavm for[42] Nammālvār in the month of Mārgali (December-January), 4. Masi Tirunal for Nammaālvār (February-March), 5. Panguni Tirunāl (March-April).

Kallapirān temple of Srivaikntam is noted for a number of festivals[43] conducted throughout the year. They are:

1. Brahmotsavam in Chittirai (April-May).
2. Periy Ālvār Tirunakshtram (*i.e.* Birth star of Peri Alvar celebrated in Ani (June-July).
3. Ādi puram for Āndal (July-August).
4. Pavithra Utsavam in Āvani (August-September).
5. Sri Jayanthi Uriyadi Utsavam in Āvani (August-September).
6. Deepavali in Aippasi (October-November).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

7. Tiru Adhyayāna Utsavam in Mārgali (December-January).
8. Teppotsavam or Float festival in Thai (January-February).
9. Kōdai Utsavam or summer festival in Panguni (March-April).

Tentiruppērai temple celebrates a number of festivals beginning from Paṅguni (March) Paurnami festival (Full moon), Tiru Ādi festival Pakshirajan Vilā (Garuḍa festival for Garuḍa), Navaratri, Unjal festival in the month gyppasi and Karthigai are other festivals celebrated with pomp and grandeur. In the month of Mārgali and Thai Tiruppallandu festival with the recitation of Tiruppavai is celebrated for 21 days. Paṅguni festival is an important festival in Tentirupperai. The festival is celebrated for ten days, the arrangement and conduct of the festival is managed by the Brahmin community[44] (108 Tavalakara Brahmin) of Tentirupperai.

The Tavalakara Brahmin community in Tentirupperai claims that during the Pandya rule the Jaimini Tavalakara Samaveda Brahmins from 18 villages in Kāvery basin were given land grants by the Pandya Sundara in Tentiruppērai. The 18 villages are : 1. Tittakudi, 2. Anbil, 3. Tirunaraiyur, 4. Ādanur, 5. Mottavie pundagur, 6.Vayalali, 7. Tirukknra Maradur, 8. Kurai Tirtār Appanur, 9. Idaiyyatrinar Kudi, 10 Srivalumur, 11. Manalur, 12. Iraindam Veli, 13. Tanmaimigu Indām Veli, 14. Pattam Veli, 15. Idai Mudur, 16. Nana Mangai or Narana Mangalam, 17. Pillai Mangalam (Perumal Mangai-Perumal Mangalam), and 18. Bana Mangai-Banamangaiam. It is interesting to note that for the conduct of the Mārgali Adyāyana Utsavam some of the Brahmin communities offered cash endowments and some of the names of these trusts were named after the villages in the Cauvery basin. The second day festival of Mārgali Adyāyana Utsavam is. performed by a trust called Manavāla Dāsar Trust for which cash was deposited by the trust to offer some food offerings. For the conduct of the fifth day festival a trust called Pillai Mangalm had endowed money for the offering and distribution of the same (the offerings are Tamraind rice, Sweet rice prepared by Jaggery and Sundal). Another trust Muttha Veliār (Pattaveli) conducts the festival on Vaikunda Ekadasi day and the prasadam is Laddu (sweet prepared by using sugar and Dal) Nārana Mangalam trust conducts the 3rd festival. Seventh day Kottagai utsavam is done by Pannaiyar (Īndam) trust. The food offerings are *vadai* (prepared by using dal) and Ven pongal (rice prepared with ghee without sugar). An epigraph from the place belonging to Rajaraja I refers to Kaitava Caturvedi Mangalam and this inscriptional evidence also gives cred.ence to the claim of these Brahmin families for their lineage in Cauvery basin.

Vaikunta Ekādasi[45] is celebrated in a grand scale in Navatiruppatigal and Utsava Bheras from Tentiruppērai, Sirivaikuntam, Tirukkōlūr, Varagunamangai (Natam) Pulingudi and Tulaivillimangalm are taken out in procession to Ālvār Tirunagari and the devotees worship all the deities on that day in Ālvār Tirunagari.

References

1. Krishnamurthy, C., *Saiva Art and Architecture in South India.* New Delhi, 1985, Chapter VYV, p.120.
2. Tirunangur Srinivasa Acharya Swami - *Ashtotra Divva Desa Vivaranam.*, Tiruchi, 1976, pp. 73-80. *Pancharatra Agama* - Tentirupperai, Srivaiku tam and Alvar Tirunagari. Vaikasāna *Agama*- Tulaivilimangalam, Pulingudi, Varagunamangai and Tirukkolur.
3. Varadachari, V., *Āgamas and South Indian Vaishnavism*, Chennai. 1982, Chapter IV. p. 79.
4. *Op. cit.* p. 79.
5. *Op. cit.* p. 79.
6. *Ibid* p. 84.
7. *Ibid.* p. 84.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

8. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 85
10. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
17. Raman, K.V., *Sri Varadaraia Swami temple.* New Delhi, 1975, Chapter V, p. 95.
Ramanuja's doctrine of Bhakti (devotion and Prapatti (self surrender) had influenced Srivaishnavas. The essence of Ramanuja's Visishtadvaita philosophy is that Narayana the supreme Lord is capable of granting salvation to those who surrender to him absolutely. In the place of impersonal god or *nirguna brahmam* Ramanuja placed the personal god with all auspicious qualities. Both Vaikansa and Pancaratra agamas emphasise the worship of God in concrete form. The archa form is required to be created out of specific materials. (vide V.Varadhacari, *Āgamas* and *South Indian Temples)* p. 344.
18. Interview on 16.01.98.
A young Sri Vaishnava Vasan ofTentirupperai furnished the details ofthe pujas in the temples. Following details are gathered from Appu Satakopan, Tamil Scholar of Ālvār Tirunagari on 02.02.98 through an interview by the scholar.

Mulavaras (Main deities).

Srivaikuṇtam, Varagunamangai, Pulingudi and Nattam. Mulavara in Srivaikutam is made of Saligrama (black stone available on the banks of river Gantak).

Tirumanjanam (holy bath) is performed daily by offering milk and the Mulavara is anointed with Kasturi (fragrant paste).

Mulavra in Varagunamangai is of stucco. Tirumanjanam is. not performed for Mulavara, but sprinkling of holy water takes place. Mulavara in Tirupulingudi according to the scholar and the natives is made of Jade (precious stone). Tirumanjanam is performed only on auspicious occasions. In the month of Purattasi (September-October) on Saturdays oil is applied to Mulavara (Ennai Kappu) in Perungulam. The Mulavara is of stone but Tirumanjanam is performed only auspicious occasions. In Tulaivillimangalam for the Mulavara of Per a Piran Tirumanjanam is performed daily in the month of Tai (Jan.Feb) Panjamrutha Tirumanjanam is performed (Panjamradam prepared by using milk, fruits, ghee, honey) Mulavara of Aravindalochana is of stucco and the sprinkling of holy water takes place daily.

Ālvār Tirunagari, Tentiruppērai and Tirukkōlūr.

Mulavara of Ālvār Tirunagari is of stucco and Tirumanjanam is performed an auspicious days like Paurnami and Amavasya (new moon).Tirumanjanam is performed daily to Mulavara and for Utsavara of Nammalvar. Sandalwood paste (Chandanakappu) with Kasturi (fragrant paste) is applied in the month of Ani (June July) for 40 days. When Tirumanjanam is not performed for Utsavara. In Tentirupperai tirumanjanam is not performed daily and the Mulavara is of stone (the upper portion of the deity is covered with gold). Tirukkolur Mulavara of stucco and sprinkling of holy water takes place daily. Tiurmanjanam is not performed even on auspicious occasions. Tirumanjanam is performed for the Mulavara of Madurakavi on auspicious occasions.
19. Sloka (vide chapter II for the sloka).
20. Sattumarai is performed after the recital of Prabandam Tiruppallandu (2VS) of Periyalvar is recited. After the recital of Pallandu both the Tenkalai and Vadakalai sects of Vaishnavas recite two VS in praise of Ramanuja. The fifth V composed by Ramanuja is also recited by both the sects.

But the recital of VS 6-10 differs. While the Tenkalai sect completes the recital in praise of Manavalamamuni the Vadakalai sect completes the recital in praise of Vedanta Desika.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

21. *ARE* 62-63, No. 725.
22. *Ibid.,* 59-60, No. 377.
23. *Ibid.,* 61-62, No. 445.
24. *Ibid.,* 61-62, No. 445.
25. Ibid, No. 452.
26. *Ibid.* No. 453.
27. *Ibid.* No. 45.
28. *Ibid.* No. 451
29. *Ibid.* No. 349.
30. *Ibid.,* 61-62, No. 341.
31. *Ibid.,* 61-62, No. 345.
32. *Ibid.,* 59-60, No. 375.
33. *Ibid.,* 84-85, No. 439.
34. *Ibid.,* 61-62, N0. 448.
35. *Ibid.,* 62-63, No. 707.
36. *Ibid.,* 1909, No. 469.
37. *Ibid.,* 1909, No. 466.
38. *Ibid.,* 1940-41, No. 285.
39. *Ibid.,* 60-61, No. 342.
40. *Ibid.,* 32-33, No. 243.
41. *Brahmotsavarn* – In Ālvār Tirunagari is conducted on a grand scale. There are four Brahmotsavams celebrated in the moths of Masi (Feb). Panguni, Chittirai and Vaikasi. Vaikasi festival is celebrated for 10 days.
42. Tiru Adyayana festival is celebrated for 22 days in Margali (December) Vaishnava tradition Tirumangai Alvar introduced the festival. It is stated that he used to take the Utsavabhera ofNarnmalvar to Srirangarn for the festival. Later the festival was conducted in Tirunagari and till date the festival is conducted in Ālvār Tirunagari. In the last 10 days (*pin pattu*) of the festival Sāthumrai is conducted. The Araiyar will enact the Pasuram from *Tiruvoymoli* and when this is performed twenty four vastras or placed on the Utsava Bhera (Nammalvar) and these Vastras are be removed one by one to signify that the soul after removing the Maya attains the feet of god (salvation–*Mukti*) this also signifies the Ālvar's final step to reach the absolute. *i.e.* realization of God) *Tiruvaymoli* refers to the end of the journey. V. 10-9-1 10-10'

    Following details were furnished by R. Geetha Chari Ariyar: They belong to the line of Nathamuni the Vaisanava acharya. Natharnuni had set the tunes for Nalayiradivyaprabandarm. Ariyar with cymbols used to recite the hymns with Abinya (body gestures. Kilai Agatalvar, Melai Agtalvar were the nephews of Nathamuni to whom he taught Divyaprabandam set to tunes (vide also Alvandar Anubhavam VS 64-65, p.23). The Araiyars are associated with Srirangam, Ālvār Tirunagari, Srivilliputthur and Tininarayur temples. Ariyar sevai (singing the hymns of prabandam with proper Abinaya-body gestures) is performed in Srirangarn, Ālvār tirunagari and Srivilliputtur.
43. Krishna Jayanti is celebrated in temple according to Pancharatra rule. In Ashtarm and in Rohini Nakshatra. In the evening for Mulabhera Venugopala and Utsava Behra Tirumanjanam is performed and later Utsava Bhera is taken to Unjal Mandapa to perform the Aradhana by offering sweets and annam (rice). The next day evening Utsava bhera Kallapiran, Thayar and Utsava bhera Krishna are taken out in Garuda Vahana to the streets. During the procession Uriyadi is conducted.
44. Interview on 15.1.98 with Sri.Krishnan a native of Tentiruppērai and an advocate has provided the details regarding the names of the different trusts and their active participation.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sirai Tanda Selvam – compilation of Kulaikadar Pamalai, p. 67.

M. Narayanan – Tentiruppērai in legend, lore and history (article published in Ter Tiruvizha Malar). The late journalist refers to the mission of an American University Professor Arnold Bake during 50's to India for the study of several swara notations of the Sama gana. He further states that the professor with the guidance of K.A. Nilakanta Sastri invited a scholar poet from Tentirupperai Anantha Krishna Iyengar an exponent of Tvalakara Sama Gana. The recital by the scholar was recorded by the professor this information gives validity to the claim of the Brahmin community of Ten Tentiruppērai who call themselves as Tavalakara Brahims.

Kailasanatha temple record from ten Tentirupperai refers to the place Sundarapandaya chaturvedi mangalam which was issued in the 19th year (1235 CE) of Sundarapandya (*ARE* 1961-62 No.B.289-90).

45. Vaikunta Ekadasi - It is'called as Tiruadyana Utsavam, Margali Utsavam, Vaikunta Ekadasi Utsavam, Moksha Utsavam and Pagal Pattu,lra Patu Utsavam. The day of the Vaikunta Edadasi festival attains greater significance in Nava Tiruppathigal like Srirangam. On Ekadasi day the Utsava bheras of other 8 temples are taken to Ālvār Tirunagari.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

40

A Sanskrit Poet of the Pallava Period (As Gleaned from Inscriptions)

Charu Madhavan

The Sanskrit epigraphs as well as the Sanskrit sections *(prasastis)* of the bi-lingual copper-plate inscriptions of Tamil Nadu which belong to the Pallava age were composed by numerous talented poets who were great scholars in the Itihasas (epics), Puranas and also in the works of classical Sanskrit literature and possessed tremendous flair for the Sanskrit language. The *prasasti* sections in Sanskrit, which precede the operative part in Tamil of the bi-lingual copper-plate charters, are mostly composed in the form of verses in various metres, and are thus examples of very good pieces of poetry of the ancient times of Tamil Nadu. However, there are some *prasasti* portions which are a combination of verses interspersed with prose passages thus revealing them to be *campu-kavyas*. Luckily, the names of many of these talented poets, who composed these poems as well as the *campu-kavyas* have been recorded in verses at the end of the Sanskrit section of these inscriptions along with some details about their educational qualifications and their family background. But for these inscriptions, the names of these poets, some of whom may have composed other delightful poems now lost to us, would never have come to light.

One such talented poet-composer of the Pallava age of the eighth century CE was Paramesvara, who composed two important epigraphs of his king Nandivarman II Pallavamalla (731-796 CE), namely the Sanskrit sections of the Udayendiram copper-plate inscription[1] (*c.*752 CE) and the Tandantottam copper-plate grant[2] (*c.*789 A.D.).

The concluding portion of the *prasasti* of the Udayendiram plates mentions clearly that the poet of this charter was Paramesvara who was the son of Candradeva and belonged to the race of Medhāvi:

putras Sricandradevasya kavistu Paramēsvarah
Prasasteh kavitancakre sa Medhāvi-kulōdbhavh,[3]

The Sanskrit portion of the Tandantottam plates mentions that the poet of this inscription was Paramesvara, surnamed Uttarakaranika, the son of Paramottarakaranika, the self-chosen lord of poetry.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

'Paramottarakaranikasyakrta kavita-svayamvrta-varasya
uttarakaranikakhyastanayah Paramesvarah prasastim imam,[4]

It is possible that since both the Udayendiram and the Tandantottam plates were composed during the reign of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, and since the time gap between the two compositions was only seven years, the poet Paramesvara who composed the *prasasti* section of the Udayendiram charter could be the very same Paramesvara, surnamed Uttarakaranika of the Tandantottam plates, and Candradeva, the poet's father (mentioned in the Udayendiram plates) could be the same as Paramottarakaranika (of the Tandantottam plates).[5]

According to C. Minakshi, in the name Uttarakaranika, *kananika* is not a proper name, but the designation of an official, since a few copper-plates from north India reveal the *karanika* to be an official who. figured as a composer or writer of the contents of these grants.[6] The term *uttarakaranika* must be taken to denote the office which was above that of the *karanika* and *paramottarakaranika* must have been the chief of all *karanikas,* the head of this class of officers.[7]

Another interesting fact is that an early Pallava inscription, the Pallankovil copper-plate inscription of Simhavarman datable to *c.* 550 CE, mentions that the poet of that grant was Medhāvi.[8] Since the Udayendiram plates state that poet Paramesvara was born in the family of Medhavi, it is possible that the latter was the composer of the Pallankovil grant.[9] It is likely that this family of poets was patronized by the Pallava rulers and were present at the royal court to compose their royal edicts.

The fact that this poet Paramesvara was very talented can be seen from a study of the Udayendiram and Tandantottam plates. The former has been composed in a delightful mixture of prose and verse, thereby marking it out to be a beautiful *Campu-kāvya.* There are eight verses in four metres–Vasantatilaka, Jagati-Indravamsa, Brihati and Anustubh, intermixed with long prose passages in elegant Sanskrit.

Following the conventional style of composing the Sanskrit *prasastis,* this poet begins the Udayendiram charter with an invocatory verse in praise of Śiva, followed by the mythical ancestry of the Pallava race and then goes on to describe the historical personages and finally the achievements of his patron and king Nandivarman II Pallavamalla and his faithful military general named Udayacandra. In verse three, poet Paramesvara eulogises the Pallava race with a stress on the word 'Pallava' (sprout) which is in *sabda-alankara* and delightful to read:

bhūpāla vandita pāda-dvaya pallavānam ambubhara vinamankara pallavanam
samyaggunacaya-nirasta vipallavanam ciranjjagati tistatu Pallavānām.[10]

(Let it remain in the world for a long time, the race of the Pallavas, whose feet (tender) as sprouts are worshipped by kings, whose hands (tender) as sprouts are bending under the weight of the water (poured out) at donations made, and who have driven away (even) the slightest calamity by the multitude of their excellent virtues).

There are also two beautiful long prose passages in this inscription, the first describing the numerous achievements and qualities of Nandivarman II and the other listing the achievements of his brave military commander Udayacandra who defeated many of the foes of his king.

The other inscription composed by Paramesvara is the Tandantottam epigraph, a delightful little poem in fourteen stanzas in as many as seven different metres like Upajati, Mandakranta, Vasantatilaka, Sragdhara, Sardulavikridita, Arya and Prthvi. This poem is also bedecked with various *alankaras.*

A verse in this record is composed so well by this poet that all seven cases of *sarvanama vad sabda* are used in it:

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Yassa cakasyabharta haririva vibudhassakravadyam srayante
Yenabhud bhu-ssanatha sucritamamalam rocate carv yasmai
Yasmadbhireka dhiradyudhi para nrbhujam yasya kirtya dasasah
Susmpuna srisca yasmin nivasati suciran tyaktacapalya dosa.[11]

In another verse, this composer poetically states of his king, 'the only one by name raja that did not bow down to him was the dead-rayed moon and the (only) country in this world which did not pay him tribute was that where no men exist (i.e., the heaven where the undying Gods live). And, while this king, comparable to Indra was ruling the earth, there was (nothing) unapproachable by the people (except perhaps) the way to hell'.

(rajahvayo yamanamaima mrtamsureko yasmai jagatyakarad visayopya martyah
yasminnagamyamavati ksitimindrakalpe prasthanavartma narakam prati ca prajanam)[12]

Not only does the poet praise his king, but he also gives a vivid description of a war-elephant which Nandivarman II captured from a Ganga king thus:

'To his lot fell an excellent elephant named Pattavardhana which (in appearance) was like the (manifest) arrogance of its master, like victory in body, like a mountain moving about (and) from whose temples the ornament (of red paint) was wiped away by the excess of flowing rut sipped by fhe swarm of bees whirling about restlessly.

(sva bharturiva yammado jaya iva angavanjangamo girindra iva
pattavardhana iti dvipendro abhajat,
sa vibhrama paribhrama bhramara vrnda gandusita ksaranmada
visesa-sesa krta manda ganda sthalah).[13]

The above-mentioned verses are only examples to show the talent of poet Paramesvara, who in his two works, one a *Campu-kāvya* and the other written *in padya* style (in verse) has revealed in man other places the skill he possessed as a composer.

Although these two inscriptions, like many others of this age, were actually royal documents which record the grant of land to scholars, yet they were composed in such a high literary style that they are also found to be on par with other well-known works of Sanskrit literature.

References

1. *S.I.I*, Vol. II, No. 74, pp. 365-370 (Udayendiram plates)
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No.99, pp. 520-521 (Tandantottam plates)
3. *Udayendiram plates, op. cit.*, v.8, p.370.
4. *Tandantottam plates, op. cit.*, v.14, p.521.
5. C. Minakshi, *Administration and Social life Under the Pallavas*, Madras, 1977, p.78.
6. *Ibid.*, pp.78-79.
7. *Ibid.*
8. T.N. Subrahmanian, *The Pallankovi Jaina Copper-Plate Grant*, Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India, Vol. IV, (1958-59), v.9, p.76.
9. *Ibid.*, p.74.
10. Udayendiram plates *op. cit.*, v.3, p. 366.
11. Tandantottam plates, *op. cit.*, vA, p. 520.
12. *Ibid.*, v.3.
13. *Ibid.*, v.7.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

41

The Glory of the Tenkāsi Pāndyas – A Brief Survey

T.S. Mira Devi

The advent of the Muslim rule in the South led to the decline of the Imperial Pandyas and they were pushed out of Madurai, their seat of power. Some of the Pandyan princes retreated southward and set up their rule in Tirunelveli, Tenkasi and Ramnad regions. They are known as Later Pandyas. The most notable among them were those who ruled from Tenkasi after it was made their new capital. They are referred to as Tenkasi Pandyas. Epigraphical records of that region provide evidence that they ruled there for nearly two and a half centuries. A study of their historical records and a survey of their monuments provide a clear picture of the glory of the final phase of Pandyan power.

Lineage and Chronology

The vast information provided by the innumerable epigraphs and a few copperplates should have made the construction of the lineage of the Tenkasi Pandyas easy. Unfortunately, they are bound with problems peculiar to the Pandyan records. There was the repetition of names like Kulasekhara, Parakrama, Srivallabha and Virapandya. There are occasions when two sons of a ruler were given the same names. A number of kings with identical names ruled at the same time adding to the confusion. Names of the kings were prefixed with the names of predecessors or successors. Titles like Tribhuvana Chakravarthi and other high sounding epithets were assumed by most of them. There was a system of co-regency too. Hence, identification of the rulers and their relationship to one another becomes problematic.

The fixation of regnal dates is more problematic. Variations in the astronomical data, omission of such data in few cases, indication of different initial dates of the rulers and the unbridged gaps form the main hurdles. The reference to two or more rulers, sometimes with identical names, as ruling contemporaneously leads to more confusion. Sri Sethuraman, mathematician turned epigraphist comes to our rescue. He found a solution to these problems on the basis of a systematic analysis of the astronomical data available in the epigraphical records and he succeeded in reconstructing the chronology of the Later Pandyas, just as he had done in the case of Cholas and Pandyas earlier.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

According to Sri Sethuraman, Parakrama Pandya, the king who founded the city of Tenkasi and made it his capital ruled from 1422 to 1463 CE. The last one in the line was Alagan Perumal Ativirarama Srivallabha who ruled from 1564 to 1606 CE. After that the records of three more princes with long gaps in between are available but identity eluded him also. Last of them was the record of Srivala Varagunarama Pandya Kulasekharadeva Dikshitar, who revived the past, dated 1759 CE, on the walls of Kutralanatha temple at Kutralam. The first and the last rulers of this line, Parakrama Pandya and Ativirarama Pandya happen to be the most illustrious rulers.

Territorial Jurisdiction and Sovereignty

The Tenkasi Pandyas did not preside over a single cohesive unit. They formed a number of petty kingdoms, with different rulers carrying on administration simultaneously, with no indication of their hierarchy and relationship with one another. Hence it would be very difficult to fix the exact territorial jurisdiction of any single unit. Korkai, Karivalamvandanallur, Kayattaru, Solapuram, Vindanur and Tenkasi are mentioned as their capitals. Tenkasi was the only city which remained the capital of one unit throughout the period. It is certain that Tenkasi and the surrounding regions formed the domain of those who ruled from that city. The city did not come under any other power, as it seems to be the case with some other parts of the kingdom. Lack of evidence makes it hard to declare the city as the source of central authority.

In general, the rulers styled themselves as Tribhuvana Chakravarthis and often assumed high sounding titles of the imperial Pandyas. They could have never enjoyed absolute sovereignty to deserve them. Those were the times of Vijayanagar dominance and these Pandyas should have been more or less their feudatories. Yet certain facts seem to indicate some of them exercised independent authority to a certain extent. This is very much evident at least in the case of Parākrama Pandya.

The very fact that Parākrama Pandya could undertake and complete the construction of a big temple town and make it his capital bears testimony to the high political authority he enjoyed and to the enormous financial resources at his disposal. His *meykirti "Bhumisai Vanithai"* lists his achievements. He is said to have scored a number of victories over his enemies including the Cheras. This fact is corroborated by the account of the same given in *"Pandyakulodaya"*, a Sanskrit work of Mandala Kavi. If he had been a subordinate to some other higher authority he could not have issued edicts in his own name and his own regnal dates, with epithets indicative of independent power.

Moreover all the inscriptions of Tenkasi Temple, except for three are recorded in a set pattern and style peculiar to Tenkasi rulers. The high sounding title and epithets seem to proclaim their power, though often they sound hollow. What is interesting is none of the edicts refer to a higher authority other than Sri Visvanatha, the presiding deity of the city. Nor do they bear a non-Pandya insignia. Yet the sovereignty of Vijayanagar monarchs and the dominance of the Nayaks cannot be denied. Perhaps the Tenkasi temple and the surrounding region remained outside the suzerainty of the sovereign power and there was no direct interference at least in this area.

But things seem to have changed in the later period for a few copper plates carry engravings of Lakshmi Varaha or just a boar indicative of Vijayanagar insignia. There are instances of Vijayanagar emperors coming to the help of the Pandyas in their fight against the Travancore rulers. The Nayaks too had friendly relations with them. It may be presumed that though feudatory status was a reality, the Pandyas enjoyed a certain amount of independence.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Patronage of Literature, Art and Architecture

The Tenkasi Pandyas encouraged literature and learning offering munificent grants to poets and scholars. Parakrama Pandya was proficient in both Tamil and Sanskrit. His beautiful verses in chaste Tamil engraved on the walls of the temple proclaim his command of the language. His touching appeal for the preservation and the maintenance of the temple and his proclamation of reverential homage to those who do so has no parallel at all. It seems to have touched the chord of response even after a lapse of more than five hundred years, which has led to the reconstruction of the damaged Mahagopura and its consecration in recent times.

Ativīrarāma, Varatungarama and Varagunarama were poets of eminence. All of them composed many literary works besides offering patronage to poets. Ativīrarama was the author of *Naishadam, Kurmapuranam* and *Kasikkandam. Naishadam* written in elegant style is supposed to be based on Sri Harsha's *Naishada* in Sanskrit. The study of this work was considered very essential for any poet to attain literary proficiency. A number of other works like *Lingapuranam, Karuvai Andadi* and *Vetriverkai* are attributed to him. *Vetriverkai,* also known as *Narunthogai* is a simple moral code meant for children but is very popular among scholars who often quote some of its maxims. All these literary exercises reveal his mastery of Tamil and Sanskrit and have secured for him an important place in Tamil literature. Nilakanta Sastry says he rightly deserves the name, *Sahitya Sarvabhauma.*

Ativīrarāma extended patronage to Tamil scholars and writers, most prominent of them being Svamideva, his guru, Sivanda Kavirasu, Cherai Asukavirayar Tiruvannamalai Chidambaranathan, author of *Kalathinathar, Kattalai Kalithurai* and Naishadam Ramakrishna. Nirambavazhagiyar, author of *Sethupuranam* is said to be the contemporary of Ativīrarāma.

Varatungarāma, the cousin of Ativirarama, who ruled from Karivalamvandanallur, was also a literary celebrity. He was the author of *Brahmottarakandam* and *Kokkokam. Karuvaikalithurai Andadis* and *Pathirruparru Andadi* are also attributed to him. Sivakamasundari, wife of Varatungarama was also proficient in Tamil and she is supposed to have composed a number of verses. It is said that she and Varatungarama used to indulge in literary discussions and composition of verses.

Varagunarāma, the brother of Varatungarama was also a poet of great reputation. *Lingapurānam, Vayusanhithai* and *Ambikaimālai* were his important works. Tamil literature flourished during the rule of the Tenkasi Pandyas.

The greatest contribution of the Tenkasi Pandyas was in the field of art and architecture. Like their glorious predecessors the Pandyas continued to extend lavish patronage to architecture and the magnificent temple of Sri Visvanatha at Tenkasi is their greatest monument. The huge temple complex filled with architectural grandeur was constructed by King Parakrama Pandya. According to the epigraphical records, God Visvanatha of Kasi appeared in his dream and appealed to him to build a temple for him in the South, as His abode in the North (Uttarakasi) was in ruins. In response Parakrama built on the banks of Chitra River, a huge temple complex and consecrated it in the name of Sri Visvanatha. Here it may be pointed out that the temple in Banaras was indeed in a dilapidated condition at that time. Parakrama aptly named the city Dakshina Kasi which became Tenkasi in Tamil.

This temple complex consists of a big shrine for the main deity Visvanatha with all its attendant parts, a separate shrine for his consort Ulagamuludumudaya Ammai and a number of sub shrines for Sahasralinga, Shaktipita and other Parivara deities in the surrounding Prakaras. A shrine for Pidari named Arikesarinangai was also added. The Prakara walls were built and the work on the nine storied Mahagopura was begun. But Parakrama did not live to see the completion of this grand tower. His brother Alagan Perumāl Kulasekara completed it later on.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

What makes this construction quite notable is the fact that it was a remarkable instance of a complete temple complex being constructed by a Pandya ruler as late as the fifteenth century in spite of their having lost imperial status.

The plan, architecture and sculptures of the Visvanatha temple stand as tangible proof of the genius of the later Pandya artists. Even while preserving the ancient traditions they added innovative features.

The monolithic pillar sculptures of this temple form a class by themselves. Eight monolithic pillar sculptures adorn the Balimandapa, each one of them a gem by itself. Special mention maybe made of the unique form of *Nrittamurti* in *Lalatatilaka* pose, an awe inspiring figure. An elegant manifestation of Krishna as *Madanagopala* literally hypnotises the beholder. All of them stand as proof of the extraordinary skill of the sculptor. The Tenkasi monolithic pillar sculptures seem to be the trendsetters for those in the temple of Madurai, Tirunelveli and Krishnapuram temples.

Two sets of musical pillars are also found in this temple and they seem to be in the experimental stage, yet they form a notable innovative feature.

The Mahāgopura must have been an imposing tower in its original form. It was damaged by fire about two hundred years ago and remained a split edifice with its basement standing firm. Thanks to the munificence of the present day philanthropists the Mahāgopura was reconstructed and restored to its original grandeur in 1990. Now it stands in all its glory proclaiming the greatness of the Later Pandyas.

The exquisite collection of bronzes which include the image of the builder Parakrama Pandya and a very impressive Kankalamurthi prove that the artists of this region were experts in making icons also.

Many other temples were also built during their times. Atīvirarāma the last notable ruler built the Kulasekharamudaiyar temple at Tenkasi. It was a fairly big temple complex but much smaller than the Visvanatha temple. The Mahagopura is incomplete and it is in a dilapidated condition. He constructed a temple for Vishnu also. The temple of Srivalavinnavar Emberuman is of moderate size and is situated close to the Kulasekhara temple.

Social and economic conditions were favourable for all round development and progress. Munificent grants of lands and villages to the temples for their maintenance made them the pivot of social and economic life. They provided employment for various categories involved in temple services. There were spiritual functionaries engaged in the performance of *puja* and other services to the deities and administrative officials who looked after the maintenance of the temple resources and accounts. There were performing artists like musicians and dancers and artisans like sculptors etc. Temple linked industries flourished. Many temple centred towns and cities emerged.

A number of Agrāharams and Chaturvedi Mangalams were founded. They became centres of Vedic learning. Scholars from other parts were invited by the kings to come and form the settlements. So there was a large scale of migration from different parts of Vijayanagar Empire. The new settlers merged happily with the local people and new ideas were imbibed resulting in the emergence of new trends. On the whole social harmony and economic prosperity prevailed.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

42

Relations of Gujarat Sultanate with the Bahmanids of the Deccan (1407-1536)

Shama Mahmood

The decline of the Delhi Sultanate seems to have set in by the late fourteenth century. The weakning of the central structure signaled the rise of various regional powers. The lead in this process was taken by the Deccan, which declared its independence during the later phase of Mohammed bin Tughluq's reign. Ismail Mukh laid the foundations of the Bahmani kingdom but it owes its name to Allauddin Bahman Shah who was crowned in 1347 and whose dynasty continued to rule in the Deccan for about two centuries. Gujarat declared its independence in 1407 and it proved to be one of the most powerful states of the fifteenth century. It was surrounded by a number of independent states like Mewar and Marwar in the north, Malwa in the east, Khandesh in the south-east and Bahmanids in the south. Relations among these states were dictated by geo-political necessities.

The problems related with expansion of the territory, the hegemony that the two states tried to establish over each other and the balance of power which existed in the region despite conflicting interests have been highlighted in this paper.

It was during the period of Sultan Ahmad Shah that the relationship of Gujarat commenced with the Bahmani sultanate. At the time of Gujarat's declaration of independence the Bahmani sultanate was ruled by Firuz Shah Bahmani. It seems that Firuz Shah Bahmani maintained cordial relations with Ahmad Shah of Gujarat and formed an alliance with the latter when the neighbouring Vijaynagar ruler defeated him in 1432. The Gujarat ruler sent a large army to assist the Bahmanid ruler, however before the forces could arrive, the brother of Firuz Shah succeeded in usurping the throne. The reign of new sultan Ahmad Shah Wali in Deccan witnessed a radical change in the relationship of Gujarat and the Bahmanids. The forces sent by Ahmad Shah to assist Firuz Bahmani were not allowed to enter into the Bahmanid dominion and were sent back with valuable presents indicating that they were no longer required[1]. The *coup* thus marred the diplomatic relations between the two kingdoms. To strengthen his position Ahmad Shah Bahmani entered into matrimonial alliance with Nasir Khan, the ruler of Khandesh[2]. Khandesh, the weakest link in this triangular relationship welcomed this new shift as it was being treated by Gujarat as a subjugated power.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The upsurge of hostility resulted into open war when Raja Kanha of Jhalawar alarmed by the repressive policy of Ahmad Shah of Gujarat against the local chieftains fled to Khandesh. Though, the ruler of Khandesh granted assylum to Raja but apprehending danger from the Gujarat ruler advised Raja Kanha to seek assistance from the Bahmanid ruler. After some days Raja went to Gulbarga and brought forces of Ahmad Shah Bahmani. He raided the bordering parganas of Gujarat such as Sultanpur and Nandurbar. Alarmed by these developments Ahmad Shah sent a force under his heir apparent Mohammad Khan to the Deccan. Several skirmishes took place, however the combined forces of Bahmanids and Khandesh had to flee[3]. Ahmad Shah Bahmani's prestige suffered a set back by his involvement in this dispute and the Bahmani town of Thana was also captured by the Gujarat force. Some other events that deteriorated the relations between Gujarat and the Bahmanids occurred at Mahim, which was the southern most outpost of Gujarat. In 1426 a Bahmanid noble entitled Malik-ul-Tujjar, occupied the. island of Mahim, taking advantage of the death of Qutub who held it for the Sultan of Gujarat[4]. Mahim was a part of the Gujarat sultanate and its occupation by the Deccani forces was regarded as an infringement on Gujarat's sovereignty. Sultan Ahmad of Gujarat made preparations to retrieve Mahim. The Gujarat army launched an attack on Mahim. Malik-ut-Tujjar though fought valiantly but could not get the full support of Deccani nobles; who were not reconciled to the leading role-played by Malik-ut- Tujjar in this campaign. The Bahmanid forces were defeated and this was mainly due to the desertion of the Deccani soldiers who turned to the Gujarat side. The Deccani-Afaqi rivalry, . which. proved disastrous for the Bahmani sultanate, seems to have begun from this time onwards. Finally Malik had to flee to his patron ruler. Ahmad Shah Bahmani made a truce by marrying his daughter to Sultan of Gujarat. It seems this marriage alliance was made as a mark of submission and we are informed that from this time onwards every king belonging to the line of Ahmad Shah Bahmani had to give his daughter in marriage to sultans of Gujarat[5].

The alliance however, does not seem to have helped in easing the strained relations between the two kingdoms as it was more circumstan~ial than a matter of choice. To avenge the successive defeats Bahmaqi sultan attacked the fort of Batnol, situated between the borders of Gujarat and the Deccan[6]. Ahmad Shah of Gujarat marched to the relief of Batnol but the armies did not engage immediately and both the rulers were hesitant to begin the conflict. Gujarat ruler was interested in a status quo in case the Bahmanid ruler withdrew from Batnol. Ahmad Shah Bahmani however wanted to compensate his loss and thus, conflict became inevitable. The battle that ensued between the two rulers resulted in favour of Gujarat and troops of the Bahmanid ruler suffered a heavy loss[7]. This was the last battle of Ahmad Shah of Gujarat against the Bahmanid ruler.

Sultan Mahmud Shah of Gujarat seems to have followed a fairly balanced policy towards his neighbouring kingdom. His relations with the Bahmanids remained cordial. He protected the Bahmanid kingdom twice form the invasion of Malwa ruler Mahmud Khlaji. When Humanyun Shah, the Bahmanid ruler died, taking advantage of the political instability, Mahmud Khlaji of Malwa launched an attack on the Deccan. Nizam Shah, the successor of Humanyun Shah sought the assistance of Mahmud Shah of Gajarat. The Gujarat ruler extended military support to the Bahmanid ruler and foiled the two attempts of Mahmud Khalji in this regions. While providing military assistance the prime concern of the Gujarat ruler was that if Malwa succeeded in extending its authority over Deccan, it would increase its resources and would become too strong to be contained and this would have disturbed the balance of power between Gujarat and Malwa. Thus, it was just not the friendly overtures that followed the assistance but while maintaining relations geo-political neccesities were taken into consideration.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This is also significant to note in this connection that as soon as Mahmud Khalji lifted off the siege of Bahmani kingdom, the Bahmani sultan' acknowledged sultan Mahmud Shah's help in writing by sending a letter to him. The texts of the two letters have been produced in the *Tarikh-I-Mahmudshah*[9].

The two kingdoms further cemented their relations in the wake of the threat from the Portuguese. During the sixteenth century the Portuguese were trying to establish their foot hold over the coastal regions of Gujarat. Mahmud Shah, the Gujarat ruler sought the help of Egypt and Turky to meet the naval power of the Portuguese. On the other hand since the Nizam Shahi ruler of the Deccan also apprehended danger from the Portuguese, he permitted the Gujarat ruler to deliver an attack on the Portuguese at Chaul.[10] The combined flottila of Gujarat, Turky and Egypt inflicted a defeat on Portuguese at Chaul in 1508. The Portuguese recovered their loses very soon and defeated the combined flottila in 1509. They forced Malik Ayaz the commander of the Gujarat fleet to conclude peace. The Deccani ruler Nizam Shah was asked to pay 30,000 *cruzados* as war indemnity and an annual subsidy of 10,000 *cruzados*[11]. Though the efforts of Gujarat and the Bahmanids. in driving out the Portuguese could not meet with success but it shows that the matters pertaining to safety and mutual interest guided the relations between the two kingdoms.

Khandesh the buffer state between Bahmanids and Gujarat had to choose its ally carefully keeping in mind the might of these powers. It accepted the overlordship of the Gujarat ruler Mahmud Shah after its invasion by one of the Bahmani commander Khalaf bin Hasan. In course of time the Sultans of Gujarat claimed the collection of tribute from Khandesh as their right. Mahmud Shah augmented his power further in this region, when he placed his grand son Alam Khan on the throne of Khandesh after the death of its ruler Adil Shah ii in 1508.[12] Though, gradually the balance of power in this region had started tilting in favour of Gujarat however, Mahmud Shah made no attempt to annex Deccani states.

Sultan Bahadur Shah's accession to power in Gujarat in 1526 brought about sharp changes in the diplomatic relations between Gujarat and its neighbouring kingdoms. Bahadur Shah was an ambitious ruler and he augmented the military might of Gujarat. He followed an expansionist policy and annexed Malwa in 1531 followed by Chittor in 1534. This shattered the balance of power so far maintained in the region. Khandesh was reduced to the position of a vassal state. The political fortunes of Bahmanids during this time were in turmoil. The disintegeration, of the Bahmani kingdom had begun leading to the emergence of five independent kingdoms in the Deccan. Bahmanids too succumbed to the military pressure of Gujarat by accepting its supremacy[13]. Gujarat's ascendancy in this region was however, short lived as soon the Mughal emperor Humanyun's concerns in western region posed a challenge to Bahadur Shah's efforts. Akbar's accession to power changed the contours of Gujarat history. Gujarat lost its independent status and succumbed to the Mughal pressure in 1572-73 and Deccan also witnessed a new phase of Mughal intervention lasting till the period of Aurangzeb.

References

1. Sikandar Ibn-I-Mabjhu, *The Mirat-I -Sikandari,* Eng. Trs. As Local Muhammaden Dynasties of Gujarat, E.C. Bayley, ed. Nagendra Singh, New Delhi, 1970, p.114.
2. S.C. Misra, *The Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat,* New Delhi, 1982, pp.190-191.
3. A.K. Nizamuddin, *The Tabaqat-I-Akbari,* ed.Barun De and M. Hidayat Husain, vol. 111, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1935, Eng. Tr. Baron De, Beni Prasad, vol. 111, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1939, pp.115-117

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

4. *Tarikh-I-Mahmudshahi*, ed. S.C. Misra, Dept. History series no.10, M.S. University of Baroda, 1988, p.51, Nizamuddin, p. 117.
5. *Tarikh-I-Mahmudshshi*, pp. 51-52.
6. *Tarikh-I-Mahmudshahi*, p.53; Nizamuddin, p.120, S.C. Misra,. Misra says that it is difficult to locate this fort. Chroniclers give varient readings. Nizamuddin calls it 'Ranthol' and 'Tambol' while Firishta give 'Basal' or 'Beul', *Mahmudshahi refers* to it as 'Bhasul' or 'Beul'. No fort of like name is to be found on the borders of Khandesh. Sir Denisson Ross has suggested 'Batnol' on the Deccan-Khandesh border which according to Misra seems correct. pp.196.
7. Nizamuddin, pp. 117-121; Muhammad Qasim, *Tarikh-I-Firishta*, Eng. Tr. as *History of the Rise of Muhammaden Power in India* by John. Briggs, vol. iv, Calcutta, 1910, p.32.
8. *Tarikh-I-Mahmudshahi*, pp.114,117,120-127.
9. *Tarikh-I-Mahmud Shahi*, pp.120,126.
10. H.K. Sherwani, *History of Medieval Deccan*, vol. I, Andhra Pradesh, 1973, p.232.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 232.
12. Briggs, pp. 75-76.
13. Gujarat ruler Bahadur Shah made a confederacy of the rulers of Khandesh and Baglana and led a joint attack on the Nizam Shahi ruler of Ahmadnagar. Nizam Shah came to terms and agreed to read Bahadur Shah's name in the Khutba, H.K. Sherwani, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

43

Epochal Reckoning of Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga

P.K. Nayak

The Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga, who were very likely a branch of the Western Gaṅgas of Gaṅgavadi near Mysore, were the earliest known ruling. family in the history of Orissa to have promulgated an era of their own. In their copper plate charters, they described the eras *"Gaṅgavaṁśa vijaya rājya saṁvatsara"*. Dr. Fleet was the first scholar to name it as Gaṅga era, *i.e.* the era promulgated by the Gaggas of Kaliṅga. About forty-one grants of the early Gaṅga kings are dated in this era. It is also found used in the epigraphs of their feudatories; *viz.* the Kadambas and the Kudālas. The earliest use of the Gaṅga era is discovered in the Jirjingi copper plate grant[1] of indravarman I dated in Saṁvat 39 and the last known use of this era is found in the Maliaputti copper plate[2] grant of Anantavarman dated in 550 Gaṅga era. For a period of more than five hundred years this era was in continuous use. Without the determination of the initial date of the era, a correct chronology of the history of Orissa cannot be ascertained. In the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to conjecture as to when and by whom the era was promulgated. Many scholars of our country and of abroad have tried to fix the initial date of the era and have given divergent views ranging from 349-50 CE to 877-78 CE[3].

While editing the Chicacole copper plate[4] of Indravarman III, Dr. Fleet read the date of the plate as *"Pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya- samba(va) tsara(h)* 128 *chaitra, di. 15*th, *i.e.* the year 128 of the increasingly victorious reign, the 15th day of Chaitra. The name of the era was not given, but from other grants, gathered by him, he concluded that it was Gāṅgeya era. Subsequently, the Chicacole plate[5] of Indravarman III, and the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman[6], dated in 51st year of the increasingly victorious reign of the Gāṅgeya family (Gaṅgeya vaṁśa), were edited by Dr. Fleet. It appears that these dates do not indicate the reign of an individual king but the reign of the dynasty. The Chcacole plate of Devendravarman refers to a solar eclipse. According to Fleet the date of this grant was mistaken as 51 which should be 251. After that, Dr. Fleet edited two more grants – the Chicacole grant of Satyavarman[7] dated in Gn.E. 351 and the Pralakimedi plates of Indravarman 11[8] dated in Gn.E.91. He, however, could not determine the starting point of the era. But while identifying Mahārājā Indravarman of Pralakimedi plate of Gn.E.91 with Adhirāja Indra who is described in the Godavari grant of Prithivīmūla to have Vanquished Indrabhaṭṭāraka, by

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

organising a confederacy of other chiefs, he took Indrabhaṭṭāraka as Indra, the younger brother of Jayasiṁha of the ruling Eastern Chālukya family. Jayasiṁha flourished in the period Śaka 549 to 582, *i.e.* 627 to 660 CE, which may also be assigned to his brother Indra. Dr. Fleet suggested, therefore, that the initial year of the Gaṅga era lay between 536 CE (627-91) and 569 CE (660-91). According to this calculation the Gn.E.128 of the Chicacole plate would fall between 664 CE to 697 CE. The Mārgaśira lunar eclipse referred to by this plate should fall in a year of this period which can be taken as the initial year of the epoch. But during this period several Mārgaśira eclipses were known to have occurred because of which Dr. Fleet could not determine precisely the actual year of the epoch intended for[9]. Afterwards Dr. Fleet in one of his papers entitled "Hindu Chronology"[10] has given his observation as follows. "..... various details in the inscriptions enable us to trace the origin of the Gaṅga kings of Western India and to place the initial point of their reckoning in 590 CE. When a certain Satyāśraya Dṛivarāja Indravarman, an ancestor and probably a grand-father of the first Gaṅga king Rājasiṁha Indravarman I, commenced to govern a large province in Konkan under the Chālukya king Kīrttivarman I". The Karellika grant shows that Dṛivaraja Indravarman was a subordinate to Pṛthivīballabha Mahārāja alias Mangalesa of Chālukya dynasty. The grant was made on the 20th year of his victorious reign which corresponds to Śaka 532 Māgha Su.di. 15[11]. Dr. Burnell accepted the view of Dr. Fleet that the epoch of the Gaṅga era was started in 390 CE[12]. G.H. Ojha, basing on the synchronic facts mentioned in the Godavari plates. of Pṛithivīmūla[13]; opines that Gaṅga era might have started on or about 570 CE[14]. While editing the Simhipura copper plate[15] grant of Kadamba king Dharmakheḍi, S.N. Rajguru has discussed the epoch basing on the genealogies supplied by the above grant and by the Kambakaya inscription[16] of Udayāditya.

Name of the grant	Gaṅga king during whose rule the plate was issued	Kadamba feudatory by whom issued	Date of the grant
Simhipura grant	Devendravarman S/o Anantavarman	Dharmakhedi S/o Bhīmakhedi Grnad son of Niyārṇava	Gaṅga Kadamba year 520
Kambakaya grant	Devendravarman	Udayāditya S/o Dharmakheḍi	Śaka year 1103

This table shows that the Kambakaya inscription is dated in the Śaka year 1003, *i.e.* 1081 CE. this was issued by the son of Dharmakheḍi during the time of Devendravarman. The Simhipura grant reveals that in Gaṅga-Kadamba year 520, Dharmakheḍi was a feudatory chief under the same overlord Devendravarman. It is known from the Chicacole plate[17] of Madhukāmārṇava, son of Anantavarman that the former was ruling in Gaṅga-Kadamba year 526. So the rule of Devendravarman must have been ended sometime between the year 526 and 520 of the same era. Hence, the year 1181 must lay between the years 520 and 526. From the above discussion it can be deduced that the Gaṅga era originated in one of the years between 655 CE (1181.526) and 661 CE (1181-520)[18]. Here, S.N. Rajguru has taken the Gaṅga-Kadamba era mentioned in the Simhipura grant as Gaṅga era.

R.D. Banerji[19] discussed the epoch of the Gaṅga era in the following manner. According to him Guṇārṇava I, the father of Devendravarman I is identical with Guṇamahārṇava, an ancestor of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅgadeva. He surmised that Devendravarman I might have ascended the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

throne in the Gaṅga year 180 as it is noticed that in the Gaṅga era 183 he issued the Chicacole plates[20]. R.D. Banerji analysed the genealogy supplied by the Nodgaon plates[21] of Vajrahasta dated in Śaka year 979. The genealogy of these plates gives the following regnal period to the Gaṅga rulers:

Vajrahasta son of Guṇamahārṇava	–	44 years
Guṇḍama	–	3 years
Kāmārṇava	–	35 years
Vinayāditya	–	3 years
Vajrahasta Aniyaṅkabhīma	–	35 years
Kāmārṇava	–	½ years of 6 months
Guṇḍama II	–	3 years
Madhu Kamarnava	–	19 years
Total period of reign	–	142½ years

The total reign period from the accession of Vajrahasta to the last year of Madhu Kāmārṇava is 142½ years or 143 years. This inscription further shows that Vajrahastadeva was the son of Kāmārṇava and the grandfather of Choḍagaṅgadeva. If we take that Devendravarman succeeded to the throne in 180 Gn.E., then Madhu Kāmārṇava may have closed his rule in (180 plus the total reign period 143 years) 323 Gn.E. As Vajrahasta was the son of this Kāmārṇava, the starting year of his reign would fall in 323 Gn.E. Vajrahasta came to the throne in Śaka year 960, *i.e.* 1038 CE. This 1038 CE is equal to 323 Gn.E. This shows that the Gaṅga era might have started in the first or the second decade of the eighth century CE. Further he states that Vizagapatam plates suggest that the Gaṅgas from Kāmārṇava I to Rājarāja I ruled for 349 years and upto Guṇa mahārṇava or Guṇārṇava II they ruled for 192 years. So 157 years intervene between the reign of Guṇārṇava II and the accession of Chodagaṅgadeva, *i.e.* 1078 CE. If this be accepted, Guṇārṇava II might have died in about 921 CE (1078-157). If this Guṇārṇava is taken to be the same as Guṇārṇava I, father of Devendravarman I who would have died in the Gaṅga year around 180, then the initial year of Gaṅga era would fall in 741 CE (927-180). In between the present date and the previously fixed date *i.e.* 1st or 2nd decade of 8th century CE a difference of 20 years is found which R.D. Banerji rationalised by stating it as a "negligible difference"[22].

Mr. R. Subba Rao[23] worked on this issue and suggested a date basing on the informations supplied by the Mandasa plates[24] and the Simhipura plates. He drew the attention to the following genealogies. He interpreted the date of Mandasa plates as 913 Śaka era.

Name of the Grant	Ganga suzerain	Kadamba feudatories
Mandasa plates Śaka 913	Anatavarman – Vajarahasta	Bhimakheḍi | Dharmakhedi Niyarnava
Simhipur Plates Gn.E. 520 or Santa Bommali plate	Anantavarman | Devendravarman	Bhimakheḍi | Dharmakheḍi

According to him, the two Dharmakheḍis were the same person. So the Gaṅga year 520, the date of the Simhipura grant would fall in about Śaka 913. Therefore, the Gaṅga era had its origin in about Śaka 393 (913-520) or 471 CE.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Later on, he attempted to determine the era with some additional informations available from later Gaṅga paltes. The geneology, supplied by the later Gaṅga plates, *i.e.* Nadagaon plates[25] is given below:

Kāmārṇava

Anantavarman Aniyaṅkabhīma Vajrahasta
(Ś 901-936)

Devendravarman Kāmārṇavaś 936-37
Anatavarman Vajrahasta
(Ś 960-992)

Guṇḍama
(Ś 939-941)

Madhu Kāmārnava
(Ś 941-960)
Gn. E. 526

By taking together the informations of the Mandasa and the Simhipura paltes with the later Gaṅga paltes, the deduced that Dharmakhedi of Gn.E. 520 and Ś913 flourished in the reigns of Anantavarman and his son Devendravarman[26]. So Gn.E. 520 would synchronise to the Śaka year 936 and the Gn.E. 526 would correspond to Śaka 942. Surprisingly, this date Śaka 942 is the second year of Madhu Kāmārṇava whose grant is dated in.

Further, Vajrahasta III (Vajrahasta V in our genealogy) is known to have ascended in 1038 CE[27]. He was the nephew and successor of Madhu Kāmārṇaya who was ruling in the Gaṅga era 526. As Madhu Kāmārṇava ruled for 19 years, his reign must have begun in 1019 CE (1038-19). The Gaṅga era 526 would fall on a year from 1019 to 1038 CE. So, if we take the Gn.E. 526 on the first year, the epoch of the Gaṅga era would fall on 493 CE (1019-526)[28]. So, later on he fixed the date of Gaṅga era at 493/94 CE.

Mr. J.C. Ghose[29], working on the dates of some Gaṅga and Kadamba grants, concluded that the epoch of the Gaṅga era started in 496 AD. He discussed the problem by furnishing the geneology given below.

Anantavarman Vajrahasta Aniyaṅkabhīma II
35 years (Ś 902-937) 980-1015 CE

Devandravarman Kāmārṇava
(6 months)
Anatavarman Vajrahasta (1038 CE)

Gundama
3 years
(1016-1019 CE)

Madhu Kāmāṇava
19 years
(1019-19038 CE)

The Simhipura grant reveals the fact that Devendravarman was ruling in the Gaṅga year 520. As he is said to have ruled only for 6 months, the Gn.E. 520 and 1015-16 CE should be synchronuous. Hence, the origin of the Gaṅga era points to a date of 495-96 CE (1015-16 -520).

G. Ramdas[30] gives a different interpretation about the beginning of the Gaṅga era. While editing the Chicacole plate of Madhu Kāmārṇava dated in Gn.E. 526, he opined that Madhu

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Kāmārṇava was the immediate, predecessor of Trikaliṅgādhipati Anantavarman Vajrahasta. He reigned from 942 Śaka year to 960 Śaka year. So, the Gaṅga year 526 would correspond to one of the years of the said period. In other words the initial year of the era must lie between 416 Śaka year Le. 494 CE and Śaka year 434, *i.e.* 512 CE.

But here G. Ramdas could nto justify his theory as none of these years could confirm the astronomical data, *i.e.* occurrence of eclipses mentioned in the epigraphs. Then he thought that the era must have signalled an epoch - making event and conjectured that the event might have been the conquest of Samudra Gupta of Kaliṅga in 349-50 CE as a result of which the old dynasty of Svāmidatta of Pisthapura was supplanted by the new dynasty of the Gaṅgas. He, therefore, holds the view that the Gaṅga era was originated in the year 349-50 CE. He verified the epoch by the specification of the eclipses referred to in the Gaṅga epigraphs discovered till that day.

R.C. Majumdar[31] while re-editing the pherova grant of Samantavarman of Śvetaka branch of Gaṅgas advocated that though the epoch of the Gaṅga era was not determined yet, there was a general convergence of views that it commenced towards the end of the 5th century CE or by the middle of the 6th century CE. To fix it more precisely, he has given a fresh interpretation of the chronogram mentioned in the Mandasa plate[32] of the Kadamba chief Dharmakhedi. Dharmakheḍi, a feudatory of Anantavarman, issued this grant in the year "Śakābda-nava-sataka sapta-rasa-mita" (*navasataka* - 900 *sapta* - 7 *rasa* - 6), which would be Śaka 967 by following the principle counting the figure from the left (Aṅkanām vamotaḥ Gati) and if it is ordinarily counted from the right it would mean Śaka 976. But Simhipura grant shows that Dharmakhedi was ruling in Gn.E. 520 as a feudatory of Devendravarman who is said to have ruled for eight years from 1070 CE to 1077 CE. As the year 520 falls in his reign the epoch of the Gaṅga era must lie between 550 (1070-520) CE to 557 CE[33]. Vepa Ramesan says, "the initial point was probably 498, Kāttikādi, 1, (if the years were current) and 497, Kārttikādi, 1, (if the years were expired years)[34].

B.V. Krishna Rao[35] has also discussed this problem in his article entitled "The Epoch of the Gaṅga Era". Taking the last decade of the 5th century CE as the probable period of the epoch and verifying the dates of the occurrence of lunar eclipses mentioned in the Gaṅga charters of the Gn.E. 91 and Gn.E. 128, Krishna Rao concluded that, the initial year of the era lay in Śaka 419 or 497-98 CE. No scholar till that date has stipulated any *tithi* or month for the beginning of the era. For the first time he fixed tentatively the starting point of the era on "*Bhādrapada-bahula-trayodaśī*" (the 13th day of the dark half of the month Bhadrava) which is an auspicious day as Lord Vishl!u in his Vāmana incarnation is said to have taken his birth on that day.[36] The suggested date, *i.e.* "*Bhādrapada-bahula-trayodaśī*" of the Śaka year 419 corresponds to Monday, 11th August 497 AD from which according to Krishna Rao, the epoch of the era was started.

Soma Shekhar Sarma[37] showed that the Gaṅga era was started in the Śaka year 426-27 or 504-05 CE between June and January. His view is based on the synchronic facts of the Mandasa grant and the Simhipura grant of Dharmakheḍi. The Simhipura grant of Devendravarman dated in Gn.E. 520 and the Mandasa grant of Anantavarman Vajrahasta dated in Śaka year 976, refer to Dharmakheḍi, the Kadamba feudatory. This Devendravarman, according to Mr. Sarma, may be Madhu Kamarnava, the predecessor of Vajrahasta V (Vajrahasta III, according to same scholars). The date of accession to the throne of Vajrahasta V is Śaka year 960 or 1038 CE. Madhu Kāmārṇava the predecessor of Vajrahasta V is known to have ruled for 19 years from 1019 CE to 1038 CE. Supposing that the Gn.E. 520 of the Simhipura grant and Gn.E. 528[38] of the Chicacole grant point to the initial year and the last year of Devendravarman Madhu Kāmārṇava respectively, the starting point of the Gaṅga ear must lay in between 499 CE and 510 CE.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

By examining the astronomical data of the Siddhantam plates[39] of Devendravarman dated in Gn.E. 195 it is found that the *Dakshiṇāyana,* on which day the grant was made, started in the 5th day of the dark half of *Śrāvaṇa* in the Śaka year 426-27 or 504-05 CE. He verified this date with the date mentioned in Tekkali plates[40] dated in Gn.E. 192 of Devendravarman. This grant refers to a lunar eclipse which according to his epoch would occur in 696-97 (504-05 + 192). In this year there was a lunar eclipse in *Māgha.*

Mr. N. Ramesan[41] calculating the occurrence of the solar and lunar eclipses mentioned in the Andhavaram grant of Gn.E. 133 and the Chicacole grant of Gn.E. 128, fixed the starting point of the epoch at 434 CE. The initial year is ascertained by him through a comparative study of both these grants of Indravarman. In the latter charter, two dates are mentioned. One is the date of engraving and the other is the date of the issue of the grant. The grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipes in the month of *Mārgaśira* and it was engraved on the 15th day of *Chaitra* in Gn.E. 128. Since the lunar months are counted from *Chaitra,* the *Mārgasīra* lunar eclipse referred to in this grant might have occurred in the previous year, *i.e.* on Gn.E. 127. Just other six years, a *Sravan,a* solar eclipse occurred in Gn.E. 133 as evidenced by Chicacole plates. After a survey, Ramesan found that *Śrāvaṇa* Solar eclipses occurred in the years 502, 512, 529, 531, 548, 567, 605, 660, 661, 670, 679, 608 and 707 CE. In this above period of survey, *Mārgaśira* lunar eclipses occurred in 496, 523, 542 and 561 CE. It is marked that after 561, no *Mārgaśirà* lunar eclipse occurred upto 707 CE. Ramesan could find two probable dates i.e. 542 CE and 561 CE after six years of which solar eclipses occurred in 548 CE and 567 CE. So if the Gn.E. 133 be taken as 548 CE the initial year of the epoch would be 415 CE and if the Gn.E. 133 be taken as 567 CE, the initial day of the epoch would fall in 434 CE. The year 415 CE could not qualify when it was put to test with astronomical data supplied by other charters. But the epoch 434 CE qualified to the tests. He verified the epoch by the astronomical data furnished by the charters of the Gn.E. 51, 127, 133, 154, 221, 306 and 397. The date 434 CE suits in the cases[42] cited above but not in all cases.

V.V. Mirashi[43] discussed the epoch of Gaṅga era and fixed the initial year as 498 CE by a thorough examination and analysis of the four crucial Ganga charters which are (1) the Ponduru plates of Gn.E. 500, (2) the Indian Museum plates of Devendravarman dated in Gn.E. 308, which mentions a solar eclipse left unnoticed before him, (3) the Santabommali plates of Nandavarman dated in Gn.E. 221 and (4) the Chicacole plates of Indravarman dated in Gn.E. 128. By verifying thse grants V.V. Mirashi concluded that the epoch of the Gaṅga era began in the Śaka year 420 expired, *i.e.* 498-99 CE from the first tithi of the bright fortnight of the month of *Chaitra (Chaitra Śukla Pratipadā).* Subsequently, V.V. Mirashi verified twelve dates of the Ganga era and proved that his epoch explained all the dates satisfactorily. According to him the Gaṅga era has been used in both expired years and current years. To convert a Gaṅga year into a Śaka year one has to add 419 if it was a current year and 420 if it was an expired one.

Regarding the circumstances which led to the establishment of the Ganga dynasty and the commencement of the era, Mirashi argued that the Vākāṭaka emperor Hariṣeṇa conquered Kaliṅga and exacted tribute from the then ruler of that state. When the Vākāṭaka power began to decline, the Gaṅgas gradually rose to prominence establishing themselves firmly in that region. It is apparent that after assuming the power, the Gaṅgas had promulgated their own era.

Later on V.V. Mirashi examined four more dates of Gaṅga records which were discovered afterwards and showed that all these corroborated the epoch determined by him. The plates were: (1) The Tekkali plates[44] of Anantavarman of Gn.E. 308, (2) The Ponnuturu plates[45] of Samantavarman of Gn.E. 64, (3) The Andhavaram plates[46] of Devendravarman of Gn.E. 133 and (4) The Musunika

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Grant[47] of Devendravarman of Gn.E. 306. He has further shown that in the earlier grants the *Purṇimānta* system has been followed whereas in the later *Amanta* system has been observed.

B.V. Krishna Rao re-examined his view on this epoch in 1956.[48] Previously he advocated for *"Vāmana Jayanti", i.e. "Bhādrapada Bahula Trayodasī"* as the beginning day of the era. But here he revised his date and stated that the Gaṅga era commenced on *Purṇimāmta Kārttika Kṛiṣhṇa Pratipadā.* He criticized the view of V. V. Mirashi that the Gaṅgas had adopted both *Amānta* and *Purṇimānta* system and holds that dates in the Ganga charters have been reckoned according to *Purṇimānta* scheme. Further, he states that all the years of the Gaṅga era were currently and not expired and current as hold by Prof. Marashi. Again he proclaims that the Ganga year was never synchronous with Śaka year. Hence, the Gaṅga year cannot have the, start on *Chaitra Śu.di 1 i.e.* the first day of the bright half of the month of *Chaitra*[49].

R.C. Majumdar[50] reopened the question of the epoch of Gaṅga era. While editing the Madagrama grant he showed that the epoch of the era would fall in one of the years between 546 CE and 556 CE. The view of R.C. Majumdar was reviewed by Prof. Mirashis[51]. The date of the Madagrama grant was read by Majumdar as Śaka 988. Majumdar interpreted the date of the Mandasa grant as 967 or 976 Śaka year. The date of the Madagrama plates is given as *"Śakāvdana-sata-ashtāsiti-Saṁvartu".* But Majumdar read it as *Śakābda-nava-sat-ashṭasiti-Samvat*[52] or Śaka 988. Mirashi assorted that the date if properly read, would be 888 Śaka year. The date of the Mandasa plates is also interpreted by Majumdar as 967 or 976 Śaka which was not acceptable to the scholars. The correct reading would be *"Śakābda-nava-śataka-saptādaśa-mita"* meaning Śaka 917. So, the main basis of Dr. Majumdar's theory is erroneous. Even if his interpretation is accepted, his epoch does not satisfy some of the crucial dates of Ganga charters. Further Prof. Mirashi showed that the objection raised by Dr. Majumadar against his epoch of the era was baseless. According to D.C. Sircar, the epoch was started in the period between 496 CE and 498 CE. He has not fixed the exact date of the Gaṅga era[53]. K.V. Ramesh also follows the line of thought of Sircar[54].

S.N. Rajguru[55], reexamined the issue of the epoch of the Gaṅga era. He tried to fix the epoch on the following grounds. Dharmakhedi was a feudatory of Anantavarman III, the son of Devendravarman, who issued the Tekkali plates dated in Gn.E. 358. From the Mandasa plate it is known that Dharmakheḍi was ruling in 917 Śaka year, *i.e.* 995 CE. If Anantavarman of Gn.E. 358 and Dharmakheḍi were contemporary and were living in 995 CE, the Ganga era might start somewhere near 637 CE (995-358). For the calculation of the Gaṅga era, he has taken 626-27 CE as the initial year and he believes that the Gaṅga year was counted from *Bhādrapada Śakla Dvadaśī.* The 12th day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Bhādrapada.* Previously Rajguru was of the opinion that the Gaṅga era and the Gaṅga-kadamba era were identical. But as Gaṅga-Kadamba era 520 for Dharmakheḍi goes against his epoch, he changed his view and now asserted that both the eras were different. In the course of verification of dates, it will be seen that the epoch propounded by Rajguru is also untenable. These are the views of the different scholars. It is necessary to examine these views through verification of dates of the Gaṅga era which contain some astronomical details, helpful for computation. The verification is given hereunder chronologically.

1. Ponnuturu Plates of Samantavarman of Gaṅga era 64.[56]

It is stated in the charter that this grant was made on the occasion of the *Uttarāyana* or *Makara Saṁkrāmti* and the plates were engraved on the 13th day of the bright fortnight of *Puṣya.* The date of the grant declared should always precede the date of preparation or handing over the' plates to the donees.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

According to the epoch fixed by Prof. Mirashi, the Gaṅga year 64 corresponds to 484 Śaka year or 562-63 CE. *Makara Saṁkrānti* occurred 1 hour 15 minutes after the mean sunrise on December 20th, 562 CE. The *tithi Puṣya trayodaśī* ended 10 hours 20 minutes after the mean sun rise of 24th December, 562 CE. It is clear that the plates were issued four days after the grant was made. It is quite natural because the date of the declaration of the grant always precedes the date of issue of the grant.

On the contrary, this date 64 Gaṅga era disproves the other epochs proposed by scholars as detailed below:

Proposed epoch of the era	*Date of the Uttanāyaṇa*	*Date of corresponding to Puṣya Su.di. 13*
494 CE	20th Dec., 558 CE	9th Dec., 558 CE
496 CE	19th Dec., 560 CE	16th Dec., 560 CE
497 CE	19th Dec., 561 CE	5th Dec., 561 CE
504 CE	19th Dec., 568 CE	18th Dec., 568 CE
626 CE	21 st Dec., 690 CE	19th Dec., 690 CE

In all above cases the *Uttarāyaṇa* or *Makara Saṁkrānti* occurred some days after *Puṣya Śukla trayodaśī*. So, the grant made on the occasion of the *Saṁkrānti* could not have been engraved on that *tithi* in any of these years.

In these plates, the *tithi* of its issue has been mentioned first in words as *Puṣya Śukla trayodaśī* and again figures as *Puṣya dina* 28 in line 29. This suggests that here the month mentioned is *Purṇimānta*.

2. Urlam Plates of Hastivarman of the Gaṅga era 80.[57]

The date is mentioned twice in these plates.[58] This grant was issued on the 8th day of the dark half of *Kāzrttika* in the Gn.E. 80.

This date does not admit of verification as it is lacking astronomical details. The mode of reckoning of dates in two places, however, shows that the month *Kārttika* was *Purṇimānta*. According to the epoch of Mirashi, *i.e.* the initial year of the era be 498 CE, this date will correspond to 11th September 578 CE.

3. Santabommali Plates of Indravarman of the Gaṅga era 87.[59]

The plates were issued on the 30th[60] day of the month of *Jyeṣṭha* in the increasingly victorious reign of Indravarman in Gn.E. 87. The date corresponds to the solar month *Jyeṣṭha* which contains 30 days in 585 CE *i.e.* from 5th May to 3rd June. This grant was issued on 3rd June 585 CE.

4. Paralakimedi Plates of Indravarman II of the Gaṅga era 91.[61]

The grant was made on the 30th day of *Māgha* in the Gn.E. 91. According to the epoch 498 CE, Gn.E. 91 corresponds to 589 CE. In the year 589 CE, *Māgha* had thirty days from the 24th December to the 22th January 589 CE. In 590 CE also *Māgha* has 30 days from 12 January to the roth February 590. Here as *Māgha* of 60th the years has 30 days the year cannot be ascertain whether it was an expired or current year.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

5. Chacacole Plates of Indravarman III of the Gaṅga era 128.[62]

The grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, occurred in the month of *Mārgaśira* and it was issued on *Chaitra dina* 15 of the Gaṅga era 128. According to Mirashi' s epoch Gn.E. 128 corresponds to 625-626 CE if the year is current and to 626-627 CE if the year is taken as expired. It is noticed that the lunar eclipse had taken place in the month of *Mārgasīra* on 20th November 625 CE and on 9th November 626 CE. The grant must have been made on either of these two dates and the plates were engraved on the following *Chaitra dina* 15 very likely of the solar reckoning. The date of the engraving the charter according to our calculation will be 4th March 626 CE or 4th March 627 CE. We have seen that the Ganga year and Śaka year are concurrent *i.e.* they commence on *Chaitra śudi* 1. The initial date of these eras falls on the 5th March 626 CE and on the 22nd February 627 CE. The Gaṅga year 128 starts from the 5th March 626 CE and ends on the 21 st February 627 AD. So, the 4th March 627 CE would fall on the Gaṅga era 129. Hence, it is not acceptable. So it may be concluded that the grant was made on the 20th November 625 CE on the occasion of a *Mārgaśira* lunar eclipse and it was prepared and issued on the following *Chaitra śudi* 15, *i.e.* 4th March 626 CE.

6. Andhavaram Plates of Indravarman III of the Tumvuru era 133[63] which is believed to be the same as the Gaṅga era.

This grant was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse occurred In the month of *Śrāvaṇa amāvāsyā*. According to the epoch of Prof. Mirashi the date corresponds to 630-31 CE (497/98 + 133) if it is current and to 631/32 CE (498/99 + 133) if the year is expired one.

The solar eclipse occurred on the *āmāvāsyā of amānta śrāavaṇa* in current Gaṅga year which falls on 13 August 630 CE. As there was no solar eclipse in *Śrāvaṇa* in 631-32 CE, the year should be taken as current. Further, the date indicates that the month was *amānta*.

The date disproves all other epochs of Gaṅga era as shown here under.

Proposed epoch of the Gaṅga era	*Corresponding year of Christian era*	*Occurrence of Śrāvaṇa āmāvāsyā eclipse*
494 CE	627 CE	No solar eclipse in *amanta* or *purṇimāmta Śrāvaṇa*
434 CE	567 CE	—do—
496 CE	629 CE	—do—
497-98 CE	631 CE	—do—
504-05 CE	737 CE	—do—
626-27 CE	759 CE	—do—

7. Tekkali Plates of Indravarman III of the Gaṅga era 154.[64]

This grant was made on the occasion of the solar eclipse in the Ganga year 154: According to the epoch of 498 CE the Gn.E. 154 would fall on 651/52 CE (154 + 497/98) if the year is current and on 652/53 CE (154 + 498/99) if it is expired. There was a solar eclipse in the *amānta Mārgaśira* in 651 CE. The year cited here was current as thee was no solar eclipse in 652 CE and the month here was also *amānta*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

8. Tekkali Plates of Devendravarman I of the Gaṅga era 192.[65]

This grant was donated on the occasion of a lunar eclipse held in an unspecified month. The date of engraving was in the Ganga era 192 on *Māgha* 30 which is apparently according to solar reckoning and is equivalent to the 20th January 691 CE. There was lunar eclipse on 22nd November 690 CE in the month of *Mārgaśira* and it seems that the grant was made on that day.

S.N. Rajguru and Soma Sekhar Sarma, taking the date of the grant and the date of its issue as the same, hold that the lunar eclipse occurred in the month of *Māgha* in Gn.E. 192. As no lunar eclipse occurred in the month of *Māgha* in the period from 688 CE to 697 CE, they concluded that the epoch of 498 CE is untenable for the Gaṅga era. But it is apparent that the date of the grant made and the date of the issue of the charter are not the same. No doubt the grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse but it was not specifically indicated in the grant that the lunar eclipse occurred in the month of *Māgha.* The month *Māgha* here was a solar month as shown above and not a luni-solar month as believed by Rajguru. It may also be mentioned here that if the date of the grant be taken as the same as the date of the engraving, the epoch of S.N. Rajguru, who is of the view that the era starts from *Bhādrapāda sudi* 12, 626-27 CE would not hold good and his own evidence would go against him.

9. Siddhantam Plates of Devendravarman of the Gaṅga era 195.[66]

The grant was made on the date of the *Dakshiṇāyana* and the charter was issued to the donee on the 5th day of the dark half of *Śrāvaṇa* in Gn.E. 195. It is to be noted that no *tithi* was mentioned in connection with *Dakṣināyana.* There is not the slightest indication that *Śrāvaṇa* and *Śrāvaṇa Kṛṣṇa Pañchamī* was the day of *Dakṣināyana.* So the view of Mr. Sarma that he date of *Dakṣiṇayana* and *Śrāivaṇa Kṛṣṇa Pañchamī* were identical is not acceptable to us. The present plates have been issued sometime after the grant was made like the Ponnuturu plates of Sāmantavarman[67] and Achyutapuram plates of lndravarman II.[68] According to the epoch of 498 CE, the Dakṣiṇāyana of Gn.E. 195 occurred in 3 hours 20 minutes on 22nd June 693 CE and the *amānta Śrāvaṇa Kṛṣṇa Pañchamī* ended on the 28th July 693 CE.

10. Santabommali Plates of Nandavarman of the Gaṅga era 221.[69]

The grant was made on the day of a solar eclipse and was issued on the 5th day of *Āṣāḍha* in Gn.E. 221. According to the epoch of Prof. Mirashi the Christian equivalent year of Gn.E. 221 is 719 CE (498 + 221) and there was a solar eclipse in that year in *Jyeṣṭha* on 23rd May. There was no solar eclipse in the year 718 CE.

Rajguru's[70] contention that the date on which the grant was engraved is the same as the date on which the grant was made, has been proved fallacious in the case of this grant. Rajguru admits here that the charter was incised some days after the occurrence of the solar eclipse *i.e.* the date of the grant because on the fifth *tithi* of luni-solar month there will never occur an eclipse.

Rajguru raised another objection regarding the interpretation of the date of this grant. He states, "According to Mirashi's theory, this date, *i.e.* Gn.E. 221 corresponds to (498 + 221) 719 CE in which year there was an additional *Āṣādḥa (Adhika Āṣādḥa)* and a solar eclipse occurred in *'Malamāsa'* on the 24th May, 719 CE. But in *Malamāsa* no sacred functions are done."[71] But there was a solar eclipse in the month of *amānta Jyeṣṭha* and this month was not intercalated.[72] The grant was donated on the *amāvāsyā* of *amānta Jyeṣṭha* and was engraved on 5th day of *Āṣādḥa.* Here *Āṣāḥha* was also an *amānta* month.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

11. Chicacole Plates of Devendravarman of the Gaṅga era '51' or '251[73].

The grant was made on the occasion of the eclipse of the planet sun and in the increasingly victorious Gaṅga year. Here the figure denoting hundreds is omitted. According to Fleet the paleography of this grant shows that it must have been 200. Fleet, while editing the plates thought that the hundredth figure would be 2 and the date would be Gn.E. 251. But S.N. Rajguru put it as Gaṅga year 351. But it is found that in the Gaṅga-year 351, Satyavarman, another Gaṅga king of Kalinganagara, has issued another Chicacole grant on the occasion of a solar eclipse. In Gn.E. 351, *i.e.* 848-49 CE or 849-50 CE, there was only one solar eclipse which occurred on 5th June 848 CE. Fleet opines that it seems highly improbable that two Gaṅga kings might have donated two different charters for two different purposes on the same day. So, Fleet states that the Gaṅga year here would be 251. In that year there was a solar eclipse on *amānta Chaitra amāvāsyā* corresponding to *23cd* March, 749 CE. So, this date suits well to the Ganga year 251 also. But internal evidences show that the year would be 351 and both charters dated in 351 were studied by the father Devendravarman and his son Satyavarman respectively. They might be ruling jointly.

12. Alamanda Plates of Anantavarman II of the Gaṅga era 304.[74]

The grant mentions a solar eclipse held in the Gaṅga year 304. The year 304 of the increasingly victorious, reign of *Gāṅgeya* family corresponds to the year 801-02, if the year was current. If it was expired it would correspond to the year 802-03 CE. In the former year there was a solar eclipse in the month of *Jyeṣṭha* whereas in the latter year two solar eclipses occurred in the month of *Jyeṣṭha* and *Mārgaśira*. As the months when the solar eclIpse occurred was not specified, the actual year cannot be determined. The year may be taken either current or expired.

13. Salantri Plates or Musunika grant of Devendravarman of the Gaṅga era 306.[75]

The grant was donated on the occasion of solar eclipse in the Ganga year 306 which corresponds to 803-04 CE if the year was current and to 804-05 if it was expired. There occurred a solar eclipses in the month of *amānta Vaiśākha* on the 25 April, 803 CE and on 13 April 804 CE. So, the year mentioned here may be current or expired.

14. Indian Museum Plates or Bada-Kimedi of Devendravarman of the Gaṅga era 308.[76]

The plates were is.sued in the Gaṅga year 308 and the grant was made on the occasion of the solar eclipse held in the month of *Māgha*. If the year was current, it synchronized the year 805-06 CE and to 806-07 CE if it was expired. In the latter year there was a solar eclipse in *amāmta Māgha* on 11th February 807 CE. It is noticed here that the year was expired and the month was *amānta*. This date disproves other likely epoch of the Ganga era as it was the only one eclipse in *Māgha* occurred in the period from 788 CE to 806 CE. This date, further, goes against the epoch proposed by S.N. Rajguru. According to his epoch, the date corresponds to 934-35 CE (308 + 626/27) in which year there was no solar eclipse in *Māgha*.

15. Chacacole Plates of Satyavarman of the Ganga era 351.[77]

The donation was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the Gn.E. 351 which corresponds, according to the epoch of 498 CE to the year 848/49 CE (497/98 + 351) if it was current and to 849/50 CE (498/99 + 351) if it was expired. There was a solar eclipse in *amāmta Jyeṣṭha*, both on the 5th June of the year 848 CE. As there cannot occur two solar eclipses generally with in one year it is held that both grants were made on the same day by Devendravarman and Satyavarman who were ruling probably jointly.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

16. Tekkali Plates of Anantavarman of the Gaṅga era 358.[78]

This grant refers to a solar eclipse in the Gaṅga era 358. The current year 358 of the Gaṅga era corresponds to 855-56 CE and the expired year corresponds to 856-57 CE according to the epoch of 498 CE. The former year contains no solar eclipse. But in the next year there were two solar eclipses on *amāvāsyā* of the *amānta Āṣāḍha* and *Pauṣā* which fall on fifth July and thirty first December 856 CE. The year used was a expired year.

17. Chidivalasa Plates of Devendravarman of the Gaṅga era 397.[79]

The grant was made on account of a solar eclipse occurred in the Gaṅga year 397. The current Gaṅga year 397 synchronises to 894-95 CE but to 895-896 CE if the year be taken as expired year. In the former year there was solar eclipse in *Jyeṣṭha* on 7th June 894 CE in the latter year also there were two eclipses in the month of *Jyeṣṭha* and *Kārttika* 28th May 895 CE and 20th November 895 CE respectively. As the month is not specified, it is difficult to determine whether the year was current or expired.

18. Ponduru Plates of Vajrahasta II of the Gaṅga era 500[80].

This grant was made on the 5th day of Āṣāḍha, the Sunday on 500 Gaṅga year. This is an important grant for the verification of the epoch as it for the firs't time mentions a week day along with other details. According to Mirashi's epoch of the Gaṅga era the date corresponds to the Sunday, the 13th day of June, 997 CE which was the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *amāmta Āṣāḍha*. The astronomical details agree completely to the epoch of 498 CE. This date does not tally to the year 998 CE, the expired year. So, here the year was current and the month is *amāmta*. The mention of a week day gives an additional and important clue for the fixation of the epoch with more certainty. This date with its details disproves several epochs fixed by scholars as shown below

Proposed epoch of the Ganga era	*Date corresponding to Āṣāḍha di. 5*	*Week day on that tithi*
494 CE	16th June 994 CE	Saturday
496 CE	24th June 996 CE	Wednesday
497-98 CE *(Pūrṇimanta Kārttikādi)*	2nd June 998 CE	Thursday

The above verification of the eighteen dates of the Gaṅga era which contain astronomical details, helpful for scrutinisation, proves that the epoch of 498 CE for the Ganga era explains appreciably all dates. The view that the Ganga era originated from *amānta chaitra Śukla pratipadā* in the expired Śaka year 420 or 498 CE, therefore, seems to be most acceptable date. We agree to this view of Mirashi as it is found that the epoch is applicable in all cases. The starting point of the era corresponds to 14th March 498 CE. So, we have to add the sum of 419 to a particular Gaṅga year in order to convert it to Śaka era and the sum of 497-98 CE to get the equivalent Christian year if the year is a current one. Similarly, one has to add 420 to a particular Ganga era to get the equivalent Śaka year and the sum of 498-99 to get the corresponding Christian year if the year is an expired one.

Some scholars like B.V. Krishna Rao and S.N. Rajguru objected the view that the Gaṅga year used in their charters were sometimes expired and sometimes current. B.V. Krishna Rao commented that "It cannot be accepted that the Gaṅga year was quoted without any uniformity, sometimes as

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

an expired, sometimes as a current year and often on both expired and current or doubtful years". The view held by Krishna Rao is not sound. Nowhere, in the Gaṅga inscriptions under our review, has been described a year as doubtful year and a year as both current and expired year. As some grants do not possess sufficient details, it is not possible to determine the year whether they are current or expired. Again another difficulty a rises in some grants possessing details of date which can be interpreted in either way. The use of current and expired year in Gaṅga era is not a solitary example. In the examination of the dates of Vikrama, Śaka and Newar eras by Kielhorn, the dates of Gupta era by Fleet and Bhandarkar and the dates of the Chedi-Kalachuri era by V.V. Mirashi, the concurrence of both the current and the expired years are noticed. The use of the current and expired years can be shown in a comparative study of the Ganga inscriptions[81].

It is observed that the grants usually contain two sets of dates-one occurs in the middle of the charter and the other generally at the end of the charter. The former one is the date of the actual grant made and the later one is the date of issue and recording of the charter of the grant. These two. dates are not necessarily identical. But in some cases they may be identical. The Urlam plates of Hastivarman[82] contains two dates – one in line 13 as *Kārttika Kṛṣṇa Aṣṭamī* and the other in line 23 as *Samvatsara aśitih* 80, *Kārttika dina* 8. Here, the *Kārttika Kṛṣṇa Aṣṭami* of the former and the *Kārttika dina* 8 of the latter dates are no doubt, identical. *Kārttika dina* 8 and *Kṛishṇa Aṣṭami* suggest *Purṇimānta* reckoning. The same case may be seen in the Andhavarman plates of Indravarman III.[83]

In some other cases the two dates are not identical. For instance the dates of the Santabommali plates of Nandavarman.[84] The grant was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse *(Sūryoparage)* and the date of issue was *Āṣāḍha dina Pañchamī* of the Gn. E. 221. These dates can never be the same as no eclipse occurs on the 5th day of a luni-solar month.

In some cases the plates were issued sometimes after the lapse of months and even years. So unless there is an explicit mention that the two dates are identical, we should not take them as so. The Tekkali plates[85] of Devendravarman was made on the day of lunar eclipse and was issued on loth day of *Māgha* in the Gn.E. 192. Here there is no indication that the lunar eclipse fell on the 30th day of *Māgha.* It appears that *Māgha* in this grant is a solar month and not luni-solar one.

It is further observed that the Ponnuturu grant of Gn.E. 64[86] and the Urlam grant of Gn.E. 80[87] are dated in *purṇimānta* scheme of reckoning. Santabommali plates of Gn.E. 221[88], Indian Museum plates of Gn.E. 308[89] and Ponduru plates of Gn.E. 500[90] dated in *amānta* system of reckoning. The combined use of the *purṇimānta* and *amcmta* scheme in an era is not uncommon. Kielhorn, while examining the dates in Vikaram era, observed that both *purṇimāmta* and *amānta* scheme have been used in dating[91]. The dates in Śaka era are in *amanta* but Kielhorn noticed in the Hyderabad plates[92] of Pulakesin II the use of *Purṇimānta* system of dating. In the dates in Kalachuri era, *amānta* system is followed in Maharashtra whereas *purṇimānta* system is generally followed in Central India and Chhatisgarh area.[93] The early Gaṅga grants are found dated in the *purṇimānta* scheme whereas the later grants are found dated in *amāmta* system. Now, while accepting the epoch 498 CE of the Gaṅga era, we have to examine some of the Gaṅga records and other contemporary records so as to ascertain whether those facts are going against our epoch or they fully agree to it.

1. Godavari Plates of Pṛthvīmūla (Set 1).[94]

This grant was issued by Rājan Pṛthvīmūla from his victorious camp at Kandali at the request of Indradhirāja, the son of Mitavarman of twice-born family. This Indradhirāja, an ally of Pṛihvīmūla formed a confederacy of kings against the Vishṇukuṇḍi king Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman. Dr. Fleet identified this Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman with his name-shake of Eastern Chālukya family who was.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the brother of Jayasiṁha and he took Indradhirāja as the Ganga king Indravarman III of Chicacole plates dated in Gn.E. 128.[95] On the other hand, Kielhorn[96] identified Indrabhaṭṭarakavarman with the Viṣṇukuṇḍi king of that name of Chikkulla plates[97]. The view of Kielhorn has generally been accepted. This Indrabhaṭṭāraka is known to have flourished in the 2nd quarter of th.e 6th century CE from cir. 525 CE to 555 CE[98]. There were three Indravarmans in Gaṅga dynasty - Indravarman I, ruling in Gn.E. 39, i.e. in 537 CE; Indravarman II ruling during the period Gn.E. 87 CE to Gn.E. 97 *i.e.* 585 CE to 595 CE; and Indravarman III, flourished at least from Gn.E. 128 to Gn.E. 154, *i.e.* 626 CE to 652 CE. Fleet later on "identified Indradhiraja with Indravarman V.V. Mirashi[100] accepted this view though he took Indrabhaṭṭāraka u Viṣhṇukuṇḍi king of that name. As stated above, the Vishṇukuṇḍi king Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman is known to have ruled from 525 CE to 555 CE. So, neither Indravarman II nor Indravarman III can be identical Indradhiraja of Godavari plates. The identification of Indradhiraja Indravarman I, made by D.R. Bhandarkar[101], seems to be more reasonable which obtained general acceptance for the scholars. For the latter who issued the Jirjingi plates of Gn.E. 39 was ruling in 537 CE and was thus a contemporary of Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman who was then ruling. This synchronism fits in well according to the epoch of 498 CE of the Gaṅga era.

2. Ganjam Plates of Madhavaraja II.

We know from the Ganjam plates[102] of Mādhavarāja II of Kangoda that he was a feudatory of Śaśāṅka in Gupta era 300, *i.e.* 619 CE. This indicates that the suzerainty of Śaśāṅka in Orissa had extended at least upto the mount Mahendra and there are reasons to believe that he had occupied also a portion of Kaliriga territory. The Ganga power in the first quarter of the 7th century CE had suffered a temporary eclipse and we get absolutely no record of theirs during this period. This region was probably under Śaśāṅka during that time. In Khurdha charter[103] of Mādhavarāja, which is chronologically next to his Ganjam grant the suzerainty of Śaśāṅka over Koṅgoda has not been mentioned and the king Mādhavarāja describes himself as the lord of the entire Kaliṅga *(Śakalakaliṅgādhipati)*. It seems that after the sudden fall of Śaśāaṅka, Mādhavarāja asserted his independence and even occupied Kalinga sometimes after 620 CE. In none of his subsequent charters after Khurdha grant, Mādhavarāja alias Mādhavavarman calls himself the lord of Kaliṅga. This means that Kaliṅga again came under the Gaṅga rule and Śilodbhavas were driven out from that land. The earliest charter after the temporary eclipse of the Gaṅgas was issued by Indravarman III in the Gn.E. 128[104] which is equivalent to 626 CE according to our epoch. Indravarman III reasserted his power in Kaliṅga sometimes before 626 CE probably with the help of the Eastern Chālukyas. It appears that he drove away the Śailodbhava king Mādhavarāja who boasted in the Khurdha charter issued after 620 CE as the Lord of entire Kaliṅga. Thus our epoch quite satisfactorily agrees to this synchronism.

3. Kadamba Inscriptions

Dharmakeḍi, son of Bhīmakheḍi was a feudatory chief under two Gaṅga kings - Anantavarman and his son Devendravarman. The Mandasa plate of the time of Anantavarman is dated in 917[105] Śaka era or 995 CE. The Simhipura plates also known as Santabommali plates of Devendravarman is dated in Gaṅga-Kadamba era 520. In our epoch it would be 940 Śaka era or 1018 CE (520 + 498). The gap between these two grants is 23. year. This difference is quite reasonable. Dharmakheḍi issued the former charter in 917 Śaka era during the time of Anantavarman and he issued the latter one (Simhipura) in 940 Śaka era during the time of Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman. This synchronism fits in well to our epoch. As this did not suit the view of S.N. Rajguru, he held that the Gaṅga era and Gaṅga-Kadamba era were two different epochs[106]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

though he was previously of the opinion that both the eras were identical. Further the epoch of 498 CE never disturbs the chronology of Gaṅga kings and Kadamba feudatories.

4. Inscriptions of Vajrahastadeva V

After Devendravarma V who was ruling at least up to 397 Gaṅga year nothing is known about his descendents upto the time of Ramapuram plates of Vajrahasta IV dated in Gaṅga year 495. But to our good fortune, the copper plates of Vajrahasta V came to our rescue. At least seven copper plate grants of him provide a long and identical genealogies of the kings starting from Guṇamahārṇava upto himself along with the period of rule of individual king, to a total period of reign which comes to 142½ years or 143 years. Vajrahasta V ascended the throne in 1038 CE. So Guṇamahārṇava, the first king of the genealogy will be flourishing in (1038 - 143) 895 CE. If this year is converted into Gaṅga era according to our epoch, *i.e.* 498 CE it would be 397 (895-498) Ganga era. Exactly in this year Devendravarman was ruling. Nothing is known about Manujdravarman. He might have predeceased his father. As there is gap between Devendravarman V and Guṇamahārṇava, the latter might not have been a lineal descendent and might not have became a king. After Devendravarman V, the son of Guṇamahārṇava might have succeeded to the Gaṅga throne and continued the dynastic rule. Here one thing is clear that a distinct linkage could be established between the early group of kings and latter group of kings, if 498 CE is adopted as the epoch of the Gaṅga era. So, the initial date of Gaṅga era will be 498 CE.

Origin of the Era

It is known from the history of the Vākāṭakas that their king Hariṣeṇa led a whirlwind campaign and conquered the countries of Kuntala, Avantī, Āndhra, Kaliṅga, Kośala etc. in the last quarter of the 5th century CE.[107] As discussed above, rule of the Gaṅgas was established in Kaliṅga towards the close of the 5th century CE or precisely in 498 CE. This indicates that the Kaliṅga invasion of Hariṣeṇa and the rise of Gaṅgas in kaliṅga were not isolated events but closely linked with each other. In other words the rise of the Gaṅgas was due to Hariṣeṇa Vākāṭaka. It seems that a Gaṅga chief of the South probably Indravarman I of Jirjingi plates[108] accompanied Vākāṭaka army during their campaign and it was he who was allowed to establish the rule of his family in Kaliṅga after the departure of Hariṣeṇa. Apparently he established the Gaṅga rule in Orissa. The inscriptions of the early kings of the Gaṅga dynasty do not provide any information about the origination of the Gaṅga era. The Andhavarma plates dated in 133 year of *Tuṁvuru vaāśarājya saṁvatsara* suggests that the dynasty was previously known as *Tuṁvuruvaṁśa* at a certain point of time. The Gaṅga kings in their charters unequivocally proclaim themselves as *Gaṅgāmalakūla Gaganatala Sahaśaravaśmi.* In Vizagapatam plates[109] of Choḍagaṅgadeva, the dynasty became known as Gaṅga. or Gāṅgeyavamsa after the name of king Gāṅgeya who was born to Turuvasu (an ancestor of Gaṅgas) by the mercy of the Goddess Gaṅga. Probably, the earlier identity of the dynasty, *i.e. Tuṁvuruvaṁśa* was transformed into Gāṅgeyavaṁśa. But the era used in the charter took time to be christened after the dynastic name. Indravarman I was ruling over Kaliṅga in 537 CE (498+39) in his 39th regnal year *"Pravardhamāma Saṁvat"*[110]. But the date of the record of his successor Sāmantavarman has been dated as "Pravardhamāna *vijayarājya Saṁvat*"[111] which is no doubt the reckoning of the victorious country and not an ordinary regnal year. Thus, the regnal reckoning of Indravarman was tactfully converted by Sāmantavarman to the reckoning of a new era counted from the year of establishment of the Gaṅga rule in Kaliṅga which was started by Indravarman I, the first known historical king of the dynasty. Indravarman may be regarded as the founder of era. But Subbarao takes a different view. A single plate of a set of copper plates was discovered from the village Tirlingi situated near Tekkali in 1927 CE. The plate was edited by S.N. Rajguru[112] who

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

read the date of the plate as *Pravardhamāna Vijayarājya Saṁvatsara aṣṭāviṁśati, i.e.* victorious year 28. He took it as a Gaṅga plate belonging to the predecessor of Indravarman I of Jirjingi plate. R. Subbarao[113] on this basis went a step further and opined that the plate might have been issued by Mitavarman the father of Indravarman I. So, Mitavarman may be taken as the founder of the Gaṅga era. G. Ramdas[114] treated this plate as spurious. But J.C. Ghose[115] accepted this plate as genuine but read the date as *'aṣṭāśiti', i.e.* 88 in place of *'aṣṭaviṁśdti'*. The scribe Vinayachandra son of Bhānuchandra was the scribe of six charters including the Trilingi plate upto the year 91. If the date of Tirlingi is taken as 28, then Vinayachandra was in active service for nearly 65 to 70 years (allowing some years before 28 and after 91) which is according to R.C. Majumdar[116] is highly improbable though not impossible. If the year 88 is accepted, it looks plausible. Therefore, the reading of the date of J.C. Ghose appears to be more reasonable. Hence the plate may be assigned to Indravarman II. Mitavarman has not been mentioned in the Jirjingi plate as the father of Indravarman I and also nowhere he is designated as king. So the founder of Gaṅga era is Indravarman I, not Mitavarman. The date of the plates of Sāmantavarman is Gn.E. 64[117]. It is highly improbable to take it as his regnal year. The phrase *Pravardhamāna Vijayarājya Saṁvatsara* used for the era was adopted upto the time of Almanda plate of Anantavarman. It is in this plate that era appeared in its specific identity as *Gāṅgeyavaṁśa Pravardhaṁana Vijayarājya Saṁvatsara Śatatrini Chaturottaāṇi* (*i.e.* 304).[118] This tradition established by Sāmantavarman was followed by Hastivarman and their descendants till the accession of Vajrahasta V. It also appears that when Sāmantavarman converted the regnal reckoning of his predecessor into an era, he took *Chaitra Sudi I* or *Chaitra Śukla Pratipadā* as the initial date of the *Saṁvat* because this date had been, by that time, taken as the beginning day of the year as in the case of the Śaka year in the South and the Gupta year in the north. Though the Gaṅga era was founded by Indravarman I it was successfully promulgated by his successor Sāmantavarman.

Locality of the Era

We know from the inscription that Kaliṅga country was divided into five portions which was united by Vajrahasta III[119] (we regard him as Vajrahasta V). The Gaṅga era was used by the Gaṅgas whose capital was Dantapura and later on Kaliṅga Nagara. In the beginning, the whole of Kaliṅga was under their rule. But in the 7th century CE an independent Gaṅga state emerged in the Northern Ganjam region having Śvetaka as their capital. Two of their inscriptions are said to have been dated in Ganga era. They are: (1) Bada-Khimedi plates of Jayavarmadeva of Gn.E. 100,[120] (2) Pherova grant of Sāmantavarman of Gn.E. 185.[121] The former grant is regarded as spurious by scholars.[122]

We have no records of the other three Gaṅga families who are said to have flourished before the time of Vajrahasta V. So, it is difficult to know whether they were using the Ganga era or not.

All the records of the Ganga era are found in the districts of Vizagapatam and Srikakulam in the Southern part of the Ganjam district. The kingdom of the Śvetaka was confined to the Northern part of Ganjam where the era seems to have gone out of use after the rise of that branch in the 7th century CE. This era was in continuous use fer more than five hundred years. The last known date reckoned in the Ganga era is 550.[123] Then onwards, the records of the Gaṅgas are found dated in Śaka era. Even before Gn.E. 526 we get two inscriptions dated in Śaka era. The firest in the Madagrama plates of Dharmakhedi dated in Śaka 888[124] which is the earliest known Orissan epigraph dated in Śaka year; and the second in the Mandasa plates of Dharmakheḍi dated in Śaka 917.[125] The Gaṅga era was also used in the name of *Tuṁvuru vaṁśa rājya Saṁvatsara*[126] in the Andhavaram plates of Indravarman. Previously, the Kadambas were using the Gaṅga era for dating

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

their charters. In their charter they refer to this era as Gaṅga-Kadamba era. The Gaṅga era and the Gaṅga-Kadamba era are no doubt identical. They only added their family name to the Gaṅga era, perhaps to show their close connection with the Gaṅgas. The inscriptions of Kadamba family further reveal the simultaneous use of Śaka era and Gaṅga era for' a temporary period. Vajrahasta V had adopted his dynastic era and Śaka era in his charters. Then the Śaka era took the place of Gaṅga era in the subsequent period. Vajrahasta V was the first king of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga to have introduced Śaka era in his charters.

The use of Jovian years of twelve years cycle or sixty year cycle are not found in any inscriptions dated in Gaṅga era. The twelve year cycle was in vogue till the 7th century CE. But none of the early records of the era mention it. The sixty year cycle is used in some of the Gaṅga records. But those are not dated in Gaṅga era. Chronogram (the number meaningfully expressed by words) was used in reckoning the Śaka year. This system was used regularly by the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga in their copper plates.

No intercalary month is cited in any records of the Ganga era. According to some scholars the solar eclipse recorded in Santabommali plates dated in Gn.E. 221[127], occurred in an interrelated month of *Āṣāḍha*. But it has been shown that, that was taken place in *amānta Jyeṣṭha*, not in *Adhika* or *mala māsa*. The intercalary nature of the month is not specified in that charter.[128] Both lunar reckoning and solar reckoning are found in the Gaṅga inscription.

The Gaṅga inscriptions reveal that both *amānta* and *pūrṇimānta* schemes of lunar months have been used in reckoning the dates of the era. The later is found used in earlier two grants. Others are found used in Pūrṇimānta systems.

References

1. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. III, Pt.l, pp. 49-53 ff.
2. N. Makund Rao. *Kalinga Under the Eastern Garigas (900 CE to 1200 CE)*, 1991, Delhi, pp. 209-210.
3. For the initial date G. Ram Das proposed 349-50 CE. *JBORS*, Vol. XVIII, p. 291.
   Mr. Subba Rao fixed 494 CE, *JAHRS*, Vol.V, pp. 267 ff.
   Mr. J.C. Ghosh proposed 496 CE, *I.A.*, Vol. LXI, pp. 237 ff.
   Mr. B.V. Krishna Rao proposed 497-98 CE, *JAHRS*, Vol. XI, pp. 19 ff.
   Dr. R.C. Majumdar proposed date in between 550 and 556, *Ind. Cult.* , Vol. IV, pp.179 ff.
   Prof. R.D. Banerji proposed 741 CE, *History of Orissa*, Vol. l, p. 239.
   R. Sewell and S.K. Aiyangar proposed 877-78 CE, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p.58.
4. *I.A.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 120-23 ff.
5. *I.A.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 122-24 ff.
6. *I.A.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 273-76 ff.
   The date of this grant would be properly 251. The symbol for hundred is omitted here. But as shown by Mr. Krishna Rao (*JAHRS*, Vol. XI, p.27(f), it must have been for 200 but the internal evidences reveal that the date would 351.
7. *I.A.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 11 ff.
8. *Ibid.*, XVI, pp. 134 f.
9. *I.A.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 144.
10. *Encyclopedia Brittanica*, 13th Edn., Vol. XXXIII, p. 436.
11. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. X, p. 365.
12. Burnell – *Antiquities of India*, p. 95.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

13. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVI, pp.114 ff.
14. G.H. Ojha., *The Plaeography of India* (1918), pp.176-77.
15. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. III, p. 171.
16. *Ibid.*, p.176; *J.B.H.S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 27 f.
17. *J.B.O.R.S.;* Vol. XVIII, pp.272-75 ff.
    J.A.H.R.S., Vol. VIII, pp. 168-80 ff.
18. The epoch is untenable as the two Dharmakedis were not identical.
19. R.D. Banerji. *History of Orissa,* Vol. I, pp.238 ff.
20. *E.I,* Vol.lI, pp.131 ff.
21. *E.I,* Vol.lI, pp.183 ff.
22. R.D. Banerji. *History of Orissa,* Vol. l, p. 239.
    This view was also is not acceptable for the two Gunarnavas cannot be identical.
23. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. V, pp. 273 f.
24. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 175-88 f.
25. *E.I.*, Vol. IV, pp.183 f.
26. Simhipur Plates, *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. III, pp.171 ff and plates, *J.B. O.R.S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 175 ff.
27. *Insce. of Ors.*, Vol. III, Pt.II, Appendix II(A), p.XXII.
28. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol.V, pp. 273 f.
29. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol.LXI, p. 237 ff.
30. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol.XVIII, pp. 276 f.
31. *E.I.*, Vol.XXVIII, pp. l08-15.
32. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol.XII, pp. 21-28 ff.
33. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol.IV, p.174 f.
34. *Andhra Chronology,* pp. 36 f.
35. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol.XI, pp. 19 f.
36. *Bhadrava Krushna Trayodasi* is not the birth date of Lord Vamana. On this day, the ceremony of Rāma Balarama Vesa is observed in the Jagannāth temple of Puri. On its following day, Lord Jagannāth assumes the Vali-Vamana Vesa. Probably Krishna Rao has mistaken it as the birthday of Vāmana. Lord Vamana is said to have taken his birth on *Bhadra Sudi* 12 and this day is celebrated as Vāmana Jayanit. It is mentioned in present almonacs.
37. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, pp. 144.
38. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVIII, pp.212 f. The date can be properly read as Gn.E. 526. Secondly the supposition of Mr. Sarma is baseless.
39. *E.I.*, Vol.XIII, pp.212-16 ff.
40. *I.H.Q.*, Vol.XI, pp.300-3.
41. *J.A.H.R.S.*, vol.XX, Pt. 1-4, pp.22 f.
42. V.V. Mirashi has examined the theory of Mr. Ramesan and has shown the untenability of his epoch. Vide *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXX, pp.271 ff.
43. *E.I.*, Vol. XXVI, pp.326 f.
44. *E.I.*, Vol. XXVII, p.192 f.
45. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp.171 f.
46. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p.23.
47. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. l00 f.
48. *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 116 f.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

49. This view was critically examined by Prof. Mirashi and showed that the view of *Purnimanta Chaitra bahula Pratipada* is untenable, vide *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 309 f.
50. *E.I.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 45-52 ff.
51. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 120 ff.; *E.I.*, Vol. XXXI, pp.41 f. theory of Mr. Ramesan and has epoch. Vide *I.H.Q.*, VoI. XXX,
52. Majumdar adds a 'va' in the expressions after 'na'.
53. Vide *Select Insc.* VoI.I, p.458, Note 1; *E.I.*, Vol. XXXI, p.53 ff; *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 291.
54. K.V. Ramesh, *Indian Epigraphy* (Delhi, 1984), p. 85.
55. Inscription of Orissa Vol. II, Appendix 1. The identification of Anantavarman, the suzerain of Dharmakhedi of Gn.E. 358 on which his epoch is based, is a mere conjecture.
56. *E.I.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 216 ff.
57. *E.I.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 f.
58. Line-13 "*Karttika Krishna Astamyam*"
    Line-23 "*Pravardhamana vijaya rajya-samvatsara asiti(h) 80 Karttika dina 8*".
59. *E.I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 194-98 ff.
60. L.N. Harichandan Jagadeva reads as 'Divasa 10' 'Divasa'. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 21-24 ff.
61. *I.A.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 131 ff.
62. *I.A.*, Vol. XII, pp. 120 f.
63. *E.I.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 37 f.
64. *E.I.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 309 f.
65. *I.H.Q*, Vol. XI, pp. 301 f.
66. *E.I.*, Vol. XII, pp. 213 f.
67. *I.E.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 216 ff.
68. *E.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 127-30 ff.
    Text Line 13 *Pratistha para mudagayane ...*
    Line 22-23 *Pravardhamana vijaya-rajya samvatsarah saptasiti(h)* 80.7. *Chaitra ma vasyam .....*
    Here the two dates are not identical. The grant was made before some days of the issue of the charter.
69. *J.A.H.R.S*, Vol. II, pp. 187 f.
70. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. II, Appendix, p.
71. S.N. Rajguru- *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. II, Apendix I, pp. XIII f.
72. S.K. Pilali - *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, Pt.II, p. 40.
73. *I.A.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 273.
74. *E.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 17-19 ff.
75. *E.I.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 23 f.
76. *E.I.*, Vol. XXIII, pp.73 f. with correction by V.V. Mirashi, Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 329
77. *I.A.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 10 f.
78. *E.I.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 174 f.
79. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol.II, pp. 146 f.
80. *J.A.H.R.S.*; Vol. II, pp. 7 f and the correction made by B.V. Krishna Rao, Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 147.
    (i) Chidivalasa plates of Anantavarman vajrahasta *(E.I.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp.141 f) - Śaka year 982, *Karttika Prathama Paksa* 3 Monday. The date corresponds in Monday, II th October 1059 CE.
    (ii) In both this grants, the Śaka year and the lunar months are same. But when verified the first falls in 1059 CE whereas the second falls in 1060 CE. These dates can only be reconciled by supposing that the first is in current year and the second in an expired year.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

82. *E.I.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 f.
83. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 37 f.
84. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. lI, pp. 187 f.
85. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XI, pp. 301 ff.
86. *E.I.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 216-20 ff.
87. *E.I.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 330-34 ff.
88. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. lI, pp. 185-89 ff.
89. *E.I.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 73-78 ff.
90. *J.A.H.R.S.*; Vol. IX, Pt. III, pp. 23-30 ff.
91. *I.A.*, Vol. XX, pp. 401 f.
92. *I.A.*, Vol. VI, pp. 71-75 ff.
93. C.*I.I.*, Vol. IV, Introduction, pp. XIII f and XXI f.
94. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 114 ff.
95. *I.A.*, Vol.XIII, pp.120 ff.
96. D.C. Sircar – *Successors of Satavahana in lower Deccan*, p. 114; *Classical Age*, p. 216.
97. *E.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 197 f.
98. S. Sankar Narayanan – The Vishnukundis and their times, pp. 13 f. 99. *I.A.*, Vol. XVI, p. 131.
100. V.V. Mirashi – *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, p. 122.
101. Bhandarkar's list, p. 386, n.9.
S. Sankar Narayanan also agrees to this view. (vide *The Vishnukundis and their Times*, p.99).
102. *E.I.*, Vol. VI, pp. 143-46 ff.
103. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXXIII, (1904), pp. 282-86 ff.
104. *I.A.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 120-123 ff.
105. The expression "Navasataka sapta rasa mita" has been taken by G. Ramdas as 913. He took sapta rasa as 7 and 6 and added 7 and 6. (Rasa signifies six flavours) vide *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVII, p.175 f. R.C. Majumdar took it as 7 and 6 and interpreted it as 976 or 967. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol.IV, pp.174 ff. V.V. Mirashi interpreted '*Sapta rasa*' as a mistake of '*Saptadasa*'. He opines that perhaps the scribe. was unconsciously influenced by the Prakrit of his time which had corrupted Sanskrit' *Saptadasa*' into' *Saptarasa*'. Sanskrit numerals change their languages. So, the expression would mean 917 and not 913 nor 967 or 976. ('Studies in *Indology*', Vol. II, pp. 123-24 f.)
106. *Inscription of Orissa*, Vol. II, Appendix, p.
107. *Ajanta Inscription – A.S.W.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 125 f.
108. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol.III, Pt.l, pp. A9-53 f.
109. *I.A.*, Vol.XVIII, pp.116 f.
110. Jirjingi plates – *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. III, pp. 49 ff.
111. Ponnuturu-Inscription - *E.I.*, Vol.XXVII, pp.216 ff.
112. *J.A.H.R.S*, Vol. III, pp. 54-57.
113. *The History of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga*, p. 97.
114. *l.A.H.R.S*, Vol. III, pp. 82-83.
115. *l.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XX, p. 44.
116. *The Outline of the History of Kalinga*, Dacca University Studies, 11, 11, No.2, Jan. 1938
117. *E.I.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 216 ff.
118. *E.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 17-19 ff.
119. *E.I.*, Vol. XI, p. 149.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

120. *E.I.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 267 f.
121. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp.108 f.
122. N.K. Sahu, P.K. Mishra and J.K. Sahu, *History of Orissa*, Cuttack, 1981, p.158.
The grant is spurious in view of the facts stated below:
(a) The use of decimal notation in recording the grant which was not in vogue in 6th century CE.
(b) Palaeography of this grants suggests a later date.
(c) The Gaṅgas of Svetaka were very likely the feudatories of Bhaumas and they dated their charter in Bhauma era.
(S.C. De – *Descriptive catelogue of the copper plate inscriptions of Orissa*, pp. LIV-LV).
123. The Maliaputti plates of Anantavarman, N. Makund Rao, *op. cit.*
124. *E.I.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 45-52 ff.
125. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVII, pp.175-88 ff.
126. *E.I.*, Vol. XX, pp. 37-42.
127. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. II, pp. 187 f.
128. *C.I.I*, Vol. IV, Introd. p. XXIX; *I.A.*, Vol. XX, p. 411 f; *I.A.*, Vol. XXV, p. 271.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

44

Inscriptions of Brahadamba Temple - Dēvikāpuram

R. Segar

Introduction

Dēvikāpuram is one of the biggest villages in Āmi Taluk of Tiruvannāmalai District, Tamil Nadu. Most of the inscriptions from this temple refer to the village as 'Devakkapuram'. The earliest inscription from the temple, dated 1419 CE.[1] mention this name. Other names mentioned in inscriptions are Dāvakāpuram,[2] Dēvikkāpuram[3], Deyakkapuram[4] and Devakipuram.[5] Excepting the last one, all the names can be considered as the corrupt form of Devikapuram. The popular name of the village seems to be Devikapuram. Kanagagiri, Narayanavanam and Kanakachalam[6] are other names for this village. Very near to the Brahadamba temple there is a small hill, on which there is a Siva temple. In the village itself, there is a temple with a lofty tower and high walls dedicated to the Goddess Brahadambā. This is a Sanskritisation of the name "Periya Naichiyar" mentioned in the inscriptions of the temple. The names of the principal deity is Kanakagiri Isvarar. It is not known how this name originated in the stone inscriptions are found the name of "Tirumalai Udaiya Nāyanar" and "Thirumalai Udayar".

Inscriptions

The inscriptions numbering fifty five in the Brahadamba Temple and only one in the Śiva temple. They have been noticed in the Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1912. All of them are unpublished, of the 55 inscriptions 16 belong to Krishnadeva, 14 to Achutayadeva, 4 to Sadāśiva, 4 to Immādi Narasimha and one each to 'Sri Ranga, Venkatadēva, Narasingarāya, Tulajarāja Sahib of Marātta King and Ami Jāgir. There are 12 undated inscriptions, however they may be assigned to the Vijayanagar period. Therefore, it is appropriate to conclude that these two temples were built during the time of the Vijayanagar period. Inscription provide some interesting information of socio-economic conditions of the Vijayanagar period.

The inscriptions show a village based economy with emphasis on agricultural operations. Though the village is located on the base of small string of hillocks, flat land for cultivation was available. The fields in Dēvikāpuram were irrigated by water drawn from sources like wells, Lakes

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and canals. The irrigation facilities available in this area are known from some inscriptions. In one instance a land is said to have situated near an Ēri (lake). Probably, the land was irrigated by the water of this lake. These tank seems to have been used very well cultivation. So, the repairs to the tank were attended periodically.[7] Another instance a piece of land was given as eripatti[8] for performing the repairs to a tank. The assignment of a piece of land to perform repairs to the tank periodically was an important mode towards the proper management of water for irrigation. Desilting of tank was also undertaken[9]. This is also an important aspect in the maintenance of water source.

Some information about units of measures are available from inscriptions. The volume measure was based on the unit kalam (12 marakkāl). This was divided into sub-units as nali, kuruni (1 marakkāl). Padakku (2 Marakkāl), ālākku and tuni[10] some of the volume measures were named after a deity or his weapon for instance, the measure Sulakkāl was named after 'Sula' the weapon of Śiva. This was most probably used in Śiva temples, or temples associated with Śiva. It was used to measure ghee and oil in the temple[11]. Veli was the local land units used to measure the land. Kuli was the sub-unit used in this area.

Many revenue terms are known. Some of them are Vari[12], Irai[13], Kadarnai[14] Magamai[15] Vettivari[16] Puduvari[17] Mavadai[18] Maravadai[19] and Vāsalkadarnai. The above taxes were levied by the King probably on a piece of land. Kānikkaj[20] and Mugampārvai[21] were small present paid at the time of audience. Ponvari[22], Virirnuttu[23], Idaivari[24] and Perkadarnai[25] are some of the other taxes mentioned in inscriptions. The looms[26] and sekku[27] in the area were also taxed.

These inscriptions provide some insight into the social life of the people during the Vijayanagar rule in the Tamil country. The Vijayanagar rulers brought many Telugu and Kannada speaking people in to contact with the Tamil population. The Kannadiya Nayakas was prosperous in many Tamil areas.. PadaivIdu area became an important centre of Kannadiya Nayakas. In Dēvikāpuram, we may notice a small settlement of Kannadiya Nayakas. To them lands were assigned and the temple honours were also given as a recognition of their service.

The temples in the Dēvāpuram may be assigned to the early Vijayanagar period. The architecture of the Brahadambā temple seems to have been built entirely by Vijayanagar rulers. The covered courtyard and the corridors could be assigned to the Nayakas. The temple complex covers an area of about 3 acres. The temple has some good specimens of Icons and sculptures. They represent the art and cult of the Vijayanagar period.

Out of the fifty six inscriptions, two are in Sanskrit, one is the Maratta language, the other fifty three are in Tamil. Lands were owned by private persons and also by temples. For the temple the income from land formed the permanent source of income. Temple lands were generally leased. In an instance a temple land was leased to Tirumalai Nayaka, a Kannadiya N ayaka, living in Padaividu. This was granted by Isana. Śivacharya of the Bhiksha matha, temple officials, tanattar and chief of Mayesurar and Kaikkola Mudalis at Dēvikapuram.[28]

From the Devikapuram Inscriptions we gather some of the following data:

Sl. No.	*Name of the King*	*Years*
1.	(Saluva) Narasingaraya Udaiyar	CE 1485 - 1492
2.	(Immadi) Narsinga Deva Maharayar Narasa Vayakkar (General of the army)	CE 1493 - 1499
3.	(Thuluva) Krishna deva Maharaya son of Narasa Nayaka.	CE 1509 - 1529

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sl. No.	*Name of the King*	*Years*
4.	(Achuda) Deva.Maharayar-Son of Narasa Nayaka.	1529 - 1534 CE
5.	Sadāśiva	1534 - 1551 CE
6.	Sri Ranga Deva I	1572 - 1589 CE
7.	Venkata Deva	1630 CE
8.	Thulaja raja (Maratta King)	No Date
9.	Ami Jagir - Purana Priya Srinivasa Rao Sahib	1889 CE

Capital city of Padaivīdu Rajyam

The Vijayanagar kings ruled the whole of South India under one flag, or as the indigenous phrase goes, South India was brought under one royal umbrella. The Headquarters of the King was Vijayanagar, there were a number of chieftains who were his representatives in the various regions or Mandalam. Each Mandalam was divided into many sub-divisions. Among the many Rajāyams in the Tondaimandalam are, Padaivādu in Polur Taluk was one. It was made the capital of the chieftain who was the ruler of that region. The temple of the Dēvikāpuram is located with in the Rajayam over which this rulership extended.

Those who ruled the Padaivīdu Rājyam belonged to the Kannadiya race of the Vijayanagar kings. They were entitled to use the title of 'Nayaka'. During the reign of Saluva Narasingarayar, Ettappa, Nayaka was a high official in Padaivīdu Rājyam.[29] When Immādi Narasingarayar was the ruler, the administration of the country was looked additionally by the General of the Army. Narasa Nayaka who was father of Krishna dēvaraya. During that period, and also during the period of Krishnadēvarayar, Thirumalai Nayanār son of the before mentioned Ettappa Nayaka was a high official in Padaivīdu rājyam. During the reign of Actudarayar, Kalatisvara Nayaka son of this Tirumalai Nayakā, ruled over the PadaivIdu rajyam. One inscription says that Ekambara Nayaka, son of Ramappa Nayaka was the ruler of the area.[30]

Endowments for the Welfare of others

It was customary for the petty chieftains and high officials to make certain offerings to the temples for the welfare of their kings. In the same way, for the welfare of petty chieftains and the rulers of a Padaivīdu Rājyam high officials and others used to give offerings of charities. The prevalence of this custom is revealed in 16 inscriptions to be found in this temple. Some of the temple charities have been made for the welfare of kings like Narasa Nāyaka, Krishna Devaraya and Achutha Devarāya. The rulers of Padaivīdu rājyam like Tirumalai Nāyaka, Kalathiswara Nāyaka, also had come charities made by others for their welfare. Similarly there were also other charities for the welfare of high officials.[31]

Thirumalai Nāyaka and Isvara Nāyaka son of Ettappa Nāyaka employed two persons for the purpose of singing the sacred hymes for the welfare of Narasa Nāyaka. They were given house and land and arrangements were made to give them food in the temple[32] when Narasa Nāyaka died, they commemorated his memory by giving away the house and land to Samarapungava Dikshitar[33].

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Dēvadāna village

Dēvikāpuram was mentioned ill a stone inscription as "Dēvikāpuram" belonging to Murugamangalapparru of Melkunra Nadu in Palkunra kottam of Jayakonda chola mandalam. The temple of this place was endowed with many small villages. They were Sembiya Mangalam[34], Kailasam, Sorappundi[35], Kamatchi Ravuttam Thangal, Uvattur[36] and its adjoining small villages. Singayya Ravuttan thangal, Somasipuram known as Manalpakkam[37].

Other villages

In the store inscriptions the names of other villages are also found. They are as follows:

1. Murugamangalam, 2. Idaitturai, 3. Tiruvilakkukkudi, 4. Sirruppattu, (Chetpet) 5. Piramanapakkam[38], 6. Mamanampakkam, 7. Kannanur, 8. Arruvanpadi, 9. Naduvilittangal.

Charities

It is gathered from the stone inscriptions that Tiruvadirai, Tirukkarttigai and Uttira Thirunal festivals were celebrated in the temple.[39] Many people gave gifts of money, land and ghee for the conduct of those festivals. The Ami Jaghirdar had the Ashtapanthana Kumbabhishekam performed for the Deity on the Hill.[40] Some stone inscriptions reveal that officials endowed certain taxes as offerings to the temple. A high official called Mallappa Nayaka endowed a tax worth 33½ panam.[41] Collections at the rate of 1¼ panam per loom were made Devikapuram and gives to the temple.[42]

Mutts

A famous mutt of Devikapuram was known as Bhiksha mutt. It is situated south of Devikapuram[43] (very near to Cheyyar river) two of the heads of this mutt who lived at different times, were Isana Sivachariyar and Visvesvara Sivachariar.[44] They took a great part in the administration of the temple.

Rajagambiran Hill

A hill adjoining the village of Murugamangalam was known by the old name of Rajagambiran hill. The name of Rajagambiran was used as a victory title by the Chola Kings Virarajendra (1064 - 69 CE) and Rajaraja II (1146 - 1173 CE) of these two kings, it was Virarajendra, the great hero, who defeated the western Chālukyas thrice on the Bank of the Tungabadha, During these times of war, he went beyond the Tondaimandalam and reached the Tungabadra. His victory title seemed to be associated with the name of the hill.

Occupational names

The names of certain persons who were engaged in specific vocations are also to be found in some of the stone inscriptions. The person who supervised the temple was called Kovilkelvi. The name Adaippam was given to the man who used to stand near the king and give him betel leaves. The reason who made a note of the king's engagements for the days was always close at hand to remind him of his duties was called Attavanai. Those stone inscriptions also reveal that the petty chieftains used to call the kings Swami and the same title was used by administrative officials and the general public to denote both the kings and the petty chieftains.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Communities

This temple inscriptions provide some social groups and their activities of during the Vijayanagar period. In Devikapuram, Kaikkolas appear as an important weaving community. They associate themselves more in the temple administration during Vijayanagar period. In one record (1520 CE) of Krishna deva me may notice a house and some lands at Devikapuram[45], was sold under the supervision of the Kaikkola community. Hence, it may be suggested that at least in the temple administration and in administrating temple lands, the Kaikkola[46] community played an important role.

Mandrādis

The Mandnrādis were the shephereds or cattle keepers. This community played an important role in this temple. Their work was to look after the cows, buffalos and goats donated to the temple and they should supply certain quantity of ghee, butter and milk to the temple for the daily puja. One of the epigraphs[47] gives information that two families of Mandradis dedicated to the temple looking after the perpetual lamps. In the inscriptions, the Mandradis pledged to fulfill the provisions of the agreement as long as the 'sun' and 'moon' last.[48]

Paraiyas

The Paraiyas were considered to belong to the lower strata of the society. In an inscription of Krishnadeva[49] the lands owned by Parayan was named as tinri paraiyan. From this we may say that lands were owned, by some Paraiyans in this period at Devikapuram.

Goundas or Vanniyas

One of the Devikapuram inscriptions refers to the grant of the village for conducting a festival in the temple. The inscriptions mention Virana Goundan and Dimmana Goundan,[50] two residents of the village.

The mercantile community was known as Chettiar and Vanniyar. Some of Nayakas have taken the profession of trade. An undated inscription mentions the construction of a Ganesa temple and a tank at Devikapuram,[51] by merchants (Nagarattar) of the Vaisya Vaniyan sect.

References

1. *ARE.*, 353 of 1912.
2. *Ibid.*, 351 and 366 of 1912.
3. *Ibid.*, 354 of 1912.
4. *Ibid.*, 357 and 394 of 1912.
5. *Ibid.*, 396 of 1912.
6. *Census of India*, 1961. *Temples of Madras ṣtate*, Vol. IX, Part XI D, 1968, p. 127.
7. *ARE.*, 353 of 1912.
8. *Ibid.*, 355 of 1912.
9. *Ibid.*, 367 of 1912.
10. *Ibid.*, 381 of 1912.
11. *Ibid.*, 352 of 1912.
12. *Ibid.*, 351 of 1912.
13. *Ibid.*, 352 of 1912.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

14. *ARE.*, 352 of 1912.
15. *Ibid.*, 352 of 1912.
16. *Ibid.*, 354 of 1912.
17. *Ibid.*, 373 of 1912.
18. *Ibid.*, 373 of 1912.
19. *Ibid.*, 354 of 1912.
20. *Ibid.*, 375 of 1912.
21. *Ibid.*, 352 of 1912.
22. *Ibid.*, 354 of 1912.
23. *Ibid.*, 375 of 1912.
24. *Ibid.*, 352 of 1912.
25. *Ibid.*, 375 of 1912.
26. *Ibid.*, 354 of 1912.
27. *Ibid.*, 75 of 1912.
28. *Ibid.*, 352 of 1912.
29. *Ibid.*, 353 of 1912.
30. *Ibid.*, 404 of 1912.
31. *Ibid.*, 355, 357, 358, 360, 361, 363, 364, 376, 377, 381, 383, 391, 399, 400, 401, 403, 404 of 1912.
32. *Ibid.*, 355 of 1912.
33. *Ibid.*, 357 of 1912.
34. It is now known as Semmiya Mangalam.
35. This is now known as Savarappundi.
36. It is now known as Tivattur.
37. *ARE.*, 357 of 1912.
38. *Ibid.*, 355, 357, 365, 367, 368, 372, 373 and 396 of 1912. It is now known as Piranampakkam.
39. *Ibid.*, 360, 362, 383 and 384 of 1912.
40. *Ibid.*, 397 of 1912.
41. *Ibid.*, 355 of 1912.
42. *Ibid.*, 314 of 1912.
43. lbid., 352 of 1912.
44. *Ibid.*, 352 and 389 of 1912.
45. *Ibid.*, 352 of 1912.
46. *Ibid.*, 352, 353, 356, 365, 367, 368, 369, 372, 373 and 375 of 1912.
47. *Ibid.*, 374 of 1912.
48. *Ibid.*, 360, 361, 362'-378, 380, 385 and 370 of 1912.
49. *Ibid.*, 352 of 1912.
50. *Ibid.*, 384 of 1912.
51. *Ibid.*, 401 of 1912.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The History and Coinage of Lakhana Daṇḍanāyaka

M. Girijapathy

Lakhana Daṇḍanāyaka, jointly along with his brother Madanna was a Viceroy of Mulabagilu province during the reign of Devaraya II of Vijayanagara empire. At the same time, he was in charge of Madurai province as an administrator. Later he became a General Commander and - administrator of whole of Vijayanagara empire. He was also called as Lakhana Dandesha, Lakhana Odeya, Lakhanamathya, and Lakhana Nāyaka. He was born and was brought in Kolara region, his mothers name was Ommayamma, and fathers name was Heggadadeva. He was also great patron of architecture and built the main Gopura of the Virupaksha temple of Virupakshapura, and also Manmatha Pushkarani which is adjacent to the same temple.

He was ardent follower of Veer Shaivism and was a poet also. As a poet he has Kannada Literary work called Shivatatva Chinthamani to his credit, which has 54 Chapters, and 2121 Verses, and has been narrated in Shatpadhi's. It is known as a guide, and an hand book of Veerasaivism sect. This literature work includes 24 sagas, of Shiva, and stories of Prathamaganas. It also includes the narrations of Bijjala Basavanna who is the founder of Veerasaivism Sect.

As an able warrior he had defeated rulers of Ceylone, Kerala, and Pulicat and made them to pay tributes to Vijayanagara empire. He was honoured with a title Samudradhipathi, for his ventures in the sea battles and is found in some of the stone inscriptions Tamilnadu. Dr. A.V. Narasimhamurthy, has rightly said that, the king Devaraya II had given special permission to Lakhana Daṇḍanāyaka to strike coins in Madurai provinces to meet the high demand of copper coins. This is one of the rare occasions where king gave permission to subordinates to strike coins.

Coinage

Coin No. 1

Metal; Silver coated copper coin. Weight; 3.8 gms. Size 19 mm.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Obverse: Ornamented Elephant facing to right, with uplifted tail. 14th century Kannada letter LA on the field above the elephant. The elephant is neatly executed and larger in size when compared to the elephant motif of the other copper coins of the same type.

Reverse: 14th century Kannada legend in three lines ,separated by inter Lines. The legend is surrounded by dotted circular lines. TheKannada letter the LA on the obverse, and the legend Lakhana\danaya\karu, on the reverse when put together make. The reading as LA \KHANA \DANAYA \KARU.

Coin No. 2

Metal; Copper, Weight; 3.6 gms, Size 16 mm

Obverse: Elephant standing to right with simple ornaments with an uplifted tail, Kannada letter 'LA' on the field above the elephant is surrounded by circular lines.

Reverse: 14th Century three line Kannada legend Khana\danaya\karu As in like 1st coin taking the Kannada letter LA from the Obverse and joining with the legend in the reverse will make the complete reading as 'LAKHANA\DANAYA\KARU.

Coin No. 3

Same as coin no. 2

Coin No. 4

Same as coin no. 2 and 3 but weight is lesser *i.e.* 3.4 gms.

Coin No. 5

Same as coin no. 2, 3, and 4 but the Kannada letters in the legend are little bigger than the other already mentioned coins.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Discussion

Elliot and Hutse have read the legend as MANA\DANAYA\KARU, and attributed the coin to the Honnur Hoysalas. Rao Bahadur Venkayya has read the legend as Lakshmana and has attributed the coin to the Lakshmana Dannayaka. Krishna Shastri has approved above attribution. In the Mysore archeologial report for the year 1932, the legend is read as Mana\danaya\karu . The Kannada letter on the obverse has been read as NA by Jackson and legend on the reverse has been read as Mana\danaya\karu. Same reading has been adopted by K. Ganesh and Dr. Girijapathy. Micheal Mitchiner reads the letter on the abverse as NI, reverse legend as GANA\DANAYA\KARU, and attribute the coin to the Naganna Dannayakaru.

The copper coinage of the Vijayanagara rulers in Tamilnadu was in simple denomination and it was called Jittal and weight was around 3.5 gms. the coins mentioned above except silver coated copper coin will tally to the weight of Jittal and weights around 3.5 gms. The above mentioned coins with elephant motif and Kannada are found in large quantities in and around the Madurai Town and scarcely in other provinces. Though many Scholars in the past have come across these coins, they have read the legends erroneously, by reading the first letter of the reverse as MA instead of KHA.For the first time the legend on the coin is read correctly and the letter on the obverse is read as LA and on the reverse is KHANA\DANAYA\KARU. Hence, these coins are easily attributed to Lakhana Daṇḍanāyaka, who was an able administrator and a General under Vijayanagara emperor Devaraya II.

The silver coated copper coins might have been minted to match the silver issues of Madurai Sultans, who ruled just before the rule of Devaraya II.

References

1. *Mysore Gazetter*, volume II, Hayavadana Rao.
2. *E.C.*, X. B, Page no 72.
3. *Ibid.*, X. K. L. Page no 104.
4. Sangamas and Veerashaiva Dharma, 1991. Edited by A.S. Dixith
5. *Shivathatva Chintamani*, by Basappa, Mysore, 1960.
6. *Stone Inscriptions of Thiruchinapalli*, M.E.R. 1913, No. 230.
7. *Coins and Currency System* by A.V. Narasimhamurthy, 1996.
8. A Forgotten Empire, Selvel, 1900.
9. E.C.S.I.P, G *Indian Antiquity* by Elliot.
10. *Annual Reports on Epigraphy* 1904 and 1905 by Rao Bahadur Venkayya.
11. A.S. 1907 and 1908 by Krishna Shastri.
12. Jackson 1912 Page no 40.
13. Karnataka Numismatic Studies by K.Ganesh and Dr. Girijapathy.
14. *History and Coinage of South India* by Micheal Michiner.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

46

Marker Stone and two Lime Concrete Pieces of Maya Devi Temple in Lumbini

Swoyambhu D. Tuladhar

Various events in the life story of Buddha and Jataka stories have received prominent place in Buddhist Art in the last twenty three hundred years. In early days artists used stone to capture the imagination of Buddha's life story to create durable and long lasting monuments and sculptures. Many statues and shrines depicting prominent scenes of Buddha's life and Jataka stories have been discovered in various parts of Asia: in Nepal, India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, China, Indonesia, Bangladesh and Afghanistan. Among them the most famous piece is the nativity sculpture discovered in Maya Devi Temple in Lumbini. This sculpture was of great historical importance due to its proximity to the famous Asokan Pillar with an inscription confirming the birth of Buddha in Lumbini.

Other than Nativity Sculputre and the Asokan Pillar we know very little about the beginning of the building activities in Lumbini. Some Buddhist scriptures mention it as a Royal Garden of Kapilavastu, whereas others call it a forest where Maya Devi rested on the way to her father's house. If it was a Royal Garden with a pond, there has to be some buildings for royal family's use. Max Deeg was of the opinion that probably the area where Maya Devi rested was the bathing area of the Sakyas.[1] Recent excavation of Gotihwa about twenty kilometers west of Lumbini by Giovanni Verardi and his team have revealed the evidence of an initial settlement on the site of Gotihwa as far back as last quarter of second millennium BCE and the beginning of the first.[2] So we cannot rule out the fact that there was no habitation in Lumbini.

Archaeological findings have proved the existence of pre-Buddhist habitation in ancient Kapilavastu area but the development of the Buddhist architecture must have progressed only from the time of Asoka who erected numerous Pillars and *stupas*. Asoka in his inscription had mentioned the existence of a village in Lumbini. "*hide-Bhagvath-jätte-ti Lumminigäme ubalike kate athabhägiye-cha.*"[3] Seven Hundred years after the visit of Asoka Fah Hien visited Lumbini. In his accounts there is no mention of any structure except a well and a pond where Maya Devi took a bath and which was still being used by monks for the supply of the fresh water during his visit.[4] Presence of Monks clearly indicates the existence of building structures which Fah Hien did not elaborate. Three

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

hundred years after Fah Hien and one thousand years after Asoka, Huen Tsian visited Lumbini. During his visit Lumbini already had developed in a planned manner based on the events at the time of birth of Buddha. He provided visual description of the place giving position and orientation of each structure. According to his observations each structure had symbolic representation of the events during the birth of Siddhartha. In each spot where he was bathed, where he was received by the Godly kings etc. were marked by *stupas* or by some kind of structures. He did not mention seeing Maya Devi Temple. The closest structure to Asokan pillar he observed was the four *stupas* to denote the place where the four heavenly kings received Boddhisttva. After his visit for thirteen hundred years we know very little about Lumbini until 1896 when it was rediscovered by Dr. A. Fuhrer. Many structures described by him have disappeared and many new structures build after his visit. So far, of all the structures described by Huen Tsiang, only the Pond and the Asokan pillar have been identified.

For a span of two thousand years the country Kapilavastu was mostly in ruins. It was in ruins when Fah Hien visited the place in the fourth century CE, it was in ruins when Huen Tsian visited in the seventh century CE and it was in ruins when it was discovered in 1896 by Dr. A. Fuhrer. Fah Hien records the emptiness and desolation of the place, "The country of Kapilavastu is a great scene of empty desolation. The inhabitants are few and far between. On the roads people have to be on their guard against white elephants and lions, and sholud not travel incautiously".[5] Huen Tsiang wrote in his accounts "There are ten desert cities in this country, wholly desolate and ruins."[6]

The dilapidated condition of the site is mainly due to the decline of Buddhism followed by revival of Brahmanism, neglect, weathering and lack of proper maintenance. Expecially revival of Brahmanism played a big part in the devastation of the site and eventual transformation Buddhist monuments to a temple of Brahmanical Faith. When Lumbini was discovered in 1896 by A Fuhrer[7] the shrine with the Nativity Sclpture was not known as a Buddhist monument but worshipped as a shrine of Rupa-devi.[8] A. Fuhrer observed "It is curious fact that the true meaning of the ancient Buddhistic name has long been forgotten, as the present Nepalese officials believe to signify the sthan of Rupa-Devi."[9] Perceval Landon in his book Nepal mentioned the existence of almost effaced painting of Buddha in *Bhunisparsa Mudra* upon the wall immediately over the carving.[10] This indicates the gradual transformation of the temple to Brahmancal faith. Babu P. Mukherji wrote "This is of some celebrity. The Paharis, hill-men, call her Rupa-devi. She is believed to grant the prayers of her devotees, who bring her offerings of eatables, goats, and fowls, that are sacrificed, and fed here with great ceremony."[11] In India the Asokan Pillar had Brahmanical interpretation as the Gaddā of Bhimsen. But the symbolic meaning of the Pillar in Lumbini remained. Satoru Ueska wrote "Even now, people wish child health by offering their baby's hair, which was cut for the first time, to the Asokan pillar."[12] This tradition may prove that the pillar which was crected as a commemorative monument of the birth of a great man did not lose its meaning after all. Even though people forgot about the birth of Buddha, the tradition of worshipping the pillar by offering the first cut hair of a child continued preserving the symbolic value of the pillar which was erected to commemorate the birth of Buddha.

From the time of the discovery of the Asokan Pillar in December 1896 by A. Fuhrer,[13] the rectangular Maya Devi Temple standing over a pile of ruins with over-gown trees had become a symbol representing the place where Buddha was born. The rectangular brick structure contained several broken sculptures including the famous nativity sculpture which Vinscent A. Smith observed "Probably this Rummindei group is the oldest known example of the nativity subject"[14]. The ancient Nativity sculpture had nothing to indicate what existed below. But Babu P. Mukherji had

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

predicted that "The fact shows that the basement of the original temple exists embedded in the mound considerably down, which judicious excavation will most probably bring to light.[15] From then on quest for the exploration of the shrine began in hope of finding the spot where Buddha was born.

Many excavations were carried out from then on. P.C. Mukherji in 1898, Keshar Sumsher in 1933-1939, D. Mitra in 1969, Babu Krisna Risal in 1976-1983, Taranath Mishra in 1983-1984 and the latest by JBF and LDT in 1992-1995. In 1998 a heavy structure was built to cover the remnants of the whole Maya Devi temple site. There is evidence also of some minor works carried out by unknown people. Radhakumud Mookerji's photograph during his visit to Lumbini in 1829[16] prior to the renovation work carried out by Kesha Sumsher showed a cap added on top of the Ashokan pillar which was not there during P.C. Mukherji's exploration in 1898.

The exploration and excavation carried out in the last 100 years were not all that smooth. Some have inflicted considerable damage to the shrine. The extensive excavation carried out by the General Keshar Sumsher Rana in 1933-1939 did not even produce any report. Except two three photos there was no record of any kind about the findings. It is unbelievable that Keshar Sumsher Rana an educated general who had opened the first library in Nepal and preserved a large collection of books and art works did not leave a trace about his six years of exploration of Maya Devi Temple. It is widely believed that this may be due to the repressive policy of the Ranas towards Buddhism who had suppressed and expelled Buddhist monks from Nepal.

In 2003 a new heavy structure was built covering the ruins. The new structure defied eight recommendations[17] and guidelines put forward by UNESCO to preserve and conserve the ruins of the Maya Devi Temple. An unprofessional and insensitive approach caused extensive damage to the site. Disregards to the Buddhist site by the Archaeologist in-charge resulted in a loss of a valuable pre-Mauryan foundation structure of unbaked hand made clay bricks which were bulldozed away while clearing the space for the renovation work.[18] Causing harm and inflicting damage to the Buddhist sites which started after the decline of Buddhism from the time of Sunga Dynasty still continues in the land of birth of Buddha.

Of all the excavations carried out till this date, the most extensive one was carried out in in 1992. It was carried out jointly by the Japanese and Nepalese team with late Satoru Uesaka as the leader of the team. The final report of the excavation was published in 2005 by Japan Buddhist Foundation. The temple which is under World Heritage Site was pulled down from the top, all the way down to the foundation with two major goals in mind. One is to inspect the damage of the southeast corner of the forecourt on the platform by the roots of an over grown tree and other was to accumulate fundamental structure was discovered at the lowest level of the Maya Devi Temple. The exposure of the bottom part of the Maya Devi Temple provided ample opportunity for the researchers to find out about the sequence of building activities for the last twenty three hundred years.

Questions as to who built the fifteen chamber structure, when it was built and what was its initial design are still under debate. The Excavation Report published by Japan Buddhist Foundation was unable to provide any concrete scientific evidence about the above questions. The structural activities from the fifteen chambers to the rectangular brick structure above for last twenty three hundred years are quite puzzling. The vertical and horizontal construction sequence of the structure is not systematic or well planned. The sequence of expansion lacked total coordination indicating disturbances to the site from time to time. There were ruins and rubbles between stages. Additions small and big made in course of time lacked clarity and coordination. The method of construction was irregular. In some cases we find structure built over the ruins and rubbles of the previous structure without checking what was below the rubbles breaking the fundamental architectural and construction rules.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The walls of different periods overlapped with each other and so were the foundation. Satoru Uesaka the Chief Archaeologist observed "Structure in each stage do not comprise horizontal layers, but they are disturbed, overlapped, and do not form complete shapes. Composition of structures is presumptive. The process of construction Stage I is not clarified."[20] The top rectangular brick structure with the Nativity Sculpture is not that old does not have any architectural or structural connection with the fifteen chamber Mauryan structure below.

But it is quite interesting to note that even though it lacked architectural clarity and structural coordination of each stage, every successive stage of the Temple seems to have given indication of importance of the chamber number two with marker stone below. It is not just a mere coincidence; the center alignment of each consecutive structure was maintained from the bottom all the way to the top. So, we cannot deny the fact that even though the site was in ruins much of the time people knew the importance of the structure below.

The Report of the excavation published in 2005 assigned the fifteen chamber structure to Mauryan Period and the Marker Stone to pre-Asokan period. Regarding the fifteen chamber structure (See Figure 46.1) the report wrote "Structures that belonged to stage I are rectangular as a whole, with east west axis, and surrounded by a double wall."[21] About the Marker Stone (See Plate No. 46.1) the report remarked. "It is estimated that these stone were put in this place before Asoka, and it was piece of natural rock as marked stone that was showing Buddha's birth place."[22] The report also tried to show some connection with the Marker Stone and beginning of the construction of the Maya Devi Temple by saying, "People might have not known about the existence of Nativity point at the time when they began to build the Maya Devi Temple. However afterwards they might have heard the tradition in details, and they decided to install a stone to mark the very point."[23] This statement contradicts with other statement which said that the Maya Devi Temple is not that old and belonged to stage VII. (See note 51)

There are two important findings I would like to discuss which I feel will be very helpful to solve some mystery of the Temple.

1. The findings of the two pieces of **Lime Concrete** (See Figures 46.1, 46.2 and 46.3) between the outer double walls proves that not all the structures of stage I belongs to Maunyan period (3rd Century BCE).

2. **The Asokan Pillar Fragments** (See figures 46.1) discovered at the same level as Marker Stone contradict the claim that marker stone is pre-Asokan.

1. Two pieces of Lime concrete

Two pieces of lime concrete objects were discovered on the north side between the inner and outer wall and between the third and the fourth support wall (See Fig. 46.1). They are both found in the same level and almost in same line placed on top of a neatly piled five courses of brick wall (See Fig. 46.2 and 46.3). First four courses were two bricks wide with header bond. Top course was made little narrower by using header bond on the outer side and stretcher bond on the inner side of the wall. The lime concrete pieces have been placed along the joint between two rows of bricks. (See Fig. 46.2) One is 140 cm long in east-west direction, 18 cm in width and 8-10 cm in thickness. Second piece exists to the west, which is 22 cm in the east west direction, 10 cm in width and 4 cm in thickness.[24] The shape which is half cylinder may not be the original shape or size due to weathering. The centre line of the larger lime concrete piece aligns with the brick joint and not with the centre of the wall. The small piece seems to indicate more wear and tear than the bigger piece. It is certain that it was man made, made at site and not prefabricated. the piece in between the two is missing and it is highly probable that both the pieces were connected earlier and ran over the whole length of the wall.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Lime Concrete is a kind of man-made stone. It is made by mixing lime, clay, sand and gravel with water. Lime is basically the ashes of limestone. It is a product of burning limestone or marble. After curing, a highly strong and durable meterial is obtained. Lime concrete was the invention of the Romans around 1st century CE. It was an important invention that revolutionized the building construction technique making it possible to build large span buildings. The Romans used lime concrete to build famous monuments like Pantheon and Colosseum which still stand in Rome today. Slowly this marvellous building technique spread to other parts of the world and eventually to Indian subcontinent. We do not find any evidence of use of lime Concrete in India or Nepalese plains during the Asokan period or in the early centuries of the Christian era. Extensive use of lime concrete in Indian subcontinent must have started around 6th or 7th century CE. It is not that lime was unknown in the early period. Lime plaster was found used much earlier during the Harappan period in Mohenjodaro's great bath. Later lime plaster was found used in Taxila. The use of lime *kankar* mixed with clay and *surkhi* to produce hydraulic mortar were well known in India in early days but was widely used only during the Mogul period. Lime concrete use in Indian subcontinent cannot go earlier than first century CE.

Experts opinion[25] on the so-called conglomerate given by Kishiro Kizaki (Professors emiritus, University of Ryukyus) and Dr. B.N. Upreti (Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu) is as following:

1. The surface seems to weather.
2. It is comparatively soft.
3. It is not a conglomerate but a mass of gravel bound with lime
4. It is artificial.

The laboratory report did not specify any date or origin of the lime concrete nor mention its purpose and function for placing it over five courses of brick wall. It is obvious that there has to be some reason behind the use of the lime concrete next to such an important structure. From the way they were placed that they did not seem to serve any structural purpose for supporting any load but to protect from water because it has been placed along the joint of two rows of bricks) and secondly to create some hard and durable surface for making offerings. (See fig. 46.2 & 26.3) It is quite interesting to note when and how two materials, bricks of 3rd Century BCE and Lime Concrete of about 6th century CE were used together creating doubt in dating the Maya Devi structure.

There are four distinct strcutres beyond the fifteen chamber structure. 1. Five courses of brick wall supporting the lime concrete, 2. Brick paving, 3. Inner and outer wall and 4. Support walls.

The brick pavement was found on three sides of the structure, North, West and the South sides. (See Fig. 46.1) There is no pavement on the East side. The pavement on the North and West sides had certain pattern in east west direction and starts 30 centimeters from the inner double wall. It passes under the outer double wall and ends randomly beyond the outer double wall. The pattern of the pavement does not align with the fifteen chamber structure and cannot be a part of the chamber structure as claimed by the report. If the pavement was the part of the chamber structure and is ground level at stage I[26] as claimed by Satoru Uesaka the laying of the pavement would have certainly started form the chamber walls and would have definitely aligned with it. It is against any known architectural norms or practice to construct flooring next to an important structure without aligning the pattern with it. The pavement is the part of a different structure which was extended later towards the fifteen chamber structure and stopped just short of the inner wall. (See fig. 46.1 & 46.2) The pavements do not cover all the ground surfaces and not very uniform. It appears it has been distrubed from time to time. On the North side between the inner and outer

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

walls there is a five course brick wall with lime concrete on top. The line of the pavement and brick wall is in a straight line extending westward and extends about 30 cm beyond the first support wall. The support walls built as a bracing between the outer and inner wall have been built over the brick pavement. Beyond the fourth wall eastward the pavements do exist but of different pattern. It appears to have been laid out later with the large number of brickbats. This part of the pavement aligns with the double wall.

On the south side the pavement does not extend beyond the outer wall. The pavement starts from the inner wall but stops about thirty centimeters short from the outer wall and almost aligns with the double walls unlike on the North side.

Satoru Eusaka's claim that the pavement might be the ground level at stage I[27] contradicts with the sequence of construction activities around fifteen chamber structure, the pavement is not a part of the fifteen chamber structure instead it is a part of another structure. The outer wall and the support walls were built over the pavements. This is a clear indication that the pavement with five course brick wall is anterior to outer and the support walls. The outer wall and support walls were built over the pavements. This is a clear indication that the pavement with five course brick wall is anterior to outer and the support walls. The outer wall and support walls were built without any foundation using brickbats and there is inconsistency in spacing of the support walls. The support walls are not locked to the inner or outer wall. They were built to support and to consolidate the fifteen chamber structure which must have bulged out due to the heavy structure above it. Probably it is a solid stupa or stupas but definitely not a building.

The pavement and five course brick wall with the lime concrete were not even cleared to construct the outer wall and the support walls. It is quite interesting to not that the five course brick wall was obstructing the construction of the outer wall but it was neither removed nor trimmed to make way for the outer wall (See fig 46.2 & 46.3). The end section of the five course brick wall was protruding inside the outer wall. Why the wall with the lime concrete was not disturbed or removed is a mystery. Some religious significance must be connected with it. On contrary on the west side the same pavement has been removed to give way for a votive tower.[28] It is really strange and difficult to understand why such inconsistency in the extension and addition of the structures. The complexity of the temple construction from the earliest fifteen chambers to the white washed new structure at the top is very confusing.

There must have been definitely a big time gap between the construction of the double wall and the fifteen chamber structure. The pavement already existed when outer walls were built. From this we can conclude that the fifteen chamber structure is the earliest structure which must have been meant as a base for a stupa rather than a temple. The 1500 mm thick walls with fifteen chambers of different sizes provide adequate reasons to be the base of a stupa. The chamber sizes very from 900 × 1600 mm to 2810 × 2960 mm.[29] In early period it is also customary to have different chambers called Yantragula in Sri Lanka as a base to erect stupa or chaitya over it. In Yantragala the holes are characteristically 9, 17 or 25 squares arranged in 3, 4 or 5 rows. Valuable precious stones and metals are placed in the squares.[30] Some stone blocks with nine or twenty five holes are preserved in Anuradhapura Museum belonging to 1st - 2nd century BCE. The earliest stüpas assigned to fourth century CE at Sigriya excavated by Mr. Bell had twenty five square compartments in the second layer of the Dägaba.[31]

Relying on the accounts of Huen Tsian, Asokan Pillar which is *in situ* should be the focal point for the exploration of the birth spot of Buddha. Huen Tsian had mentioned the four stupas of the heavenly kings being the nearest structure to the Asokan pillar. He wrote "Close to this there are four stupas to denote the place where four heavenly kings received Bōdhisattva in their arms.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

.....By the side of those *stupas* and not far from them is a great stone pillar, on the top of which is the figure of a horse, which was built by Asoka Raja."[32] So, it is most likely that present location of Maya Devi Temple probably was the original location of the four stupas of the heavenly kings. This is the closest extant structure to the pillar today which was seen by Huen Tsiang in 7th Century CE.

2. Asokan Pillar Fragments

Asokan pillar in Lumbini was erected by King Asoka around 245 BCE. After some time lightning damaged the capital and the sculpture (Horse, Lion or Bull?) above it. We do not have exact date as to when it was damaged by the lightning but was already damaged during the visit of the Chinese pilgrim Huen Tsiang around 636 CE. He had noted in his account about the damage to the Asokan Pillar by the contrivance of a wicket dragon.[33] Babu P. Mukherji has observed the vertical fissure in 1889 on the upper portion of the pillar.[34] The intensity of force of the lightning must have been very strong so as to create such a fissure in a 76 cm diameter stone pillar from top to the middle section of the pillar. The capital which is connected to the pillar by a copper mortice and tenon joint must have broken off into pieces. A large piece of the bell capital still exists lying on the side of the pillar. Smaller fragments must have scattered around the vicinity of the pillar and got mingled with the earth. The same earth with the pillar fragments must have been used for earth fillings later.

It is also probable that the pillar was already damaged before the visit of Fah Hien. Fah Hien did not mention the pillar of Lumbini although he did mention about the pillars in Jetvana Vihara in Sravasti and gave a short description. "As you go out from the city by the south gate, and 1,200 paces from it, the (Vaisya) head Sudatta built a vihara, facing the south; and when the door was open, on each side of it there was a stone pillar, with the figure of a wheel on the top of that on the left, and the figure of an ox on the top of that on the right."[35] Had he seen the pillar with majestic inverted lotus capital with figure of horse on top, he would not have missed to mention it. Most probably the pillar was already damaged during his visit in 4th Century CE.

During the excavation of the temple numerous Asokan pillar fragments were discovered in various parts of the structure. They were found in different levels from 98.025 to 103.805 meters above the sea level. (See fig. 46.1). The fragments were confirmed as sand stone belonging to Maungyan period with some having polished surfaces.[36] Some surfaces were carved[37] indicating that they belonged to decorative pieces, probably parts of the bell capital and the horse sculpture above the capital.

The discovery of the pillar fragments intermixed with the earliest structure of the Maya Devi Temple has thrown a new light on the previously perceived belief that the marker stone (See Plate 46.1) belonged to pre-Asokan period. Discovery of so many pillar fragments in the chambers and on the structural walls have raised an important question about the fifteen chamber structure whether it was built before or after Asokan period. It is impossible for the fragments of the Pillar getting inside the structure if they were both built during same time. The fifteen chamber structure must have been built after the Pillar was damaged by the lightning.

All the above facts conflicts with the claim of Saturo Uesaka about the marker stone being in *situ*[38] before Asoka's visit and argument of A.K. Narain who wrote "If this hypothesis is accepted the stone marker *i.e. silavigada* was already there and Asoka caused it the *bitica* to highlight and protect the sacred object *i.e.* the Stone Marker and the place itself..."[39] It also disputes the claim made by Kosh Acharya one of the member of excavation team who suggested that a large scale construction in and around the holy birth place started around 249 BCE. He continued "One such

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

example of the architecture is the structural complex consists of fifteen box chamber and a circumambulatory path which is surrounded by outer wall."[40]

Satoru Uesaka defended that it was during the excavation carried out by Keshar Sumsher in 1932-1939 that the Asokan pillar fragments got into the chamber number 2, 5 and 8- "From 1932-1939, General Kaihar Sumsher group excavated the whole Maya Devi temple in large scale. Then they restored the underground room of it, took away clods of the chamber, filled up the place again. We can guess that the above mentioned matter is clear, for the remains with the fragments of Asokan Pillars were found in Chamber 2, 5, and 8 along with earthenware from the new Generation"[41] This sounds very unrealistic and unlikely. It is hard to believe that Kaisher Sumsher dug about three meters from the floor level of the old Maya Devi temple to remove the clodes from the chambers and then refilled them without pulling down the temple itself. The length of the three chambers along with the walls comes to about 10 meters which is longer than the Old Maya Devi temple itself. The Votive tower (*Chaitya*)[42] discovered fifty centimeters below the shrine floor was not disturbed or removed. Without removing the votive tower it is impossible to get down to the chamber number two. It is hard to believe Keshar Sumsher's back filling of the chambers that brought the fragments into the Chamber number 2, 5 and 8.

In addition to chamber number 2, 5 and 8 pillar fragments were also found in chamber number 3, 5, 9, 11 and 12. Some have been found also in the chamber walls. (See fig. 46.1) Maximum numbers of fragments were discovered at the North-West corner of the chamber number two at different levels. Two pieces were found at the altitude of 100.157 meters above sea level slightly below the level of the Marker Stone. The Marker Stone was found approximately at the center of the chamber number 2 at the altitude of 100.20 meters.[43] 12 pieces were found at 100.213 m higher than the four stone markers placed at the niche (See Plate 46.1) on the eastern wall belonging to stage II. Satoru Ueska's[44] claim that the marker stone (See Plate 46.1) is *in situ* and that they were placed before Asoka cannot be true due to the presence of the pillar fragments in the same level as Marker Stone.

In addition to the pillar fragments many other valuable antiquities like coins, stuccos, panels, carved bricks and terracotta figures of different periods were also found spread around the walls of the chambers. Majority of them were concentrated on the eastern part of the structure. Some Chambers[45] had more than one type of antiquities. Some chambers like chambers #1, #4, #13 and #15 had none. Chamber #2 had the pillar fragments along with the marker stone. Chamber #3 had only one single piece of pillar fragment at level 99.818[46] which is the lowest level of all the stone fragments discovered in the chambers. It is quite intriguing to find such disparity in the location of the antiquities within the structure which indicates that certain section of the structure was disturbed more often that the other or the eastern portion of the structure was added later. What ever may be the case we can unquestionably confirm that the fifteen chamber structure do not belong to Asokan period.

From the time of birth of Siddhartha Gautama in 623 BCE we know only of five people who had visited Lumbini. Asoka in 3rd Century BCE, Shui-Ching-Chu and Fah Hien in 4th Century CE, Huen Tsiang in 7th Century CE and Ripu Malla in 12th Century CE till itwas rediscovered by Dr. Fuhrer in 1896. The accounts of Huen Tsiang[47] is only the detail description of the Birth place of Buddha as seen by a human eye that we know of between the day Buddha was born and the day it was discovered in 1896. We cannot ignore his accounts of Lumbin. From his description we can visualize a plan of what it was during his visit in 623 CE and locate approximately the position of the pond, tree, stupas and the pillar. Today of all the structures he had mentioned, Asokan Pillar is only one that is left in its original place. P. Mukherji observed in 1898 "and I have satisfied

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

myself that the Stambha stands in the original site, not having been removed from elsewhere."[48] So the exploration of the birth place of Buddha has to start from the Pillar taking into consideration what Huen Tsian had observed. Two other Chinese travelers Shui-Ching-Chu and Fah Hien[49] who visited Lumbini about three hundred years before Huen Tsiang left behind very little building activities in Lumbini.

Conclusion

The rectangular structure of the old Maya Devi Temple discovered in 1896 is not that old is clear from temple even though the nativity sculpture probably belongs to earliest period of Buddhistic Sculpture.[50] Satroru Uesaka in his report also made it clear by saying; "As for the old Maya Devi temple discovered at the top of the mound by A. Führer belonged to later stage VII, constructed on the platform as an upper structure."[51] This contradicts with his other statement "People might have not known about the existence of Nativity point at the time when they began to build the Maya Devi Temple. However, afterwards they might have heard the tradition in details, and they decided to install a stone to mark the very point."[52]

The outer double walls were built much later to reinforce the fifteen chamber structure. The presence of a low brick wall with Lime concrete pieces clearly indicate that the outer double walls do not belong to Mauryan period. The Marker Stone in chamber number two with so many pillar fragments cannot be pre-Asokan. Some more scientific research is required to provide conclusion on the origin of the Marker Stone.

The argument given in the excavation report do not reflect solid facts and are not sound enough to conclude that the fifteen chamber structure and the outer double walls belong to Mauryan period and that the Marker Stone is pre-Asokan. Mr. Basant Maharjan rightly observed in his book Lumbini-Historical and Archaeological Study that there is a lack scientific approach in the report of the excavation of the Maya Devi Temple carried out in 1992-1995.[53]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

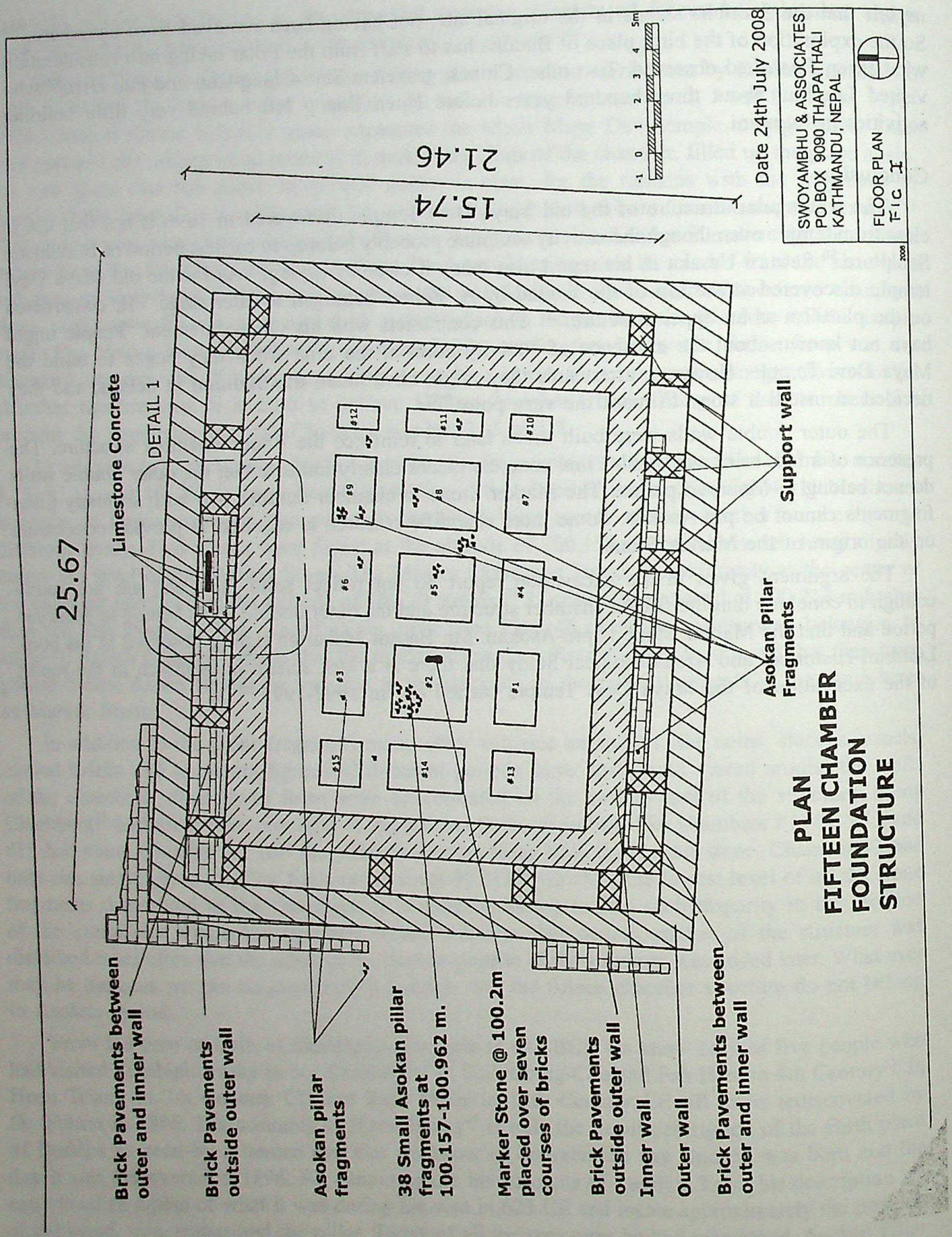


Fig. 46.1

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

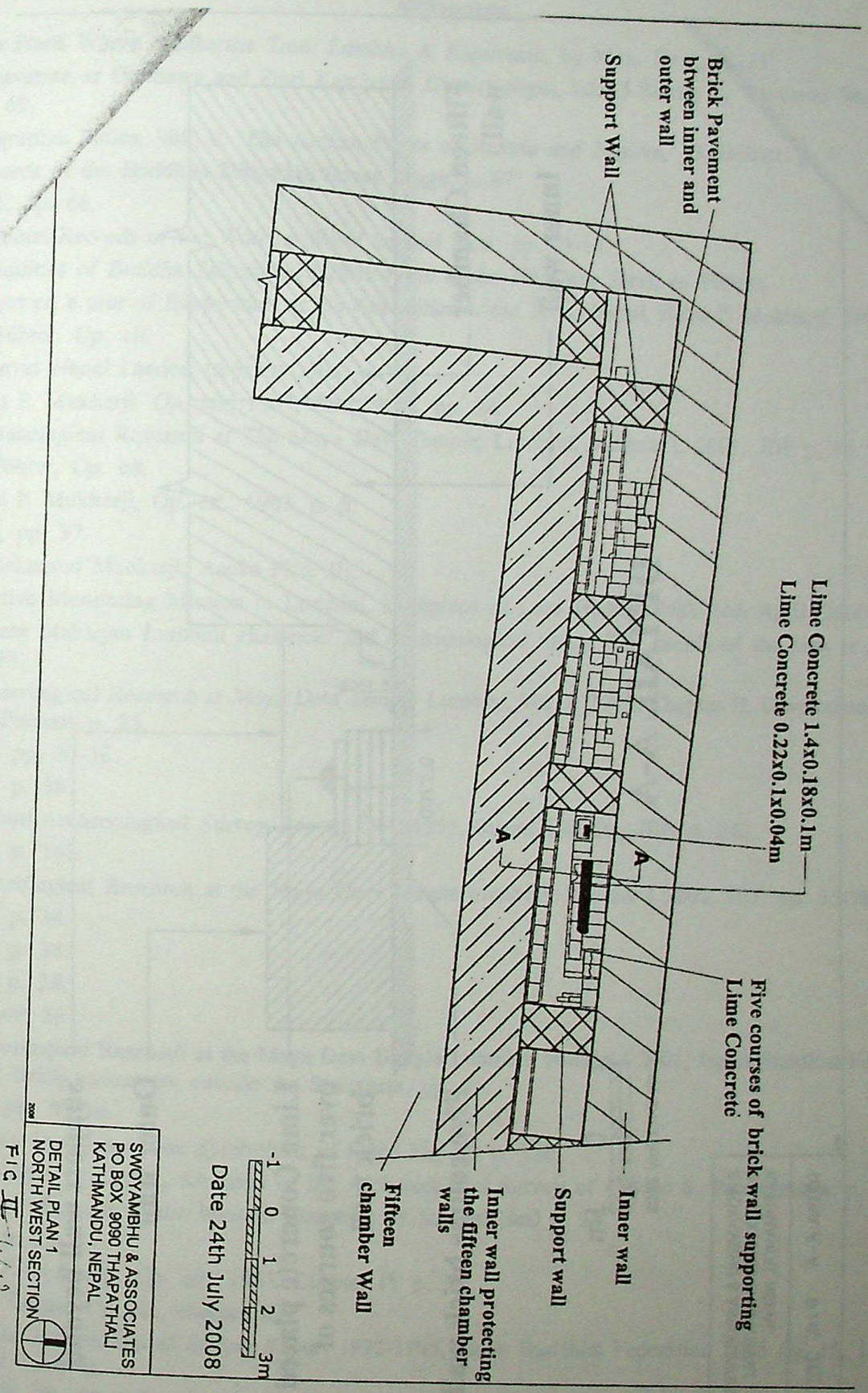


Fig. 46.2

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

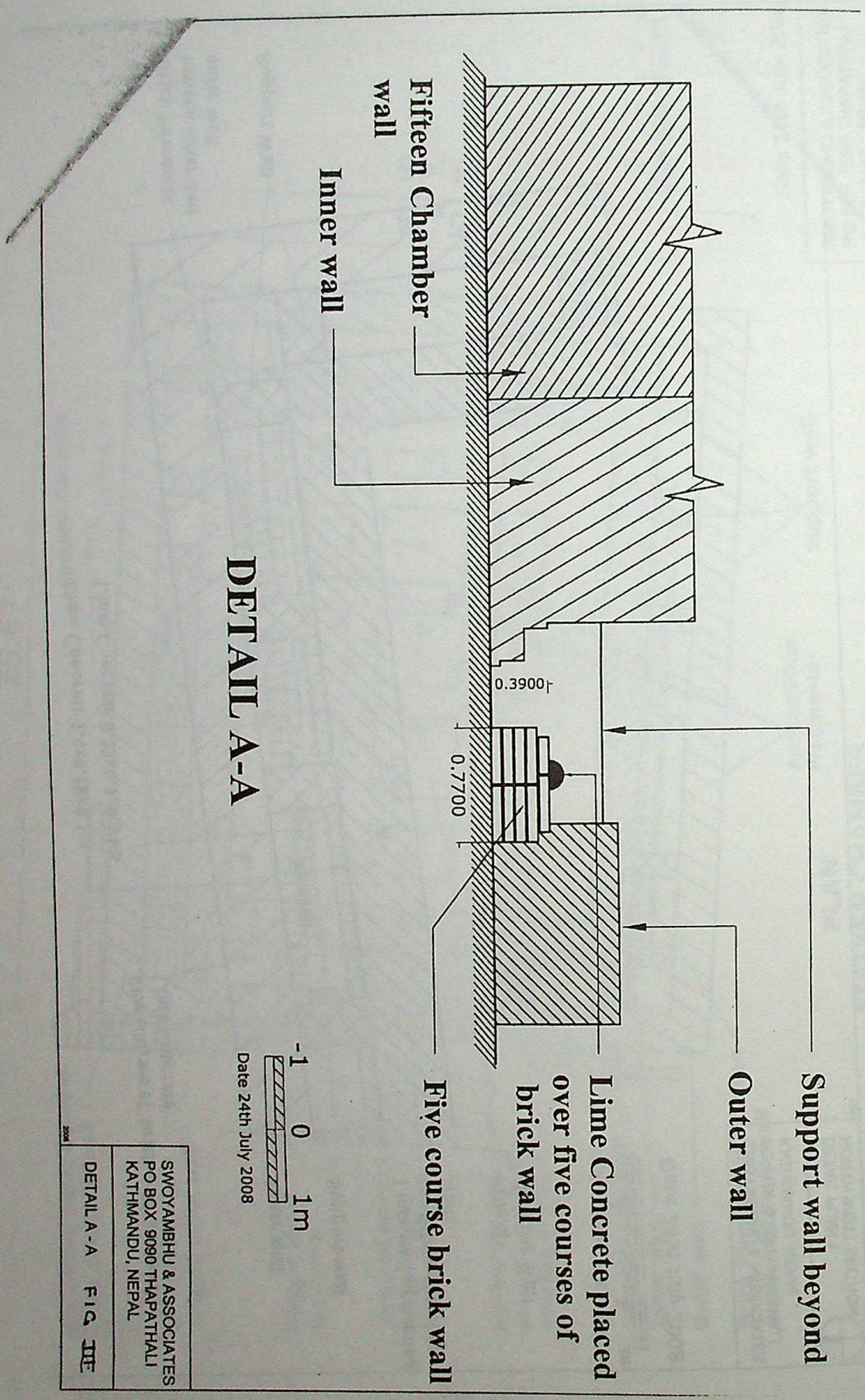


Fig. 46.3

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

References

1. *The Place Where Siddhartha Trod: Lumbini & Kapilvastu,* by Max. Deeg, p. 21.
2. *Excavation at Gotihawa and Pipri Kapilvastu District Nepal,* IsIAO-Roma, by Giovanni Verardi, 2007 pp. 69.
3. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. V, *'The Asokan Edicts of Paderia and Nigliva,'* G. Bühler, p. 4.
4. *Records of the Buddhist Kingdom,* James Legge, p. 67.
5. *Ibid.,* pp. 68.
6. *Buddhist Records of the Western World* Samuel Beal, pp. 13-14.
7. *Antiquities of Buddha Sakyamuni's Birth-Place in the Nepalese Terai,* A. Führer.
8. *Report on a tour of Exploration of the Antiquities in the Terai, Nepal,* Babu P. Mukherji, 1903, pp. 34.
9. A. Führer, *Op. cit.*
10. Perceval *Nepal* Landon (reprint) 1993, p. 10.
11. Babu P. Mukherji, *Op. cit.,* 1903, Chapter IV, pp. 34.
12. *Archaeological Research at The Maya Devi Temple,* Lumbini, volume I, 2001, JBF p. 66.
13. A. Führer, *Op. cit.*
14. Babu P. Mukherji, *Op. cit.,* 1903, p. 6.
15. *Ibid.,* pp. 37.
16. Radhakumud Mookerji, *Asoka* Plate III.
17. Reactive Monitering Mission to Lumbini, Birthplace of Lord Buddha 16th-24th April, 2000, p. 46.
18. Basanta Maharjan *Lumbini Historical and Archaeological Study,* The sketch of the plan is shown on p. 149.
19. *Archaeological Research at Maya Devi Temple Lumbini,* Vol. I, 2001, Chapter II, Development Survey 2-1, Purpose p. 25.
20. *Ibid.,* pp. 37-38.
21. *Ibid.,* p. 38.
22. *Lumbini Archaeological Survey Report,* 1992-1995, Saturo Ueisaka, JBF, p. 242.
23. *Ibid.,* p. 168.
24. Archaeological Research at the Maya Devi Temple Lumbini, Volume I 2001, JBF. pp. 55-56.
25. *Ibid.,* p. 38.
25. *Ibid.,* p. 38.
26. *Ibid.,* p. 38.
27. See note 26.
28. Archaeological Research at the Maya Devi Temple Lumbini, volume I 2001, Japan Buddhist Federation. 3-1-8. Brick pavements outside the Structures, pp. 55.
29. *Ibid.,* pp. 50-54.
30. Andrian Syodgrass, *The Symbolism of Stupa* Fig. 73 p. 130.
31. The *Stupas* in Ceylon, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* S. Paranavitana, p. 20.
32. *Buddhist Records of the Western Countries* by Samuel Beal p. 25.
33. *Ibid.,* p. 25.
34. Babu P. Mukherji, *Op. cit.,* 1903, Chapter IV p. 34.
35. James Legge, *Op. cit.,* chapter XX.
36. Lumbini Archaeological Survey Report 1992-1995, Japan Buddhist Federation 2005 fig. 16, 17, 18 & 19 and Table II.
37. *Ibid.,* Pl. 92, 93 & 94.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

47

A Survey of Menhirs in Kerala

C. Kumaran

The land of Kerala is very rich in megalithic monuments. It was Babington who brought to light the importance of these burials in the second decade of the nineteenth century when he opened a few megaliths and published interesting accounts on them in his learned paper captioned "Description of Pandoo Coolies in Malabar" in the *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay,* Vol. III for the year 1823. Since then, the archaeological investigations conducted in this region have brought to light a variety of megalithic monuments such as hat-stone *(Topical),* hood-stone *(Kudaikal),* menhir, dolmen, cist, cairn, alignment, avenue and sarcophagus. The origin, growth, development, socio-economic perspectives and relationship with the contemporaneous people etc. of these megaliths have also been discussed from time to time. These accounts have added a valuable data in understanding the various facets of megalithic culture of the peninsular India in general and Kerala in particular (Longhurst 1911-12; Cammiade 1930; Aiyappan 1933; Poduval 1933-34, 1948-49; Krishnaswamy 1949; Sharma 1956; Thaper 1957; Leshnik 1974).

Menhir, one among the megalithic memorials is a monolithic free standing stone. It may be boulder, rudely dressed or undressed or a rough thick slab of huge sizes and irregular in shape and firmly placed or vertically planted or fixed in the ground near burial sites. They are also found in the close vicinity of other megalithic monuments and sites. The land of Kerala as stated above is a repository of megalithic burials including the menhirs. Although many investigations have been undertaken from time to time, the menhirs have seldom attracted the scholars for obvious reasons. A variety of these equally deserve careful investigations in order to understand their nature and importance in the megalithic cultural milieu. The discussion that follows here is a beginning in this direction where in a comprehensive survey of their discovery adhering to the chronological findings forms the subject matter of the present paper. Their distribution pattern also finds in the presentation.

Before proceeding further, it may not be out of context for the benefit of the readers to understand the region under investigation. The land of Kerala lying in the parallels between Lat. 8° 04' - 12° 44' N; Log. 74° 54' - 77° 12' E in the southern-most region of Indian sub-continent is a crescent like narrow land. It covers an area of 39,000 sq km and extends upto 580 km north

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

south with an average width of 65 km. In its natural setting, this area can be divided into four zones *viz.* highland, midland, lowland and coastal plain and these respectively have an altitude ranging from 600 - 2817 m, 300-600 m, 30 - 300 m and 0 - 30 m in height. The Western Ghat on the eastern boarder has abundantly influenced the unique natural entity and cultural richness of this region. It has restricted its cultural transactions and political infusion from rest of the country. Tamil Nadu borders Kerala on the east, Karnataka on the north, Arabian Sea on the west and Indian Ocean on the south. The land-mass is composed of metamorphosed ignaceous rocks in highland area; the crystalline rocks of pre-cambrian consisting of khondlites, charnockites, gneissic complex and Wynad schist complex in the midland zone; sand stone and lignite of sedimentary rocks of tertiary in the lowland region; and laterite mainly in the midland and coastal area.

The mountain ranges all along the eastern border of Kerala region have a good number of rivers originating from the Western Ghat. There are about forty-one west flowing rivers, which meet the Arabian Sea on the west. The Periyar running to a length of about 229 km is the largest river and Bharatapuzha comes second with the length of 220 km. Most of the rivers in this region are navigable when they are fully flooded. The discharge of many of the rivers drastically decreases during the summer.

Discoveries

Vasudeva Poduval was the first among others to draw the attention of menhirs in the erstwhile Princely State of Travancore in the second quarter of the twentieth century. He discovered a group of four menhirs and dolmens in the grassland of Peria Kanal-Devikulam road in district Idukki. These were found in a damaged condition. He excavated two menhir sites in the Bison valley. In the first site, the soil was black-earth with de-composed stones scattered all over. The menhir was about 78 x 104 x 7.5 cm. At a depth of 137 cm from the surface was found an urn with a capstone 58.4 cm square and 10 cm thick. The urn was 91 x 11.4 cm in diameter at the mouth and 71 cm at the maximum and 12.7 cm in thickness of its wall. It contained a pot (chatty), three broken pots and one iron axe measuring 13.97 cm long and 9 cm wide at the sharper end and 0.63 cm in thickness. The Pottery mainly included the black-and-red and red wares. In the excavation at another site, an urn was found at a depth of 152 cm, which contained a few black-and-red ware pots. It was covered with a capstone. The urns at both these sites were found to be coarse, imperfectly baked and ornamented by a circular chain pattern at the rim. Their contents were mostly domestic vessels such as pots, pitchers, pots-stand, bowls and flat-bottomed chatty with red and black surface. The discovery of iron at the site of the menhirs showed the monuments belongs to iron age.

Alappara on Panniyur road was another site where Vasudeva Poduval probed. The menhirs here measured 188 cm high and 83 cm broad. At a depth of 152 cm from the surface was found a broken red pot. It was smaller than a normal burial urn containing an unslipped red ware pot with chain decoration on its rim, black slipped pot and black-and-red conical bowl with truncated bottom.

Menhirs are found on the cardamom hill in the northern parts of Travancore. The one found in Marayur was 91cm high and it was known locally as *Vathamkolli*. Menhirs with fragmentary inscription were found at Kaccanpara, Pottankolu and Pupparapakuty about 13 miles from Devikulam. One of them was 548 cm high, 457 cm wide and 30.48 cm thick (Gururaja Rao 1972). A group of menhirs of different sizes was noticed at Komalaparathala. The largest of them was 388 x 228 and 30.48 cm thick at the top. Three other small monolithic

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

formed a row with the principal menhirs titled from north to west (Sreedhara Menon 1976). Ananthakrishna Iyer found two menhirs in Thrichur taluk. A menhir was noticed in district Thrichur, which was locally known as *Pattakkalu or Pulachikkalu.* This menhir planted vertically in isolation without any other megalithic appendage stands in north south orientation. The size of this menhir is 487 cm in height, 365 cm in breadth and 30.48 cm in thickness. The menhirs at Anappara are reminiscent of a memorial stone on battlefield and commemorate a pulayan-women (Pulachi) who died at the spot. Similar monoliths were found in Kuttur, Churakkattukara and Muttam. Such types of monoliths are also met within Malabar and Travancore State (Srinivansan and Banerjee 1953).

In 1861 megaliths of menhir type were discovered at Pattom in Kallar in district Kottayam (*IAR* 1961-62). Chandrasekara Menon explored intensively the megaliths in districts Kottayam and Thrichur. He found laterite menhirs at Tirunakkara and a group of four menhirs chiseled out in granite at Athirampuzha in the district Kottayam. The average height of these stone was about 3 m (*IAR* 1962-63). Further, he discovered menhirs at Kedarunur, Kottanallur, Kuthur, Pulayakkal Vilvattam, Venkitangu and Alur in district Thrichur (*IAR* 1966-68). During his exploration in the district Palghat (Palakkad), he found a cluster of about fifty menhirs at Attappady and a few at Thachanattukara (*IAR* 1968-69).

Subsequently, Raman Namboodri noticed menhirs at Karnan Muzhi and Mulanthuruthy on the eastern bank of river Idamalayar (*IAR* 1977-78). During his survey, a group of about fourty menhirs at Kottathar in Attappady tribal area and Anakkatty on the bank of the river Koduveri, a tributary of the river Siruvani in district Palghat were found. All these menhirs are in granite and most of them are intact (*IAR* 1979-80). Further in the region of Kaulayil Range of Nilambur Reserve Forest Area in district Malappuram he found a menhir in granite (*IAR* 1980-81). In district Idukki, he first discovered two granite menhirs in one alignment at Mookanpar (*IAR* 1981-82) and later another seventeen in east west orientation at Chinna Kanal about 15 km south of Devikulam and also at Surianalur near Chinna Kanal (*IAR* 1982-83).

Satya Murthy and Sreedharan discovered seven menhirs in granite medium in district Kollam (*IAR* 1992-93). Subsequently, Sreedharan reported menhir in granite in Arpukkara in district Kottayam (*IAR* 1992-93) and a menhir near Trikkadavoor Mahadeva temple in district Quilon (Kollam) (*IAR* 1993-94).

Rajan discovered menhir sites at Mangad and another in low land about a km from the Mayyanad Railway Station in district Kollam. The laterite menhir from latter site facing northeast and measuring 90 x 60 cm has a curved top with sides sloping vertically down. He also reported similar types from Abhayagiri and other various parts of Quilon region (*IAR* 1992-93; 1995-96).

Distribution of sites

The growth and development of a culture in a given time and space is determined by the distribution pattern of its cultural centers/sites. There are as many as three hundred and thirty megalithic sites so far reported. Among these, the dolmens and menhirs account for near about fourty-four percent. A majority of the menhirs sites are located in central region of Kerala, mainly concentrated in district Malappuram (74 sites) followed by Palghat (32 sites) and the other sites are in Thrichur (12 sites), Kozhikode (7 sites), Kottayam (5 sites), Ernakulam (5 sites), Idukki (3 sites) and Quilon (3 sites) (Mathpal 1998). The granite and laterite were mainly used as medium for the erection of menhirs in the highland and midland region of Kerala.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Table showing the distribution of sites			
Sl. No.	*Name of Districts*	*Name of Sites*	*Remarks*
01	Alappuzha (Alappey)	Nil	
02	Ernakulam	Anaparakurtur (Anaparukuttur), Choorakattukara, Komalaparathala, Muttan and Tiruppunithura.	Midland region and lowland region
03	Idukki	Alappara, Devikulan (Chinna Kanal, Surianallur), Idukki, Kaccanpara, Karnan Muzhi, Kovilkadavu (Marayoor), Meppara, Mookanpara, Mulanthuruthy, Peermade, Peria Kanal, Pottankolu, Pupparapakuty and Todupuzha.	Highland region
04	Kannur (Cannoor)	Kalivellur, Kavai and Vellur.	Highland region
05	Kasargod	Nil	
06	Kollam) (Quilon)	Abhayagiri, Doredam, Kadavoor, Kollam Mangadu, Mayyanad and Trikkadavur.	Highland and midland region
07	Kottayam	Arpukara, Athirampuzha, Kallar (Pattom), Kannakari, Kottayam, Kuruvilangad, Tirunakkara and Vaikkam.	Highland and midland region.
08	Kozhikode (Calicut)	Annaseri, Iringalur, Kanniparamba, Kayalat, Kirappaniyur (Meppayur), Koduvalli and Putur.	Midland region
09	Malappuram	Abindilam, Alliparamaba, Anantavur, Anamangad, Angadipuram, Annakara, Arakkupramaba, Arakkurisi, Atavanda, Chalavara, Cherayi, Chettalur, Chunganad, Elampulasseri, Eletattumattamba, Irumpuli, Iruvatti, Kannamangalam, Kammanam, Karad, Karakot, Karakunnu, Karippur,	Highland and midland region

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sl. No.	*Name of Districts*	*Name of Sites*	*Remarks*
		Kariyavattam, Kattampabiguram, Kattappadam, Kattipparuty, Klari, Kodakursi, Kolappalli, Kottur, Kulathur, Kullatikod, Kulukkulur, Kumaranallur, Manjeri, Melmuri, Mundamukna, Mundakottukursi, Mullasseri, Muttedattumadamba, Muttutala, Nallur, Nagalasseri, Natuvattam, Nenmini, Nilambur, Olur, Palappuram, Pallipuram, Panamana, Panga (Parurgull), Parsal, Perintalmanna, Perur, Ponmala, Ponnani, Puliyakod, Pulamantol, Pulasseri (Puttycheri), Srikrishnapuram, Tachampara, Tachanatkara, Tenkara, Tirukulam, Tirukkalangad, Tiruvalankunnu, (Teeruralamkunnu), Tirur, Vadakkumpuram, Valambur, Valappula, Vattakumpuram, Vengara, Vellinali, Vettattur (Yedatur) and Wandur.	
10	Palakkad (Palghat)	Agattaitara, Anakkatty, Attappady (Kottathar), Chittanlanjeri, Chulanur, Edatara, Erumayur, Kannadi, Kannanurpattola, Kavassei, Kavelpad, Kilakkumbram, Kodundirapulli, Kongad, Kundalur, Kunisseri, Kulahanna, Kutallur, Kutannur, Mangalam, Manjalur, Mannalur, Mattur, Mundur, Palakkad, Palassena, Pallatteri, Pallanur, Pananjatiri, Pudussery, Tarur, Thachanattukara Todukussery Vadakkanseri, Vattakad and Vilayanmuu	Higland and midland region.
11	Pattanamthitta	Nil	
12	Thrissur (Thrichur)	Adirapalli, Alur, Anapara (Valladam), Chavakkad, Karikulam, Kedarunur, Koothandam, Kottanallur, Kuthur,	Midland region

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sl. No.	Name of Districts	Name of Sites	Remarks
		Mukkathode, Munniarathandand, Parambikulam, Pattiattukunnu, Pattikkad, Palapilly, Pulayakkal, Thrichur, Tiruvavamala, Varandarapalli, Venkitangu and Vilvattam.	
13	Thiruvananthapuram (Trivandrum)	Nil	
14	Wyanad (Wynad)	Ganapativattam, Muppainad and Pudadi (Putaitti).	Highland region.

Discussion

The traditions and popular beliefs about the megalithic monuments have a great bearing in understanding the nature of some of these monuments. These menhirs as well known occur from Abhayagiri in Kerala in the south to Dhanora near Drug in Madhya Pradesh in Central India (*IAR* 1956-57) and Burzahom in Kashmir in the northwest (*IAR* 1960-61) to Nartiang in Meghalaya and Dimapur in Nagaland in north eastern region. So far as menhirs are concerned, no clear archaeological evidence about the purpose of the menhirs is available till date. In many regions, they are not directly associated with the burials. According to Srinivasan they are essentially commemorative stone pillars set up at or near the burial spot. These menhirs are mentioned in the ancient Tamil Literature (Sangam literature) as *Nadukal* and are often called *Pandukal* or *Pandil* (Srinivasan 1946, 1958-59). The excavation at Maski near Raichur in Karnataka and Dhanora in Madhaya Pradesh did not reveal any burial complex below or in the vicinity of the menhirs. Hence they might have served as some kind of signposts or indications (Gururaja Rao 1972). The menhirs in Kerala are monolithic laterite or granite planted as memorial and are not associated with burial or grave goods (Sarkar 1978). They are also interpreted as memorial stones (Thapar 1957).

Further, the transformation of menhirs into memorial stone is noticed in the Chengam region of North Arcot district in Tamil Nadu. In the first stage, the megalithic cist was raised and menhir or *Nadukal* was planted as memorial for the people who were killed by *Maravas* or *Kanavas*. However, these were not raised for those who died in cattle raids (Ahananuru 109, 157, 15, 31 and 89: Purananuru: 3). In second stage, the megalithic cist was raised and menhir *(Nadukal)* was planted for the people who died generally in cattle raid (Ahananuru 67; Purananuru 264). In the third stage, memorial stone alone was raised in the memory of heroes who died in cattle raid (Ahananuru 53, 29 and 343; Purananuru 221: Ingurunuru 352). Hence, it is quite likely that in the closing years of Sangam period the erection of memorial stones proliferated (Rajan 2004). Such kind of development is not found in the region of Kerala. Since literary references indicate that the region of Kerala was once a part of Tamilakam during the Sangam age, the chronology of the menhirs as found in the other parts of Tamil Nadu holds equally good for the region of Kerala till further investigation.

The archaeological evidences obtained from Devikulam proved for the first time that menhirs are erected over the funerary remains buried underground in urns along with iron axe, other funerary assemblages and ceramics of black-and-red-ware etc. (Poduval 1939-40). On the other hand the excavated menhir sites at Piklihal (Allchin 1960), Maski (Thapar 1957), Burzahom and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Gufkral in Kashmir regions (*IAR* 1960-61) have shown that the areas below and around the menhirs have yielded no funerary or any other remains.

While discussing the menhirs found in district Shimoga, Karnataka, Sundara dated them to *circa* 1200-1000 BCE for the beginning of megalithic menhirs (Sundara 2004). It may be recalled here that the probing of menhir sites in Bison valley has yielded funerary assemblage including the urns which have decorations on them (Poduval 1939-40). These decorative motives are similar to the one found in the urns of Mangadu an urn burial site excavated recently in the year 1991-92. On the basis of carbon samples from Mangadu, these urns have been dated to 900 BCE (Satya Murthy 2000). It is an accepted fact that the iron was introduced in India around 1000 BCE (Nagarara Rao 1971), although the recent findings in the Ganga valley have provided a date of 1500 BCE for beginning of iron in the sub-continent. The funerary assemblage including the iron implements encountered in the sites like Peria Kanal and Alapara suggests that the cultural matrix of these sites undoubtedly belong to megalithic culture milieu. In view of facts cited above, the menhirs in Kerala may be dated around 1000 BCE till further investigation.

Conclusion

The discovery of menhirs in the Bison valley opened a new era in the archaeology of megalithis in Kerala in particular and peninsular India in general. The archaeological investigations undertaken so far brings forth that the menhirs are spread throughout the length and breadth of the region discussed. They are concentrated in highland and midland regions. This may be due to the easy accessibility of raw material particularly the granite and leterite for the erection of these monuments. Their absence in districts Alappuzha, Pattanamthitta and Thiruvananthapuram and Kasargod is something enigmatic. This needs further investigations.

References

1. Aiyappan, A. 1933, Rock-cut Cave Tomb of Feroke, South Malabar, *Quaterly Journal of the Mythic Society,* XXIII: 299-314.
2. Allchin, F.R. 1960, *Piklihal Excavations.* Hyderabad, Government of Andhra Pradesh Babington, J. 1823: Discription of Pandoo Coolies in Malabar, *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay,* III: 324-30. Cammiade, L.A. 1930: Urn-Burials in the Wynaad, Southern India, *Man,* XXX: 183-86.
3. Deo, S.B. 1973, Problem of South Indian Megaliths, Dharwar.
4. Gururaja Rao, B.K. 1972, Megalithic Culture in South India. Mysore, Prasaranga: 42-61.
5. *Indian Archaeology: A Review* 1956-57: 37; 1960-61: 11; 1961-62: 98; 1963-64: 13; 1966-67: 17, 67; 1968-69: 10; 1977-78: 30; 1979-80: 34; 1980-81: 31; 1981-82: 27; 1982-83: 36; 1992-93: 112-13; 1993-94: 136; 1995-96: 46.
6. Krishna Iyer, A. 1929-30: Prehistoric Archaeology in Kerala, *Quaterly Journal of the Mythic Society,* 20: 115-26.
7. Krisnha Iyer, L.A. 1967, *Kerala Megaliths and Their Builders,* Madras: 21 - 28.
8. Krishnaswamy, V.D. 1949, Megalithic Types of South India, *Ancient India (=AI),* 5: 35-45. Leshnik Lawrence, S.1974, *South Indian Megalithis Burials: The Pandukal Complex.*
Wiesbeaden, Franz Steiner. Logan, Wiliam. 1079: *Malabar Manual,* Vol.1, Madras.
9. Longhurst, A.H. 1911 - 12: Rock-cut Tombs near Calicut, *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India:* 759-160.
10. Mathpal, Yashodhar 1998, *Rock Art in Kerala.* New Delhi, Books International: 55-56.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

11. Nagraja Rao, M.S. 1971, *Protohistoric Cultures of Tungabhadra Valley (A Report on Hallur Excavation)*, Dharwar, Poduval, R. Vasudeva. 1933-34 -1948-49: Reports on Explorations and Excavations in Kerala, *Annual Report of Archaeological Department, Travancore-Cochin State*. 1939-40: On Menhir in Alappara and Dolmen in Periakanal-Devikulam Road, *Annual Report of Archaeological Department, Travancore-Cochin State:* 12-17.
— 1940: *Archaeology in Travancore,* Trivandrum: 1-2.
12. Rajan, K. 1994, *Archaeology of Tamil Nadu (Kongu Country)*, New Delhi.
— 2004: Recent investigation into the Iron Age Culture of Tamil Nadu, in Sundara, A. (ed.), *Proceedings of R.B. Foote Memorial National Seminar (1995) on Prehistory and Protohistory (Recent Studies).* Hospet, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums: 235-241.
13. Ramachandran, K.S. 1980, *Archaeology of South India: Tamil Nadu*, Delhi.
14. Ramachandra Nair, Adoor K.K. 1986, *Gazetteer of India: Kerala State Gazatteer*, Vol.11, Trivandrum: 304-326.
15. Rao, K.P. 1988, *Deccan Megaliths*, Delhi, Sundeep Prakashan.
16. Sarkar, H. 1978, *An Architectural Survey of Temples of Kerala.* New Delhi, ASI: 15.
17. Satya Murthy, T. 2000, The Megaliths of Kerala: Retrospect and Prospect in Sarma, I.K., *et al* (eds.), *Narsimhapriya: Essays on Indian Archaeology, Epigraphy, Numismatics, Art, Architecture, Iconography, and Cultural History, (Prof A. V.N. Murthy Felicitation Volume)*, Vol. I. Sundeep Prakashan: New Delhi, 29-38.
18. Shali, 1993, *Kashmir: Historical Archaeology Through the Ages*, New Delhi.
19. Sharma, Y.D. 1956, Rock-cut Caves in Cochin, *AI*, 12: 93-115.
20. Sreedhara Menon, A. 1976, *A Survey of Kerala History*, Trivandrum.
21. Srinivasan, K.R. and Banerjee, N.R. 1953, Survey of South Indian Megaliths, *AI*, 9: 103-15.
22. Sundara, A. 1979, Typology of Megaliths in South India in Agrawal, D.P. and Chakraborty, D. K, (eds.,) *Essay in Indian Protohistory.* Delhi, B.R. Publishing Cor.
— 2001: Megalithic Period in South India: Some Aspects of Cultural Ecology in Narasimha Murthy, A.V., *et al* (eds.), *Hemakuta: Recent Researches in Archaeology and Museology (Shri. C.T.M. Kotraiah Felicitation Volume)*, Vol. 1. Delhi, Bharatiya Kala Prakashan: 12-19.
— 2001: Menhirs in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh in Sarma, I.K. and Vaidyadhara Rao, B.(eds.), *Sri Subrahmanya Smrti: Essays on Indian Pre-history, Protohistory, Archaeology, Iconography, Art, Architecture, Epigraphy, Numismatics, Crafts and Conservation (Dr. Raviprolu Subrahmanyam Commemoration volume)*, Vol.1. Sundeep Prakashan: New Delhi, 245-258.
— 2004: Menhirs in Mid-Western Karnataka: Further Notices in Sundara, A (ed.), *Proceedings of R.B. Foote Memorial National Seminar (1995) on Prehistory and Protohistory (Recent Studies).* Hospet, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums: 242-46.
23. Thapar, B.K. 1957, Maski 1954: A Chalcolithic Site of Southern Deccan, *AI:* 134-42.
— 1957: Porkalam-1948: Excavation of Megalithic Urn-Burial, *AI*, 8: 3-16.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

48

Identification of Gajapati Ganapati

C. Somasundara Rao

Many Kaifiyats or Local Records from the Guntur district mention that there was one king Ganapati belonging to the Gajapati family, during whose time his *mahapradhana* (prime minister) Goparaju Ramanna obtained a grant from the king to appoint Niyogi Brahmanas as accountants for villages (*Karanams*).[1] This is said to have taken place in Saka 1067 Raktakshi (= 1145 CE). Now the problem is with regard to the identification of this king. There was, in fact, no king with the name Ganapati on the Gajapati throne; and there was no Gajapati family by 1145 CE.

In many manuscripts, it is stated that Kakati Ganapati and Rudradeva ruled later, and they were followed by the Reddis, Gajapatis and Karnataka Kings (Vijayanagara Kings) and still later by Mughals (a mistake for Sultans of Golkonda). This succession of dynasties is correct. These dynasties succeeded one after the other in extending their authority over the Kondavidu region, and as such they are noticed in the Kaifiyats of the Guntur district. Though sometimes the dates given in them are wrong, yet they mention the Reddi rule as having lasted for one hundred years, commencing from 1318 CE. We know from inscriptions that their rule lasted from 1325 CE. to 1424 CE. in respect of the Reddis of Kondavidu.

Let us take up the astronomical details which are unanimously given in the Kaifiyats. Ganapati is said to have granted (that *Karinikam* should be filled up with Niyogi Brahmins only) on a solar eclipse which occurred on Tuesday, it being *amavasya* (*bahula* 15) of the *Bhadrapada* month of the Cyclic year *Raktakshi* of the Saka year 1067.

Now, it must be noted that the Saka year and the Cyclic year do not correspond. If Raktakshi were correct, it should correspond to Saka 1066. If Saka 1067 were correct, the Cyclic year would be Krodhana. I give below the calculations from 12th to 16th century CE, taking the Saka year/ Cyclic year to be correct, along with other astronomical details:

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(i) *If Śaka year 1067 were correct, and if the Cyclic year were Krodhana*	(ii) *If Raktakshi were correct, and if the Śaka year were 1066*
(a) Śaka 1067 = 18.9.1145 Tuesday	(a) Śaka 1066 = 30.8.1144 Wednesday
(b) Śaka 1127 = 14.9.1205 Wednesday	(b) Śaka 1126 = 25.9.1204 Saturdayc)
(c) Śaka 1187 = 11.9.1265 Friday	(c) Śaka 1186 = 21.9.1264 Sunday
(d) Śaka 1247 = 8.9.1325 Sunday	(d) Śaka 1246 = 19.9.1324 Wednesdaye)
(e) Śaka 1307 = 5.9.1385 Tuesday	(e) Śaka 1306 = 15.9.1384 Thursday
(f) Śaka 1367 = 1.9.1445 Wednesday	(f) Śaka 1366 = 12.9.1444 Saturdayg)
(g) Śaka 1427 = 27.9.1505 Saturday	(g) Śaka 1426 = 8.9.1504 Sunday
(h) Śaka 1487 = 24.9.1565 Monday	(h) Śaka 1486 = 5.9.1564 Tuesday

I have calculated from 12th century, because the date given in the Kaifiyats falls in that Century, and calculated up to the 16th century, because the Gajapati rule ended in that century. After calculating these dates, I have observed that whether the Saka year is correct or the Cylic year is correct, there was no solar eclipse at all in association with the *Bhadrapada* month from Saka 1066-1067 to Saka 1486-1487. It may also be noted that the week-day was Tuesday only in a few cases *viz.*, Saka 1067 Krodhana, Saka 1307 Krodhana and Saka 1486 Raktakshi. However, the solar eclipse is an auspicious occasion, and it is conspicuous by its non-equivalence for the above dates. Therefore, much reliance cannot be placed on the date.

The Ganapati of the Kaifiyats cannot be identified with Kakati Ganapati because he was mentioned next to this statement and as a ruler of Anumakonda. Therefore these two kings should be different. Moreover Kakati Ganapati ruled from 1199 CE. to 1261 CE.

We have a few ruling Chieftains like Kona Haihaya Ganapati who ruled in the second half of 13th century who ruled over East and West Godavari districts, and Kota Ganapati (1240-1262 A.D.) who ruled over parts of Guntur district, as a subordinate of the Kakatiyas, and Chagi Ganapati who ruled over parts of Krishna district during 1230-1257. But these Chieftains were almost contemporaries of Kakati Ganapati or rulers of the time of his daughter Rudramadevi. As such none of them could be identified with the Ganapati of the Kaifiyats.

The incompatibility of the date in the Kaifiyats with the rule of any known king as Ganapati forces us to consider that the date must be wrong. If, on the other hand, we believe that a member of the Gajapati dynasty instituted the hereditary rights to Brahmins over the office of village Karanam through Goparaju Ramanna, then the date must fall in the second half of 15th century or early part of 16th century CE. However, the difficulty here is that Ganapati does not figure in the Gajapati records. We have the names of Kapilesvara, the founder of the Gajapati dynasty in 1435 CE., after overthrowing the Eastern Ganga dynasty; his sons Hamvira and Purushottama; and lastly Purushottama's son Prataparudra. The Kaifiyats record the name of one Langula Gajapati who could be either one of the last rulers of the Ganga family or Kapilesvara Gajapati himself. Since his raid into Kondavidu took place in 1420 CE., about the time of the death of Peda Komati Vema Reddi of the Kondavidu family, the king could be one of the Ganga rulers whose rule lasted up to 1435 CE., or of Kapilesvara when he was serving his masters, the Gangas. Anyway this did not have much effect politically.

It was only the Gajapati advance from about 1450 CE. that really mattered much to the Guntur area. The Reddi kingdom of Kondavidu was annexed by Vijayanagara after 1424 CE., but they could retain the areas in the Guntur district only until Kapilesvara conquered them. Kapilesvara

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

seems to have annexed the Reddi Kingdom of Rajahmundry by 1448 CE. and then proceeded south of the Krishna. His subordinates were ruling in the Guntur area by 1453 CE. Though we know of the conquests of Kapilesvara which reached the far South, yet he had effective control over the Udayagiri and Kondavidu-*rajyas* which were later annexed by Krishnadevaraya by about 1513-15 CE.

During the period of rule of Kapilesvara, we come across two governors who were related to him and who were incharge of various conquered areas. One was Raghudeva, the one who governed the area near Rajahmundry. He was a nephew of Kapilesvara, being the son of Kapilesvara's brother Parasurama Chandana. He issued the Dorapalem grant[2] in Śaka 1376 (= 1455 CE.) and the Raghudevapuram grant in Śaka 1378 (= 1456 CE.).[3] There was another governor during the time of Kapilesvara by name Ganadeva, who issued the Chintapallipadu inscription dated Saka 1376 (= 1454 CE.)[4] and a Copper-plate grant dated Saka 1377 (= 1455 CE.).[5] In the Copper-plant grant, his genealogy was given. He was the son of Guhidevapatra and the grandson of one Chandradeva, who was a descendant of the family to which Kapilesvara belonged.

One would say that Ganadeva and Raghudeva were only governors and not kings by themselves. It is no doubt true; but the description of these governors in their inscriptions suggests that they were practically rulers in their own areas, with nominal allegiance to the king. The grants record their own donations, with only a brief mention of their connection with King Kapilesvara.

The Raghudevapuram grant of Raghudeva states as follows:

Raghudevanarendra-rajaputre vipulam sasati kartaviryakalpe /
Raghudevanarendra-putre jagatim sasati khadgasalivahau //

Again, the Dorapalem grant, though earlier in point in time calls Raghudeva as *Raghudevaraja Kulatilakah,* and *Raghudevaraja narendrasimhah.*

In the Copper-plate grant of Ganadeva also, we find such epithets as indicative of royal status. He was described as Rajan (*Raja Ganamahipatih).* In verse 13 of the grant, he was mentioned as *Sri Ganadevo nripah.*

From these descriptions, it is evident that the governors were almost masters of the area over which they were ruling. It appears as if the Gajapatis themselves were rulers in Rajahmundry as well as Kondavidu represented by Raghudeva and Ganadeva, who were of the Gajapati family itself, though not the direct descendants of Kapilesvara. I would suggest that we should take this Ganadeva to be Ganapati of the Kaifiyats, as the connection of Ganadeva with the Gajapatis is beyond doubt.

The appointment of *Karanams* being exclusively made over to Brahmanas, and particularly to Aruvela Niyogis, could have started in 15th century or later. The division of the Brahmanas into Niyogis and Vaidikis did not materialize before 14th-15th Century CE. As such the statement that Goparaju Ramanna appointed the Niyogis as *Karanams* of many villages in Andhra would fit in, with 15th century rather than 12th century.

References

1. *Grama Kaifiyattulu, Guntur Taluq,* 3 Vols. (State Archives, Hyderabad).
2. R. Subrahmanyam, *Inscriptions of the Suryavamsa Gajapatis of Orissa*, No.12; *E.I.*, XXXIII, pp. 19 ff.
3. R. Subrahmanyam, *Op. cit.*, No.13; *E.I.*, XXXIII, pp. 1 ff.
4. *ARE*, 70 of 1917.
5. *I.A.*, XX, pp. 390 ff.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

49

Writing History: A Study of Military Eulogies of the Chalukyan Families

Aruna Pariti

Introduction

This paper dwells on looking at the inscriptional sources to understand how the ruling elites in the pre-modern times, wanted to memorize the events of their past and document the same in a particular mode of writing, by looking specifically at the military conquests undertaken by their ancestors.

Hitherto, the conventional scholarship used this material largely to write political and military history of the dynasties while underplaying the symbolic, and often exaggerated and eulogistic claims made by the kings. In this regard, their importance had been only realized to especially understand military achievements of the kings and their predecessors and to mark out the physical extent of their empires in terms of their control over large spatial units or kingdoms in a linear fashion. Thus, the earlier studies preclude us from understanding the real purpose for which such exaggerated political and military claims were made. Hence, in the context of the present paper we try to move away from the conventional methods of interpreting history to the more effective analysis of military panegyrics as reflecting certain modes of writing history and memory by looking at their traditional past that the ruling elite ostensibly seems to have accomplished. We argue that by focusing on these exaggerated claims one can understand the ruling elites concerns to consciously dwell on the events of the past that described the greatness of their respective families in terms of their achievements, so that these could be utilized to crystallize the public image of the king and his ancestors in different geographical and temporal contexts. Thus the analysis carried out in this paper provides a new perspective in studying the epigraphical material, as it helps in understanding how the ruling elites in the past, wanted their family histories to be written and how this became crucial to the contemporary situation in which the records were written.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This study is taken up with reference to the Chalukyan families that ruled during the early medieval period, in the Deccan region. For the effective analysis of the data from epigraphical sources and to discern changes and continuities we have divided our study into two different phases. Phase 1 covers the period from the 6th CE to 10th century CE. For this phase we have the inscriptions of the Chalukyan families of Badami, Vengi and Vemulawada. Phase 2 of the study begins from the 11th to 13th century CE. This phase synchronizes with the rule of the later Chalukyas of Vengi and the Chalukyas of Kalyani.

I

Emergence of the Chalukyan Families: A Geo-Political Background

The earliest Chalukyan family had risen to political prominence after replacing the long established rule of their overlords, namely the Kadambas of Banavasi, during the second half of the 6th century CE. Their king Pulakesi I chose the hill of Badami in the south-western Deccan as the nucleus of the newly established kingdom. The arid and rugged nature of this place enabled the king to convert the hill of Badami into an impenetrable fortress. For the newly ascendant ruling family the fortress not only served the defense purposes, but it also enabled the king to have close links with landholdings in the neighboring rural areas.[1] It is from this nucleus that the subsequent kings of the family integrated into their kingdom, fertile and strategic regions of the eastern and western Deccan in order to have control over their agrarian base and maritime trade. They achieved this by following an ambitious expansionist policy of military conquests. Thus, when the early Chalukyas of Badami were at the peak of their political power that was accomplished under Pulakesi II, their kingdom included practically the whole of the trans-Vindhyan regions of India, except the territory of the Pallavas and that of a few southern powers further South[2]. The geo-political integration of this expansive kingdom under one single polity, however, made it unmanageable and hence, it was segmented into viable zones that were then placed under the control of the members of the Chalukyan family, who were allowed to establish collateral branches. Thus, we find one branch of Chalukyas placed at Latta under Jayasimha and another at Vengi under Kubja Vishnuvardhana. This in fact, is the first instance of the segmentation and migration of the Chalukyan locations of the Deccan. lineage into different strategic.

For the present, we focus on the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi. It may be stated at the outset that before Pulakesi II conquered Vengi, it was under the rule of the Salankayanas and Vishnukundins. Vengi is not only strategically located converging major trade routes between the north and south, but its rich rice producing deltas of the Krishna and Godavari coupled with its command over a long sea board,[3] has enhanced its position as the nucleus of political activity. This agriculturally nuc.leated area therefore, rightly recognized as the "area of attraction".[4] It is this geo-political configuration of Vengi that attracted Pulakesi II who conquered it around 611 CE after defeating Mahendravarman III of the Vishnukundin dynasty. However, for reasons of political strategy and to perpetuate his control over the coastal region, he deputed his brother Kubja Vishnuvardhana as the ruler of Vengi that henceforth, formed core-region of the Eastern Chalukyan kingdom, till the nucleus was later shifted to Rajahmundry in the 10th century CE due to political reasons. The Eastern Chalukyas ruled the Eastern Deccan from the 7th-12th centuries CE. During the zenith of their political power, their kingdom extended from Ganjam in the north to Nellore in the south. On the west, it extended up to Telangana in the modern times and on the east, is bounded by the Bay of Bengal. Presumably, thus the whole of modern Andhra except the southern districts formed the part of Vengi kingdom.[6]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

When ttle Eastern Chalukyas were beginning to expand their territorial sovereignty in the Eastern Deccan, their kinsmen in the Western Deccan were on the verge of eclipse due to the Rashtrakuta ascendancy to political power and were ultimately overthrown in 757 CE.[7] The political ambitions of both the Eastern Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas often came into continuous conflict. It is around this time that minor Chalukyan family of Vemulavada also emerged on the political scene. The Chalukyas of Vemulavada (8th-10th Centuries CE) had their core-region established at Vemulavada in the central Deccan, which was known for its rich deposits of minerals. They were strategically located between the Rashtrakuta kingdom and that of the Eastern Chalukyas. However, due to their geographical proximity to the former, they were more inclined towards them and often fought for them in their wars against the Eastern Chalukyas.[8] They were located in vicinity of the Vengi Chalukyan kingdom and hence, are found more close to them. The political history so far discussed corresponded to Phase 1 of the present study.

Continuous wars between the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi and the Rashtrakutas equally emasculated both the dominant Deccan powers and by 973 CE, a new phase in the Deccan politics was set to stage. In the context of the present study, we have marked this stage as Phase 2. It may be noted that during this period, while the Rashtrakutas and the minor Chalukyas of Vemulavada were replaced by the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani in the Western Deccan, in the Eastern Deccan the Chalukyas of Vengi became a protectorate under the Cholas.[9] The political capital of the Eastern Chalukyas was now completely shifted to Rajahmundry, situated on the banks of river Godavari[10] Thus we find that the Krishna-Godavari delta basin, because of its high agrar an potentiality always remained the centre of attraction for Political powers through out the early medieval period. Simultaneously, in the Western Deccan the Chalukyas of Kalyani who replaced Rashtrakutas continued to maintain their capital at Manyakheta or Malkhed, which was once the strong hold of their political predecessors.[11] But under Somesvara I, the core-region of the kingdom was now shifted to Kalyani, a town near modern Bidar in Karnataka.[12] Centrally located between the Western and the Eastern Deccan, this shift in capital enabled the later Chalukyan rulers of Kalyani to expand the agrariar base of their kingdom especially, in the east. For a long time they were able to effectively control the economic resources of Vengi.[13] The territorial extent of the Kalyani Chalukyas reached its peak under Vikramaditya VI, due to his military expeditions against the kings of both the northern and southern India[14]. Thus, we notice that it was primarily the kingdoms having their core-areas in the arid and dry zones of the West were more aggressive and constantly endeavored to extend their control over the rich agrarian zones in the east.

II

Looking at the Past: Writing Military Eulogies of the King's Ancestors

However, to have the control over the newly conquered territories is just not enough, as the kings of these various ruling families of the Chalukyas also needed political legitimatization and social identity. This was provided by *brahmanas* who were supported by the kings through land grants. Besides *brahmanas* the kings also patronized the Kayasthas, the Jainas and other such groups who belonged to the literate class.[15] These bards like those of the *sutas* and *magadhas* of ancient times, composed panegyrics about the military expeditions of their patron in which, he was always shown as a successful hero.[16] In fact, the written text whether in the land grant noted in the inscription or, the *Mahakavya* ordered to be written by the king, was mainly based on what these literate elite, in the process of creating a text, felt for their patron. Hence, there was always a tendency for this information to be formulaic where the court poet often indulged in the invention of new traditions[17] to idealize the king and his family. Nonetheless, these consciously chosen

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

traditions throw light on the way the dominant choose to remember their past and therefore, need to be studied from a fresh perspective. It must be noted at the outset, that conquests referred to were sometimes also in the realm of imagination. The issue of importance is why the details on actual and fictive conquests therefore, were combined in this way.

To comprehend this, the information on the military achievements of the ruling king's ancestors, as given in the *prasastis* is very useful as it implicates on the deeper purposes for which this information was noted determining partly the way the past of these families had to be constructed. Military achievements, in the present context have been understood as the way the ruling elite announced their achievements in war. In inscriptions, this has been done either by

- By giving a simple statement of an individual king subduing hostile kings or,
- By giving the names of the places he conquered.

This has been done primarily because apart from recording genealogical connection adding prestige to the family was also important especially because, we are using this data to emphasize how these families looked at their past. Therefore, the exaggerated accounts may be because these were a mode of history writing that not only recorded bare facts of biological connections but also valuing those connections in terms of enhancing the glory of the family. It is therefore, crucial to comprehend the military achievements of the king's ancestors as they reflected the 'real' or 'imagined' extension of territory that the contemporary king who got the record written had inherited.

III

In the inscriptions of the Chalukyan families belonging to the initial years of Phase 1, when the Chalukyas had just risen to political power and were the process of expanding their political control, their inscriptions showed very few instances of conquests that were beyond the core area. Thus, we find the large majority of inscriptions the king's ancestors namely his father grandfather or great grandfather are simply described as "to have caused vexation of many hostile kings", without giving the names of the places that he actually conquered.

However, the Mahakuta inscription[18] of Mangalesa is an exception as it gives a detailed list of places conquered by his brother (Kirtivarman I), who was his immediate predecessor to the throne, though the military achievements of his great grandfather and grandfather are only simply stated. Thus the record refers to places like Vanga, Anga, Kalinga, Vattura, Magadha Madraka, Kerala, Ganga, Mushaka, Pandya, Dramila, Choliya, Aluka, and Vaijayanti that are said to have been conquered by his brother. This is interesting, because neither the records of Kirtivarman nor those of his other successors refer to these conquests. Further, a majority of places mentioned in this example is a clear indication to add on the "imaginary" territorial control so that the greatness of his brother is enhanced. However, the real motive for inventing such an exaggerated account seems to be inherent in the fear of being overthrown by his nephew who was the actual legal heir to the throne.

Interestingly, several variations are found in the descriptions of military conquests undertaken by the predecessors of the king. Thus for instance, in the Aihole[19] inscription of Pulakesi II, the earliest members namely, Jayasimha and Ranaraga are simply mentioned as the masters of the world, who acquired victories in several battles. On the other hand, Pulakesi I was mentioned as the maker of Vatapi and Kirtivarman I, the father of the king, was described as having achieved victory over the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas. Next, the record refers to the achievements of Mangalesa over the Katachuris (Kalachuris) and the conquest of Revatidvipa. However, interestingly in the records of the successors of Pulakesi II, neither the names nor the achievements of Jayasimha,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Ranaraga and Mangalesa are mentioned. Similarly, the military success of Kirtivarman I over the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas was also found to be absent. Instead, one notices that in all other inscriptions belonging to the successors of Pulakesi II, Kirtivarman I's success over Vanavasi was highlighted. Similarly, Pulakesi II's emphatic victory over Harshavardhana, the lord of Uttarapatha was emphasized upon in the records of his successors. On the other hand, while some records mention the victory of Vikramaditya I, the son of Pulakesi II over the Pallavas of Kanchi, Pandyas, Cholas and Kerala, others added the name of Kalabhras to the existing list. However, Vinayaditya's success over the tributary kings of Kavera, Parasika, Simhala and the lord of Kanchi along with other countries remained same in all the records belonging to this family.

Besides these, in few examples belonging to the Eastem Chalukyas of Vengi, we found references to the conquest of the Rashtrakutas, Gangas of Kalinga, Kosalas, Pandyas, Pallavas, Nolamba Rastras, Karnatas, Latas, Kiranapura, Achalapura and Uru-Nellurapura.[20] These kingdoms were located in all the four directions of the Eastern Chalukyan kingdom. Thus, while the kingdoms of the Rashtrakutas, Karnatas and Latas formed the Western frontier of the Eastern Chalukyan kingdom, the other places like Kiranapura, Achalapura were located in the central India. Further, the kingdoms of the Pandyas, Pallavas, Nolamba Rastras and Uru-Nellurapura are located to the south of the Eastern Chalukyan boundaries and that of Gangas of Kalinga and Kosalas are towards the north-east of the Chalukyan kingdom. This clearly shows that there was an attempt to extend the kingdom in all directions. Hence, one can clearly discern from these examples that the political expansion was now directed beyond the core region of the kingdoms of both the Badami and Vengi Chalukyas. Some of the places that were mentioned above are located in fertile belts of agrarian zones and on the sea-coast. Hence, the king who inherited these places from his ancestors, therefore, scrupulously recorded these conquests so that the posterity would know the military greatness of his ancestors who by conquering places of strategic importance achieved political integration of the Deccan.

From the 8th century CE, the kings of the Deccan showed great fascination to assume a pan-Indian identity. This in fact had become an important mechanism to seek a new political identity for the king in power. Thus in this context, we found one inscription[21] belonging to the minor Chalukyan family of Vemulavada that refers to the conquest of countries such as Turushka, Yavana, Barbara, Kashmira, Kambhoja, Magadha, Kalinga, Ganga, Pallava, Pandya and Kerala by the king's father. This clearly suggests that the information contained here is perhaps formulaic and 'imagined' but at the same time it also indicates how the ruling elite of a subordinate and less imperial status tried to seek pan-Indian identity by referring to these north Indian conquests. Such exaggerated formulations about the ancestors of the king, we argue emanates from the perceived threat to the political stability of the kingdom, and hence the need to glorify the deeds and actions of the predecessors and fabricate lengthy genealogies.

The above analysis of the "real" and "imagined" territorial control that the king describes by retrieving the past achievements of his ancestors is indicative of one mode of historical writing, where he looks at his immediate historical past to enhance the greatness of his family. Hence, in this process he is also very selective in referring to only those ancestors who eclipsed the great powers such as the Kadambas, Harsha of the north and the Rashtrakutas, the Pallavas, the Cholas, the Kalachuris, etc., who are actually 'foreign' to the land of the traditional Chalukyan control. Thus, it was found that in most of the records of the Badami Chalukyas, the conquest of Vanavasi by Kirtivarman and the victory of Pulakesi II over Harsha were highlighted. Both these incidents were crucial landmarks in the political history of the Chalukyan family, since the conquest of the former permanently established the Chalukyan rule in the Western Deccan and the latter incident elevated the Chalukyas to an imperial status.[22] Hence, the memory of these two incidents was

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

found recurring in many inscriptions. Similarly, in some inscriptions, the military achievements of some of the king's ancestors against the mighty powers of the Rashtrakutas, Kalachuris, Cholas, Pallavas, Pandyas, etc. are highlighted. But however, their defeat in the hands of these major powers was often found telescoped with neither the inscription nor the *Kavya* recording them. Significantly, this reveals that the king attributed "imagined territorial conquests" to his ancestors. This clearly suggests that during Phase 1, the ruling elites were more concemed to keep the memory of only those events that articulated the greatness of the king's ancestors. Certainly, these accounts reveal to us the different ways through which the ruling elite looked at their past, which is documented in the inscriptional *prasastis* for posterity to remember. In fact, one can envisage that this mode of historical writing has indeed become a significant factor for the contemporary king to enhance his prestige and further establish a socio-political identity through referring to an important and glorious aspect of the past.

IV

Interestingly, in Phase 2, *i.e.*, from the 11th century onwards, we have a different picture altogether. During this phase, the political conditions in the Deccan were sensitive demanding new mechanisms for political control and legitimization. This was clearly reflected in the way the descriptions of the military conquests of the king's ancestors were noted in the inscriptions. Thus in this Phase, we have three different methods in describing the military conquests of the king's ancestors. These are:

(1) Those that describe the military achievements of the family as a whole, of the parent branch and the achievements of the early members of the ruling family under consideration,

(2) Those that refer only to the military achievements of the earliest members of the Chalukyan family. In this method of description, reference to the military achievements of the parent branch and that of the ruling branch are absent and

(3) Those examples where only the accomplishments of the immediate ancestors was mentioned.

The first method of describing the military achievements of the Chalukyan family as a whole, of the parent branch namely, the Badami Chalukyas and the achievements of the early members of the ruling family under consideration may be illustrated through the following example. The Kauthem[23] grant of Vikramaditya V, dated to 1008 CE of the Kalyani Chalukyan family first introduces the military achievements of the kings of the Chalukyan lineage over the Nalas, Kadambas, Mauryas, Rashtrakutas and Kalachuris. Having thus stated the record then refers to the military accomplishments of the parent branch starting from Jayasimha Vallabha onwards, the earliest member of the Badami Chalukyan family. This king is accredited with usurpation of the Rashtrakuta kingdom and the subsequent establishment of the Chalukyan sovereignty. However, the record is silent about the achievements of his son, Ranaraga, and grand son Pulakesi I. But Kirtivarman I, successor of Pulakesi I, was credited with the victory over the Nalas, the Mauryas and the Kadambas. About Mangalesa, the younger brother of Kirtivarman I, the record states that his conquests were over the island of Revati and the Kalachuris. Pulakesi II, the next ruler, was eulogized for his victory over the great king Harsha of Uttarapatha. After this, interestingly the record is silent about the military achievements of other kings of the Badami Chalukyan family. This continues up to the reign of Kirtivarman II in whose regime the regal fortunes of the Chalukyas were said to have been encumbered by the Rashtrakuta king Dantidurga who dispossessed the Chalukyan power about the middle of the 8th century CE. From here onwards the narration shifts to the detailing of the military conquests of the main ruling dynasty under consideration, namely, the Chalukyas of Kalyani. In this regard, we have noticed that it is only from the reign of Taila II that the military conquests

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

undertaken by the members of this family were enumerated. Thus, for instance, Taila II's displacement of the Rashtrakuta rule gets highlighted.

In the second method there is reference only to the military achievements of the earliest members of the Chalukyan family, without any reference to the military conquests undertaken by the kings of the parent branch and that of the ruling branch. This method is prominently noted in the inscriptions of the Eastern Chalukyan kings from the 11th century onwards.[24] In these examples, the military exploits of only the mythical founder of the Chalukyan lineage were narrated. Thus, it has been stated that one Visnuvardhana, the son of Vijayaditya of Ayodhya had conquered the territories of the Kadambas, Gangas and other kings who had ruled over the Daksinapatha, especially the territory lying between Setu and Narmada that contained nearly 7·5 lakh villages. Apart from the mention of this event, we have noted that in all these examples there is a complete absence of the military accounts of other members of the Chalukyan dynasty.

The third method of describing the military conquests where only the accomplishments of the immediate ancestors was mentioned, with conspicuous absence of the achievements of the ancestors of the parent branch may be exemplified by the Balagamve inscription[25] of Jagadekamalla I, dated to 1019 CE. In this example the king's grandfather was described as having been successful over the Cholas and his father was mentioned as having defeated the Rattas. Similarly, in the Gadag inscription[26] of Vikramaditya VI dated to 1099 CE, Taila II is mentioned to have extirpated the Rattas, and terrified the Panchalas.

In the light of the above descriptions, one can observe that in Phase 2, unlike in Phase 1, there are three distinct modes of recording the military greatness of the king's ancestors. In one mode of writing, the king not only referred to the territorial expansion achieved under his immediate ancestors, but also continuously referred to the ancestors of his parent branch, namely the Chalukays of Badami from whom he claimed descent. The account that has been reproduced in these records alludes to the actual territorial control that the Badami Chalukyas achieved up to the reign of Pulakesi II. In this narration, however, the records clearly show that the expansion of the early Chalukyan kingdom was primarily towards the west of their core area. This can be inferred from the mention of those kingdoms such as Nalas, the Mauryas, the Kadamabas and the Kalachuris that. are evidently located in the Western Deccan. Next, there is reference to the military conquests of the ancestors belonging to the Kalyani Chalukyan kings. Most of the areas that were conquered by them namely, the Rashtrakutas, Seven Konkanas, Malavas, Kalachuris anti Rattas were all political powers having their nucleus in the western Deccan and controlling the sea-coast. From this account therefore, it is clear that the territorial extension of the Western Chalukyan kings of Kalyani took place around their chosen core area, namely, Kalyani and did not go beyond the imaginary limits of spatial control.

On the other hand, in the records of the Eastern Deccan, one comes across examples that refer to the control of an "imaginary" space rather than the real space of control that we envisaged above. This is elucidated from the statement where one Visnuvardhana, the son of Vijayaditya of Ayodhya was described to have conquered territories of the Kadambas, Gangas and other kings who ruled over the Daksinapatha, *i.e.*, the territory lying between Setu and Narmada that contained 7½ lakh villages. Thus, the memory of the control of a "sacred" space was highlighted in this type of examples than the actual territorial control that the ancestors achieved during their rule. Thus, from the above analysis it can be clearly discern that the actual territorial control in this type is rather limited when compared to Phase 1 where it extended far beyond the core-area.

Interestingly, even the military achievements and the territorial control accomplished under the ancestors of the kings saw the invention of new traditions from time to time. Thus while in Phase

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1, the memory of the military achievements of the ancestors of the individual families were preserved, in the context of Phase 2 however, the mode of historical writing especially, the way the ruling elites looked at their past with reference to their ancestors undergoes a significant change. In this regard, it may be noted that in few records of the Western Deccan, the Chalukyas as a lineage were attributed with the conquests over the Nalas, Kadambas, Mauryas, Rashtrakutas and Kalachuris. However, who these Chalukyan kings were not mentioned. Such descriptions attributing power to an unknown past of the family's lineage are clearly absent in Phase 1. This suggests the ruling elite in Phase 2 were more concerned at projecting the family image by portraying its members as great conquerors of the immediate and hoary past who were invincible on the battlefield. Another interesting aspect noted in these examples is with reference to the military achievements of the members of the parent branch, namely the Badami Chalukyas. In this regard, there was also an attempt made to consult the historical records and reproduce some of the information for the present concerns. Thus, in these records there was the revival of Kirtivarman I's achievement over the Nalas, Kadambas and Mauryas, which was earlier being suppressed in the records of the Badami Chalukyas. However, in these records one finds that though Pulakesi II victory over Harsha is remembered, his conquest of the Eastern Deccan and the subsequent migration of the Chalukyan lineage, who established the eastern branch of the Chalukyan family, were completely discarded. Similarly, even the early Chalukyan kings' attempt to expand towards the South that was found in most of the inscriptions of Phase 1 was also ignored. This suggests that during this period when the actual territorial expansion was limited, there was constant revamping and selecting of source material only to serve the contemporary needs of the ruling elite. Further, it can also be discerned that the political identities had made each Chalukyan family distinct from each other and therefore, for pragmatic considera they made such exaggerated claims of conquering the whole of north India and so on.

Similarly, the Chalukyan records of both the western and the eastern Deccan come up with, possibly an imagined migration theory, of a certain Vijayaditya from Ayodhya to the Deccan. This is interesting, as it explains to us the importance of the collective conscious for a particular past associated with sacred space, for the family as a whole. It is clearly suggestive that in Phase 2 glorious past about the family mattered more than the individual or ancesto" achievements as noted in Phase 1. Nonetheless, from the examples of both these Phases, it is apparent that a different type of retrieval of the past existed in these descriptions. Further, it is also indicative of the selective process involved in writing an inscriptional text, which in turn was created on the basis of those events/persons/places of the past the author judged could be upheld to suit the needs of the present time.

Significantly, some of the above incidents especially those pertaining to the imagined past described in the inscriptional text, appeared in a similar vein in the literary texts of the period. For instance, in the *Vikramankadeva Carita*[27], Bilhana describes the migration of the Chalukyas from Ayodhya to the Deccan. He further glorifies the military conquests of Ahavamalla Somesvara I, the father of his patron, over the Cholas, Malawa, Dahala and Kanchi. This indicates that the writing of an inscriptional text was not entirely different from that of the literary text, and that in both these two genres of texts, the court poets adopted a selective process of writing about the past in a way that suited the intentions for preserving a certain identity and collective memory of the past.

Conclusion

Thus, from the above analysis, we argue that whereas traditional historians have looked at the "greatness" factor in this type of information, which of course is more explicit, we not only looked at this factor but also emphasized on looking at the embedded notion of history in these sources

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

by emphasizing the different ways of retrieving the past. In our opinion this has a great significance particularly, in terms of its sacred or special importance, since both the "imagined" and "real" conquests that are envisaged in the above analysis emphasizes on a composite Chalukyan identity that at its core was a social one.

References

1. B.D. Chattopadhyaya, '*Origin of the Rajputs*: The Political, Economic and Social Processes in Early Medieval Rajasthan', *IHR*, Vol. III, No.2, 1976, p. 73.
2. D.P. Dikshit, *Political History of the Chalukyas of Badami*, New Delhi, 1980, p. 99.
3. B.V. Krishna Rao, *History of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, (CE 610 - 1210 CE)*, Hyderabad, 1973, p. 47.
4. B. Subba Rao, *Personality of India- Pre and Proto-historic formations of India and Pakistan*, Baroda, 1958, p. 20.
5. K.V. Ramesh, *Calukyas of Vatapi*, Delhi, 1984, pp. 83-54.
6. B.V. Krishna Rao, *Op. Cit.*, 1973, pp. 48-49.
7. K.A. Nilakanta Sastry, *A History of South India*, Madras, 1994, p. 157.
8. P.V. Parabrahma Sastry, 'The Chalukyas of Vemulavada', *IAP*, No.8., Karimnagar District, Hyderabad, 1974, pp. ix-xiv.; K. Suryanarayana, *Minor Chalukyan Dynasties or Andhradesa*, Delhi, 1986, pp. 13-21.
9. K.A.N. Sastry & N. Venkataramanayya, 'Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi', in G. Yazdani (eds.), *Early History of the Deccan*, part VII, 1982, p. 487.
10. N. Venkataramanayya *The Eastern Calukyas of Vengi*, Madras, 1950, p. 163; B.V. Krishna Rao, *Op. Cit.*, 1973, p. 279.
11. Krishna Murari, *The Chalukyas of Kalyani*, Delhi, 1977, p. 35.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
14. J.E. Schwartzberg, *A Historical Atlas of South Asia*, Chicago, 1978, p. 190.
15. B.D. Chattopadhyaya, *Representing the Other? Sanskrit Sources and Muslims*, Delhi, 1998, pp. 21-22.
16. Romila Thapar, *Cultural Transaction and Early India: Tradition and Patronage*, Delhi, 1987, p. 26.
17. B.D. Chattopadhyaya, *Op. Cit.*, 1998, p. 19.
18. *IA*, XIX, 1874, pp. 305-06.
19. *EI*, VI, 1900-01, pp.1-12.
20. *EA*, III, 1974, pp. 28-42. *JBORS*, VIII, 1922, pp. 83-98.
21. This is mentioned in the Kollipara plates of Arikesari I of the minor Chalukycann family of Vemulavada. See for more comments on this, N. Venkataramanayya, *The Calukyas of Vemulavada*, 1953, pp. 73-81.
22. J.E. Schwartzberg, *Op. Cit.*, 1978, p. 181.
23. *IA*, XVI, 1887, pp. 15-24.
24. The earliest inscription that records this type of genealogy is the Ranastipundi grant of Vimaladitya, in 1011 CE. *EI*, VI, 1900-01, pp. 348-361.
25. *IA*, V, 1876, pp.15-18.
26. *EI*, XV, 1919, pp. 348-364.
27. Mangal Dev Sastri, *Vikramankadeva Carita Mahakavya*, Benaras, 1945.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

50

Feudal Set up of Medieval Deccan and the Temple Dancing Girls

Rekha Pande

Introduction

A very important institution that continued to play a very important role in the religious and cultural life from the medieval times is the institution of the temple dancing girls. Emerging from the concept of divine fecundity as an integral part of agrarian societies this institution continued to flourish and is in existence even in the 21st century. Unfortunately such an important institution has not been very central to our understanding of history of pre-Colonial India, primarily due to the neglect of women's history. In the present paper we are attempting to see the institution of temple dancing girls as corollary of the feudal set up of Medieval Deccan.

The Deccan region is an amalgam of many Eco zones, from the arid rocky plateau of the Rayalseema to the bountiful coastal Plains flanked by the eastern and western Ghats to the vast hinterlands. It has agricultural Plains and forests such as Coorg and Dandakarnya and had varied social formations, agrarian, pastoral, hunting-gathering, artisans and other forms of production. This region in the medieval period witnessed many transformations in the politico-economic and socio-cultural spheres. Politically, the state gradually transformed into a multi-centered power structure, fragmented and segmented at different levels, owing to the extensive growth of socio-religious, philanthropic and service tenures, which operated with in the matrix of tax-tribute–plunder. The dharmic kingship of ancient times transcended into ritual kingship, further legitimized by the performance of *Dana, dakshina, titha, darshana* etc. Deforestation and land reclamation during the Kakatiyan (1000-1323 CE) and Vijaynagara times (1327-1600 CE) contributed to the growth of Brahminical institutions, *brahmadeyas* and *devabhogas* on the one hand and the growth of industries and agricultural expansion on the other. This resulted in the consolidation of the peasant and non-peasant groups like the merchants and artisans into guilds; the caste-cum-professional organizations, but also the temple as an institution that controlled the power structure of state and society. Hence in the feudal set of Medieval Deccan it was the temple that became a manifestation of this feudal

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

set up and a link between the agrarian hinterland and the urban context, between the King and the masses.

During this period we find that there was a mutual exchange of honors between the kings and the pontiffs of religious institutions, the former for legitimization of their ritual status and the latter for protection of their tenures. The sectarian religions, Śaivism and Vaishnavism, their leaders and institutions like temples, *pithas* and *mathas* through the ideology of the *bhakti,* manipulated the political base of the state. In other words the temple became a nexus of power that gradually transformed into a state in miniature and appeared homologous to a political center. It had a huge bureaucracy at its command amongst which the temple girls or the Sanis, Bhogams or Dasis who were employed in the service of God deserve special mention, since they formed significant officiating dignitaries. These were the most important ritual performers and no festive occasion was complete in the temple with out the performance of the temple girls. Hence, the employment of these dancing girls became customary on the part of the temple, which gradually institutionalized into a professional organization.

A study of the institution of the temple girls becomes very important in this connection because it helps us in understanding the role of women in perpetuating a particular ideology and understanding the complexity of the women's situation in terms oppression with in a patriarchal structure. These temple girls, commonly referred to as Devdasis in popular literature and dedicated to the temple and performing sacred duties have become an object of reminiscences of the past. They were employed in the temples as dancers, singers, musicians and for offering certain services to the deities. Often they were not allowed to marry a mortal man. Some of them were responsible for the smooth functioning of the temple administration. They have been regarded as a *nitya sumangali* an ever auspicious one, an entire tradition as part of the *sacer ludus* of Hinduism and investigated as an example of traditional arts.[1]

There has been a lot of controversy about the role of the temple dancers and if they practiced prostitution or not. B.R. Patel states that the dedication of the Devdasi to the temple signified virginity and chastity.[2] Putli Krishnamurthy depicts them as virgin devotee initially ands it was only later that they degenerated into prostitution. [3] Tarachand also states that in the past the dedication of girls occupied a place of feligious importance and it was purely religious in nature. Over the years it lost its original functions and importance and has become a contributor to the institution of sacred prostitution.[4] Priyadarshini Vijaisri sees this as a sacred prostitution which is linked to the cultural hegemony and caste oriented feudal economy. [5] Other researches represents the temple girls either as performer-cum-prostitutes or performers, echoing their indexical status in the society, despite their professional scholarship.[6]

The institution of temple girls is viewed as an isolated entity, but not as an associated component of sacred complexes which were one of the power loci of the state and society. The transformation of Sanis into Devadasis is not highlighted in terms of changes in status of temple institution. We look at the institution of the temple girls in the historical perspective and trace their emergence and decline. Some of the aspects that we touch upon include relation between the state and religious institutions like temples, need for growth of office of the temple girls, institutionalization of the Sanis and their categories, the organizations of the Sanis, their accomplishments, their ritualistic and non-ritualistic functions, customs and obligations and the part of temple and power groups.

Sources

We have a variety of sources, which give us a lot of information about the temple girls and help us in locating them with in the politico, social-economic milieu. The sources for the study are

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

inscriptions, literature and travelogues of the Portuguese, Venetian and Muslim travellers. We have a number of inscriptions about the endowment made by these women or the gifts they received and the services performed by them. We have a large number of donative inscriptions, which consist of the records of gifts made to the temple and public works such as tanks, choultries and satras. These prove to be a rich source of information in understanding the role of the temple and the dancing girls in medieval times. Inscriptions published in *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. 4,5,6.9 part I and II, 16, Inscriptions of Warangal, Nalgonda, Karimnagar Districts, Tirumala Tirupati Devsthanam inscriptions, *Epigraphia Indica* and *Epigraphia Andhrica, Epigraphia Carnatika,* Vijaynagara Inscriptions, Inscriptions of Andhra Desa etc. are consulted.

The indigenous literature of the period, *Andhra Mahabaratam* of Nannaya and Tikkana *Kumar Sambhavam* of Nannechoda, *Basava Puranam* and *Sri Panditaradhya Charitra* of Palkuriki Somnatha, *Prataprudra Yashobhusanam* of Vidyanath *Kridabhiramam* of Vallabhacharya and *Amuktamalyada* of Krishnadevraya give a vivid picture of the court life, temple festivities of the dancing girls in the Vijaynagar period. *Kasikandam, Palanativiracharitra, Sivaratrimahatmyam* of Srinatha, *Simhasana dvatrimsika* of Koravi Goparaju, *Vijnanesvaram* of Ketana throw a flood of light on different aspects of the lives of the temple girls and prostitutes. The accounts of the Portuguese writers Domingo Paes and Fernao Nuniz, Abdur Razzak a Persian ambassador who was sent to Zamorin on an important mission is also very useful. The Portuguese traveler Duarte Barbossa also leaves a rich narrative of the Vijaynagara empire. Futuh-us Salatin of Isami also touches upon the Vijaynagara rulers and the Dutch traveler Huighen Van Linschoten who visited around 1583 also leaves us some information.

Geo-Political Milieu of Medieval Deccan

The medieval period in Deccan was a period of the rise of various feudatories to power and in order to give legitimacy to their power they used the support of the Brahmin priests, the temples and the tribals. The situation was no different in Andhra. The Andhra region can be defined as an area extending from Mahendragiri in the north to Kalahasti in the south and from Bay of Bengal in the east to Sri Sailam in the west. [7]. Prior to the coming of Kakatiyas the Andhra region especially the deltaic strip formed the peripheral part of the empire either in Karnataka as in the case of the western Chalukyas or Tamilnadu as in the case of the Chalukyas Cholas. The upland region as it was sparsely settled was seldom incorporated. Now, when the Kakatiyas came to power with their base in Telengana, we find a shift in the political, economic and cultural activity from the coastal region to the interior Andhra.

The eastern and western ghat regions of the Kakatiya kingdom were covered with decidious forests and hilly areas. Three major rivers and their tributaries Godavari, Krishna and Pennar flowed through the region and the soil was red loamy with a lot of arable land. The Kakatiyas realized the importance of this and tried to clear the forests by donating land to their officials and Brahmins. As a result many new villages were established and several thousands of acres of land were put under the plough. Irrigation was established in these areas and many new tanks dug. Trichana Pallava granted Lavanpura to one thousand Brahmins who came from Ahichatrapura situated on the banks of Ganges [8]. Virchoda near Pithapuram was granted to about 536 Brahmins [9]. This was a continuation of the practices of the earlier period.

It has been pointed out that in the early medieval period when the archaeological data is corroborated with the inscriptional evidences, we find that land grants were given in a large scale to priests and the temples. Most of these land grants, between the 5th to 7th century CE were concentrated in tribal areas of Bengal, Assam, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Andhra

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Pradesh.[10] As a result we have a large number of tribal and sudras also coming into the fold of Brahmanism. The spread of Brahmin ideology in new areas gave a legitimization to the state because the Brahmins by advocating Varnashram Dhrama and respect to the king brought in stability to the empire and removed any dissenting voice. In fact the medieval period saw a gradual establishment of a process started much earlier in early medieval times with the clearance of forests, system of land grants to Brahmins and monastic establishments, recruitment of sudras as artisans and agricultural laborers and contact with different forest dwelling communities.[11] Kingship assumed a dualistic sovereignty incorporating both the political and ritualistic aspect. While the kings stabilized their political power by coercion, they established their ritualistic power by conciliation and giving gifts. The earlier Vedic sacrifices were now replaced by *Dana* and *dakshina* as a legitimizing factor for kingship. This reveals a shift from dharmic to ritual kinship. Gifts giving included land grants to the temple, Brahmins, monastic establishments and the construction activities under the ideology of Saptasanta.[12] The example of the ruler was followed by the ruled. Thus the state polity backed by the dharmic ideology fostered the temple building activities.

Temple as a Supra religious and Supra local Institution

During the medieval times the temple slowly emerged as supra religious and supra local institution bringing the people under its ambit of power and influence. Temples were expected to confer on the builder several merits and benefits such as longevity, health, wealth and prosperity in this world and religious merit.. We had kings building temples in token of gratitude for victories.[13] Sometimes temples were raised in the name of the dead person.[14] Many a times vassals erected temples in the names of their overlords.[15] Temples were built for the merit of parents and preceptors.[16] We also have instances of temples being built for self-merit or to establish the religious merit of their *gotras.*[17]

The various economic functions of the temple made it a citadel of economic power enjoying a status co-equal to that of the state. Temples directed agricultural development, through the endowments it received. Endowments were made in order to provide income for temple maintenance, for festivals honoring the deities and for food offerings to the deities. The endowments involved made provisions for a perpetual service for the merit of the donor or someone designated by the donor. Of the land endowments, which the temple received, it did not have ownership rights but had a major share in the income. The money investments received by the temple were frequently loaned to the village assemblies and commercial firms for a perpetual interest and these added to the income of the temples.[18] Temple became the citadel of the socio-economic activities of the people. It was the nucleus around which village, towns and commerce flourished. The temple was closely associated with the territorial and communal bodies in the administration of local areas. It was both a landlord and an employer. Its treasury was a bank, which received deposits and lent money.

Thus there was a total institutionalization of the temple. These temples flourished because the ruling warrior groups[19] provided them with support and protection. A vast range of officials and warlords came to exercise a lot of control over the temple functioning. Besides these functionaries there was also a substantial participation by pilgrims.

There was now a perfect homologisation of the God and the king. Along with the growth in the number of temples there was a growth in the number of rituals performed in them. It now became necessary to employ a number of specialized priests to perform the daily rituals. They were supported by a large group of people belonging to various professions. These included weavers, potters, carpenters, musicians and a large number of girls. The temple girls were thus a very necessary and integral part of the socio- economic and political set up of medieval times.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The temple firmly established the agrarian feudal order. The rise of the devotional *bhakti* literature also suggests this. There are a number of attempts to authenticate and legitimise the new feudal polity of the period through a parallelism between the deity and the king.[20] In fact the deity in the temple is equated with the king and a parallel world of authority is reconstructed on the spiritual plane. Ritual worship in the temple is conceived on the same lines as ritual services offered to the king. Since the temple and the God were homologous with the royal court and the king respectively, the *Devasthana* had to maintain the same bureaucracy as that of the *Rajsthana.* Elaborate temple rituals were developed. These were of two kinds, Angabhoga- the general worship services and Rangabhoga, which were special services performed at the Rangamantapa, either daily or on festive occasions and constructed for this purpose.

All these services meant that god was an earthly king and like the king in the court his daily needs had to be taken care of right from the beginning of the day to the mid night service. In both these places the temple and the court women were employed in large numbers. In fact we often find the distinction between the Devas and the kings court diminishing with certain inscriptions interchangeability of women in the temple services with those of the kings court. An inscription from Sri Kalahasti temple records the orders of the king transferring dancing girls and their descendants from his service to that of the temple.[21] A record from Mukha lingam temple mentions that Vasama the Gudisani of Madhukisvara temple was also the Lanjya of Doddapanayaka, an officer of the Velanaduchoda king Rajendra Choda.[22] An epigraph dt. 1531 from Tirumala states that Muddukuppayi, who was originally attached to the palace of Achuta Raya, was ordered to proceed to the temple.[23]

Another major development of the increase in temple building activity of 10th and 20th century was that this period saw an increase in the demand for the services of the Shudra artisan castes. It was these groups that constituted the hereditary and customary source of reproducing temple prostitutes.[24]

The Temple Girls

Therefore, the temple girls were the link between the God and the king and served to establish the power of the lord and give it legitimacy in the eyes of the people. In this background of medieval times it was these girls who crossed from one boundary to another with ease and were the objects of ritual exchange between the king's court and the temple. These girls could also with ease cross another boundary set up by our traditional scriptures that of an ideal traditional woman, who is a *pativrata* and tied to the home, by not being tied to one man but to an immortal god and the temple. All these girls were regarded as "*Nityasumangali*", women who were auspicious because since these women were married to God an immortal, there was no chance of their ever becoming a widow and being deprived of their marital status and the toe ring which was a symbol of this status.

The elaboration of temple ritual and homologisation of God and the Lord necessitated the expansion of the temple hierarchy, especially the sanis or dancing girls. All the temples in medieval times had anywhere between 300 to 500 of these girls depending on the location and importance of the temple. These girls were employed to perform dance and play music before the deity, sing *mangalgitas* and *namasankirtanas,* wave fly whisks in the presence of the God, carry on administrative responsibilities and clean and decorate the temple premises.

The kings, noblemen, vassals and their generals donated some of these girls. Nearly thirty daughters from the Nayaka family of Kalinga mandals were donated to the temple of Mukhalingam by an officer of Eastern Ganga to execute various deeds specified in the records.[25] General Jaya

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

donated 300 girls in the age group of eight years to the temple at Cherbrolu.[26] A record dated 1390 CE records that the king Achyuta Raya ordered the daughter of Ranjakam Kuppasani to serve as a dancer in the temple of Sri Venkatesa at Tirumalai in the year 1531.[27] Hanumasani, the daughter of Uddida Timmayan was also sent by the king Achyut Raya to serve in the temple at Sri Venkatesa.[28] Another record indicates the donation of a girl, Bhanaramu Akkama as sani to the temple at Velpuru by Ganapatidevraya, son of Kota Bayyaladevi. He also donated lands and gardens as vritti to her.[29]

Rangabhoga became so customary that musicians were brought from long distances like Kashmir as in the Sri Visvesvara temple at Malkapuram built by Visvesvara Śiva.[30] Many a times parents donated their own daughters as an act of religiosity. A merchant of Elesvaram donated his two daughters to the temple.[31] Many a times women entered the temple to seek employment and they were often given a portion of the prasadam in lieu of their services. This enables us to understand that the profession of sanis was respected by society and its sacrality was given due place.

Nomenclature

In the records of medieval period the temple girls are hardly referred to as Devdasis, a name which becomes synonymous with them in the later period. The temple girls are referred to as Sanulu, Sani, Sampradayamuvuru, and Gadisanulu. Some times they are referred to as Munuti Sanulu, Pedamunnuti, Sanulu, Sani or Munnuri, indicating numeric status.[32] The males employed in the temple irrespectie of their posts were designated as Manyulu or Manulu, where as female employees are known by different names. An inscription from Srikakulam mentions of Munnuru Sanulu or Sani vada, stating that a gift of certain grants was made to the Sanis of Sani vada, probably residing in that area.[33] The Tirumala Tirupati inscription mentions the temple dancer as Tiruvidhisani. The inscription states that Tiruvidhisanis as women attached to the temple accompanied the procession of deities through the streets, with their set of pipers, drummers, dancers and dancing masters and exhibited their skills in dancing in the streets and before the deities.[34] A medieval Andhra inscription of 14th century refers to the term, Sampradaya, for those temple girls who rendered the Vinjamara service *i.e.* the fanning service.[35] A gift of cash, was deposited for the *sampradaya* of those who rendered the service of recitation of Kirtanas.[36]

Paes, mentions the term,"Bayaders", (bayhadeiras) as the dancing girls of the temple and palace. He differentiates between the courtesans and the bayaders who remained dancing in front of the temple for a long time. [37] We also come across the term *basavi's* for few temple girls.[38] *besides patri*[39] and *devara sule.*[40] In fact in most of the Karnataka inscriptions the Devdasis of the Śaivite shrines are denoted as *basavis.* We come across many categories of *basavis* such as *gudi basavi* (principal wife of the village deity), *jati basavi* (dedicated by the caste group to the caste deity), *balagada basavi* (born to a couple who had no male children and use one of their daughters to propagate their progeny), *nandikola basavi* (dedicated to the flag post of *nandi*-sacred vehicle of Śiva), *Yade basavi* (who made food offerings to the deity, and *Gurudag ambada dasi* (who worshipped the flag post erected for Guruda, the vehicle of Vishnu.[41] hence in medieval period these dancing women were interwoven with the process of feudalization. Through this institution women who were outside the domestic sphere were regulated in accordance with the patriarchal control of the temple authority.

It was primarily in the Colonial period that these dancing women of the temple received a distinct identity as Devadasis. Today we use the blanket term Devdasis for all the girls attached to the temples. By the time we come to the British period most of these women were prostitutes or had taken up prostitution as the temples had lost the royal patronage and were no longer able to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

support them. In fact according to the census reports during 1891, the Bhogams were reported to number 20, 154 in Madras alone.[42] By 1921, their number had increased to 26,957.[43] In the Nizams dominion the dancing girls had a strength of 26,932.[44] The lack of temple patronage and increasing economic pressures resulted in their cultural marginalization. Many of these girls were forced to migrate to urban areas as commercial sex workers and many others worked as labourers and coolies in factories.[45] This system continued till it was abolished by the Madras Devdasi (Prevention of Dedication) Act, in 1947. This act abolished the dedication of women as Devdasis to Hindu deities, idols and objects of worship in the temple and the religious institutions because it stated that such a practice however ancient and pure in its origin leads many of the women so dedicated to the life of prostitution.[46] Hence by 1947, most of the Devdasis or temple girls were leading a life of a common prostitution, though it cannot be denied that most of these women did practice prostitution serving the king and his patrons in Medieval times.

Social background of the temple girls

In old Hindu texts we have seven categories of women who serve the temple as Devdasis under the Rudraganika or Gopika category.[47] These include 1. *Datta*– one who gave herself as a gift to the temple. 2. *Vikrita* or one who sells herself for the same purpose. 3. *Bhritya*– who offers herself as a temple servant for the prosperity of the family. 4. *Bhakta* –one who joins the temple out of devotion. 5. *Hrita*– one who is enticed away and presented to the temple. 6. *Alanka*– who is well trained in her profession and is decked and presented to the temple by kings or noblemen. 7. *Rudraganika*– one who receives regular wages from a temple and is employed to sing and dance.[48]

In medieval times the temple girls came from different social backgrounds, each having to perform a different ritual and they had a different status. Some of these girls participated in charities, public utilities work and were also involved in elaborate ritualistic services. Few of these women were the honored ones because the king did himself their appointment. Probably their public appearances were restricted to certain ceremonial occasions. These girls represented the hereditary class namely, *sampradayamuvaru* or *kanya sampradayamuvaru.* They came from elite and royal families and attached themselves to the service of the temple and the deity. Prostitution by this class is doubtful or false for we do not have much evidence.

Next to these were the sanis described as *nartakis* (dancers) or *gayaki* (singers). These were followed by the fan bearing sanis. Besides these there were a large number of temple girls who did menial jobs and came from lower sections of society. They performed duties like supplying flowers, decorating the floor. Sometimes to supply flowers to the Gods, flower gardens were raised and temple girls were in charge of maintaining these temple gardens.

Another important category of temple girls, often from menial castes were those who were offered or dedicated to female deities or the village goddesses. There are a number of inscriptional evidences about Vishnu and Śhiva temples but references to the temples of local deities are very rare. The 16th century inscription referred to the performance of tirthas and jataras conducted once in a year.[49] Inspite of rare references to the village cults and beliefs, oral traditions may be considered to be helpful in knowing about the village cults in Andhra. The worshipers of village deities or goddesses belonged to the lower orders of society. The Brahmins helped in directing few parts of this worship by standing at a distance for these goddesses were considered to be very powerful and could not be neglected. There were gods belonging to the family (Kuladeva), those belonging to the place (Ur Deva) and lineage (Kula). There were both dangerous goddesses and friendly goddesses. The dangerous divine had Śaktis and demons of dangerous nature. The modes

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of worship differed from deity to deity and place to place basing on the fierceness of the deity and the loss incurred. The fierce village goddesses were called Śakti.

The worship of Śakti consisted of sacrificial procedures. The worship of peys (Demons, devils, and ghosts) were treated by a demon doctors, *i.e.* Bhutavaidyudu because demons were in the form of possessions. A woman was usually engaged to tell which ghost or demon possessed the deceased person or the patient and then the doctor treated the patient. The ritual followed in this regard was very lengthy and consisted of sacrifices, offerings of rice, lamp and drawing of sacred diagrams called muggus.[50] Often the story tellers were from Asadi caste. They were outcastes and married madiga girls and ate food with them. The Asadi girls never married and were dedicated to goddess as Basavis and were a type of *devdasis.* Usually a *madiga* woman was supposed to be possessed by the spirit of mathamma, the special goddesses of Madigas and was called a matangi. The other name for a *matangi* was Basavi and even today in several parts of Andhra, the system of dedicating girls to village goddesses for the vows made or for bodily cure of parents still exists, in places like Bapatala, Tenali, Bodhan, Chebrolu, Sattenpally, and Narasaraopet.[51]

Ritual of Initiation

The ritual process of the initiation ceremony for the temple girls was elaborate and public as that of a marriage, performed in the presence of a large group of audience. In order to legitimize this system elaborate ceremonies were performed and the king, nobility and other sections of the people participated depending on the class of the *devdasi.* The girls who were dedicated to the temples were a very important part of the social milieu and elaborate rules and regulations were laid down for their qualification and the performance of their duties. The ceremony was held in the precincts of the temple and acquired the aura of a religious function and through this act the community, the priest and the noble men all became a part and parcel of the system and granting it a legitimacy.

The temple girls that were dedicated to the temple were dedicated with a vow and with the approval of the deity, the priest and the community at large. It was necessary that at the time of initiation the girl should not have attained puberty. Before her retirement her caste group was expected to designate her successor from among their families. The family members hardly refused for this brought in a lot of socio-religious and financial advantages to the family.[52] Often these were children born to illegal alliances to the mothers of the same profession. So, a typical *devdasi* was young, charming, beautiful and accomplished women in singing, dancing and public relations.

There was an elaborate ceremony of initiation performed. The procedure began with the senior devdasi of the first *kudi* (house), presenting the girl's application to the Yogakkar. The application took the form of request for being enrolled as one of the devdasis and being granted a kudi (house) and *padi* (allowance for temple service). The Yogakkar took into account the number of girls admitted in that particular year and the status of the applicant's family and then accepted or rejected the application. If the application was approved a document was executed with the mother or the nearest kings woman of the girl and this was considered as the Jataka ceremony.[53] After this the marriage or *tallikettu* ceremony of the girl with the deity took place on an appointed day. All the ceremonies of an orthodox Hindu marriage were gone through and the priest officiated on behalf of the deity and tied the tali, consisting of a *triangulat bottu* bearing the image of Ganesa with a gold bead on either side around the girls neck.[54] She was also initiated into the act of dancing. For two days marriage celebrations of marriage like feasting, merriment took place. The girl was also taken in procession through out the streets.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Functions of the Temple Girls

The functions of the temple girls were both ritualistic and non-ritualistic in nature. The former was customary and the latter were obligatory. The temple girls were expected to entertain their patrons with dance and music. Besides this they also performed certain assigned duties. They sometimes acted as priestesses for a few castes especially the lower ones who were not permitted by tradition to have priests of their own.[55] They rendered services like *vijamara seva* (fan service). In 1376 CE a gift was made to a woman for waving the chamar at the time of Chandanalagi in Simhachalam temple.[56] An endowment for Chamarseva was made in 1381 CE by the sanis of Kodepa of the Sampradaya.[57] They had to accompany the deity (Utsav Vijrahas) when ever it was taken around the village in a procession during festive occasions. Among the various services rendered by these dancing girls they were also assigned duties of decorating the floor with various designs of coloured powders. A provision was made by the wife of Suresvarajiyana in 1381 CE for the maintenance of women who decorated the floor with designs before the deity at Simhachalam.[58]

Another record dated 1376 CE speaks of the appointment of a woman before the god with kolamu or colored designs once a week.[59] Duties like cleaning the premisis, cleaning the cooked vessels, Husking the paddy, cutting the vegetables and other sundry works were also done by the temple girls.[60] Most of these temple girls probably belonged to the lower sections of society. The temple girls therefore performed a variety of duties. They were in charge of maintaining temple properties, supervising grants or other endowments of the temple, mobilising temple resources, through leasing out lands and cattle, and performing various tasks connected with the day to day running of the temple.

Each temple had the recitation of religious and sacred texts like the Vedas and the *Puranas vishnustotas, purusasukta, gajendra-moksam slokas, Venkatachalammahatmyam and srinivasakalyanam.* Many a times temple girls were appointed to sing these sanskritanas. In 1359 CE one Naramsimha Bharati made provision for keeping two flurist and eight women singers to form two batches which did the sanskritanam at the time of the dhupa in the Simhachalam temple.[61] Many a times these women played musical intruments. An inscription dt. 1356 CE. make a provision to maintain two women to play on the veena.[62] These women played a very important role in the temple administration. The various donations made by them to the various temples show their rich economic status. About 300 of these samis along with sltanapati were made nibandhakaras and were authorised to see that the gifts were properly administered[63].

We come across a number of donations made by the devadasis for the well being of the temple. Sometimes they even carried out repairing in the temple when it was in dilapidated condition. The *devadasis* of Suchindram temple constructed a *vasanta mandapa* and the *natakasala* of the Śiva temple at Suchindaram.[64] Some of the temple dancers were honored and conferred with certain privileges for their services. Tiru Venkata Manikkam a dancer in the temple of Sri Venkateswara or Tirumala was permitted to use a palanquin for her conveyance by the temple authorities during Achute Raya's time.[65] In Kannada region there was a dancing girl named Mangayi of Belagula who was bestowed with the title of "Raya patra Chudamani", meaning a crest of Jewel of royal dancing girls. She was a lay disciple of Charukirti Pandita Acharya.[66] Kuppasani, mother of Muddukuppayi was honored with the title of "Vidvatsabharaya ranjaka," meaning one in the court of Scholars.[67]

Since the services of the temple girls was frequently required we find that they were often provided with quarters in the vicinity of the temple. In temples like those at Srikurmam, Juttiga, Ghantasala, Chebrolu there were separate quarters built for the dancing girls.[68] Chebrolu inscription of General Jayapa records the construction of two rows of double storied buildings for 16 lady

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

temple attendants.[69] The Pillamarri inscription of the Recherla chief Namireddy record the construction of houses for the temple girls attached to the temple of Erkesvara in the fort of Pillalamarri.[70]

Indeed such was the prestige and status of these dancing girls, especially the ones which came from elite sections that the kings and noblemen had no hesitation in marrying them. Velanti Gonka III married Kamidevi, the daughter of Sokkara, who was a dancer in the temple of Pandisvara at Tsandavolu.[71] Virasekhara Varma who ruled Venad around 1225 CE married Kandiyar Tevadici Unni Kaltram who was a sani. [72] The temple girls were allowed even to enter the presence of wives of the king and they could spend some time with them and eat beetle leaf, a privilege not bestowed on any other person, no matter what their rank was.[73]

Most of the functions performed by the temple girls took on a hereditary character by the 12th century. These temple girls who served the temple on a hereditary basis were called Sampradaya Sanulu. They were among the permanent employees of the temple. The Sri Kurmam temple makes a reference to thirty, Sampradaya Sanulu.[74]

Income and Wealth:

The temple girls were paid generally in kind, with a share in temple property. They were often given a part of the prasada offered to the deity. Occasionally they were also paid in cash. Many a times the donors specified the manner of enjoying share in temple lands by the temple girls and deposited certain amount in the temple treasury for their maintenance. The temple dancers acquired a lot of wealth as can be seen from the numerous grants made to the temples. They also paid taxes to the State. An epigraph dt. 1547 CE records the remission of taxes paid by the dancing women to the villages of Kommuru, Voruganti, Ravipadu, Gomgulamudi belonging to the God Agastyeswara of Kommuru.[75] They were entitled to receive monetary benefits, lands, share of prasadam towards their remuneration. An important inscription dated 1250 CE and coming from the Srikurmam temple gives us the details of the sanis and musicians employed and the wages paid to them in both cash and kind. These girls were employed to render *rangabhoga* to the God Srikurmanatha. The employeès and the wages paid are as follows, Sanis=30, Drummers=6, Danceteachers=1, Mukhariplayers=1, Avajakadu=1, Karadakadu=1 and Melinayakadu=1. The same inscription gives details of the wages to be paid both in cash and kind to the members of the above troupe as follows, To the sanis= 42 puttis of paddy per year, 2 tambulas daily to each, 3 appams daily to each, to the dance teacher= 4 madas (coins), 8 Chinnas per year, 4 Kunchas of prasada and 1 tambula daily besides 4 appams per month. To the mukhari player 3 madas per year, 2 kuncha and 1 adda prasadam and 1 tambula daily besides 4 appams per month. To each of the mrudanga avajakarada conch and Kahali players, 2 kunchas of prasada, ½ tambulla every day and 3 appams per year.[76] Thus they are paid in cash, kind and have shares in the prasad of the temple.

Abdur Razzaq who visited the Vijaynagar kingdom remarks that the prostitution of dancing girls was a great source of revenue to the kingdom and out of the income of the dancing girls the entire upkeep of the police was paid. [77] It is really not clear from his writings if these were girls attached to the temples or they practiced independently. There is enough evidence to show that the institution of prostitution was legalized under the Vijaynagara Kings and they levied a tax on it. By and large through out the feudal set up of Medieval Deccan while there was exploitation of women under the guise of religion, the temple girls were given legitimacy through gifts, involvement in temple functions and rituals, and various honorable titles. Thus both the temple girls and the kings gave legitimacy to each other and were mutually supportive to each other.[78]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Conclusion

Therefore to conclude, the medieval period in Deccan and Andhra being no exception is a period of the rise of feudatories. The Kakatiyas came to power with their base in Telengana and there is a shift in the political, economic and cultural activity from coastal region to the interiors of Andhra. Many forest areas are cleared by donating land to the officials and Brahmins. Many new villages are established by putting the land under the plough. The Brahman ideology spreads into these newer areas to give a legitimization to the state because the Brahmins advocate *Varnashramdharma* and respect to the king, to bring in stability and remove any dissenting voices. The kingship now assumes dual sovereignty with political and ritualistic aspect. While the kings stabilized their political power by coercion, they establish their ritualistic sovereignty by conciliation and giving gifts. The earlier Vedic sacrifices were now replaced by *Dana* and *dakshina* as a legitimizing factor of kingship. Gifts giving included landgrants to the temples, Brahmins and monastic establishments and construction activities. In fact the number of land grants to the temple increased from 12th to 16th century.

Since the temple and the God were homologous with the royal court and the king respectively, the Devasthana had to maintain the same bureaucracy as that of the Rajsthana. Women were employed in large numbers in the temples. These temple girls were the link between the God and the King. In the feudal political background of the medieval times, it was these girls who crossed from one boundary to another with ease and were the objects of ritualistic exchange between the kings court and the temple. Elaborate initiation ceremonies were designed and the king and nobility also participated in these. We can see three distinct categories of these girls, the elite temple girls, and the girls performing menial tasks and those dedicated to village goddesses and local deities. This institution in the garb of religion served the king and his patrons. The Devdasi was given a status much above the normal women who was tied to domesticity and one man. By not being tied to one man and being a *Nitya sumangali,* an ever-auspicious female and a good omen the Devdasi arose much above the domestic women. Hence the institution of the Temple girl was a corollary to the feudal set up.

References

1. Saskia C. Kersen, Boom Story, *Nityasumangali,* Motilal Banarsidas Delhi, 1987
2. Patil, B.R. " The Devdasis", *Indian Journal of Social Work,* Vol. XXXV., No.4, 1975.
3. Putli, Krishnamurthy, V., *The changing conditions of women in Andhra from the middle of 19th century to the middle of 20th century,* Navyug Publishers, Hyderabad, 1987.
4. Tarachand, K.C. *Devdasi custom : Rural social structure and flesh market,* Reliance Publishing House, New Delhi, 1972.
5. Vijaysri, Priyadarshini, *Recasting the Devdasi-* Patterns of sacred prostitution in Colonial South India, Kanishka Publishers and Distributers, New Delhi, 2004.
6. A.K. Singh, *Devdasi system in ancient India,* H.K.Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1990.
7. K.Sundaram, *Studies in Social and economic conditions in Medieval Andhra Desa (1000-1500 CE)* Warangal, 1968.
8. Satyanarayana, K, *op. cit.* p.25.
9. *Epigraphica India,* Vol.v p.96.
10. R.S.Shrama, *Historical Probings,* New Delhi, 1974, pp.177-79.
11. *Ibid.*,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

12. There are seven pious deeds known as Sapta Santanas . These include having one's own son, adopting a son, composing a literary work, and gifting an agrahara, a garden, a tank or construction of a temple. See P.V.Parabrahma Sastri, *The Kakatiyas of Warangal,* Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1978, p. 281.
13. Kakatiya king Rudradeva built shrines for Surya, Rudra and Vasudeva at Hanamkonda after defeating several chieftains. *Kakatiya Sanchika Inscriptions,* No. 18, pamphlet, p. 389.
14. The Kota queen Ganapamba constructed a temple for God Betesvara in the name of her father in 1172 CE *Epigraphica Indica* , Vol. III, pp.94-103.
15. In 1153 CE Jaya the General of the kakatiya king Ganapati Deva, built a temple and installed in it Ganapeswara, named after the king at Dvipa. *Epigraphic Indica,* Vol. III, p. 82.
16. In 1059 CE a Reddy of the Kondapamati country built a temple of Somesvara at Goniyapundi for the merit of his parents, *Tirumal Tirupati Devsthanam Inscriptions,* Vol. III, pp 73-74.
17. In 1176 CE Hacalamba the daughter of king Allugi, the lord of the town of Morata founded the shrine of Hacalesvara, after her own name, *Pushpagiri,* 304 of 1905, p.25.
18. Burton Stein, "The State, The temple and Agricultural Development", in Burton Stein (Ed.), *All the Kings Mana:* Papers in medieval South Indian History, Madras, 1984, pp. 162-163.
19. Burton Stein, "Social Mobility and Medieval South Indian Hindu Sects", in Burton Stein (Ed.), *All the Kings Mana:* Papers in medieval South Indian History, Madras, 1984, pp. 282-301.
20. M.G.S. Narayanan and Veluthat Keshavan, "The Bhakti movement in medieval South India", in D.N.Jha (Ed.) *Feudal Social Formations in early India,* Delhi, 1987, pp. 348-373.
21. *Inscriptions of Andhra Desa,* Vol. II, part, 1, No 660.
22. *Ibid.,* Vol.II, part 1, No.669.
23. Soma Reddy, *History of Religious Institutions in Andhra Desa* (1300-1600 CE), New Era Publications, Madras, 1984, p. 260.
24. Vijaysri, Priyadarshini, *Recasting the Devdasi-* Patterns of sacred prostitution in Colonial South India, Kanishka Publishers and Distributers, New Delhi, 2004, p.72.
25. *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. V. No. 1083.
26. *Temple Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh,* Vol. I, No. 264, Sri kakulam District.
27. *Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions,* Vol. III, No.2, p.23.
28. *Ibid.,* Vol. IV, No.142, p.262.
29. V.Yasodadevi, "A history of Andhra Country," *Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society,* Vol. XXV, p.147.
30. *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. X, No.344.
31. *Ibid.,* No. 395.
32. Abdul Waheed Khan, *A monograph on Yalesvaram Excavation,* Hyderabad, 1963, No. 25, p.62.
33. *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. IV. Gen. No. 989. A.R.No. 164 of 1893.
34. *Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions,* Vol. II, No.86, p.167.
35. *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. VI. No 818, STI No.59, p.105.
36. *Ibid.,* Vol. VI. No 722, STI No.59, p.105.
37. Paes, "Chronicles of Paes and Nuniz in *A Forgotten Empire–Vijaynagara,* A Contribution to the history of India by Robert Sewell, 1901, Reprint, Asia Educational Services, New Delhi, 1985, p. 267.
38. *Vijaynagara Inscriptions,* Vol. III, K.N.2164, p.411
39. *Ibid,* p.411.
40. Sule, means prostitute in Kannada language. Rev. F.Kittel, A Kannada *English Dictionary,* 1984, p.1586.
41. For details of these please see, K.C.Tarachand, *Devdasi custom,* Reliance publishing House, New Delhi, 1991, p.12-16.
42. *Census of India,* 1891, Vol. XIII, Madras, p.29.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

43. *Ibid.*, 1921, Vol. XIII, Madras, part II, p.110.
44. *Ibid.*, 1891, Vol. XXIII, His Highness the Nizam Dominion, part II, p.183.
45. Edgar Thruston and K. Rangachari, *Castes and tribes of south India*, Government Press, Madras, 1909, Vol. IV, p. 309.
46. *The Madras Devdasis (Prevention of Dedication) Act, 1947.* Madras Act, XXXI of 1947. The Government of Madras Law, Legislative Department, January, 26, 1948.
47. Manjulatha, "Devdasis Inams: A case study of the Chittoor District", *Ithihas*, Vol.XIV, July 1988, pp. 116-7.
48. *Madras Census Report*, 1901.
49. Saskia C. Kersenboom Story, *Nityasumangali*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1987, pp. 50-53.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.
51. *Krishna Kumari M., Studies in Medieval Andhra History and Culture*, Kanishka Publishers, New Delhi, 1994, p. 120.
52. K.C.Tarachand, *op. cit.*, p.17.
53. K.K. Pillay, *The Caste system in Tamilnadu*, Madras, 1977 p. 281. The details of these procedures are learnt from a palm leaf record at the hands of the Vattapalli Math.
54. Edgar Thurston and K. Rangachari, *Castes and Tribes in South India*, Vol. II, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1987, pp. 143-44.
55. K.C. Tarachand, *op. cit.*, p.23.
56. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VI., No 751, Simhachalam.
57. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI. No 764, Simhachalam.
58. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI. No 738, Simhachalam.
59. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI. No 1128, Simhachalam.
60. K.V. Raman, *The Varadarajaswamy Temple: Kanchi*, New Delhi, 1975, p.135.
61. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VI. No 890, Simhachalam.
62. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI. No 955, Simhachalam.
63. *Ibid.*, Vol. X. No 110, Simhachalam.
64. *Mysore Epigraphical Reports*,1914, No.354.
65. *Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 259.
66. B.A. Salatore, *Social and Political life in Vijaynagar Empire*, Vol II, Madras, 1934, p. 409.
67. *Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions.*
68. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. V. No. 989.
69. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 107, 110, 115.
70. Y. Yasoda Devi, "A history of Andhra Country", *Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. XXV, p.147.
71. *A.R.E.* (1915-17), No.99 of 1916.
72. P.N. Elamkulam Kunjanpallai, *Studies in Kerala History*, Trivandrum, 1970, p.279.
73. Paes, "Chronicles of Paes and Nuniz in *A Forgotten empire-Vijaynagara*, A Contribution to the history of India by Robert Sewell, 1901, Reprint, Asia Educational Services, New Delhi, 1985, p. 253.
74. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. V, No. 1188.
75. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, No.160.
76. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No.1183, Srikurmam.
77. E.M. Elliot, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. IV, Kitab Mahal Pvt. Ltd., Allahabad, 1964, p.112
78. Pande, Rekha, 'At the service of the Lord– Temple girls in Medieval Deccan (11th to 17th centuries)', in *Deccan Studies*, Vol. II, No.2, July-December, 2004, pp. 25-43.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

51

The Kaikeyas of Coastal Uttara Kannada Region

Ganapathi Gowda

Introduction

The region of Uttara Kannada district occupies the upper part of Coastal Karnataka. It is located in the Northwestern part of Karnatka State. The region lies between 79° 9 E to 75° 10 E and 13° 55′ N to 15° 31′ N. It covers a total area of about 10,291 sq.km. North by the state of Goa, Northeast by the district of Dharwad and Shimoga and south by the district of south Kanara.

It is an important region hallowed by the considerable cultural antiquity and it is one of the few regions of Karnataka to find mention in the very early historical records. The Srilankan chronicles, for instance, refer to a part of this district, and then known as *Vanavāsa*, in connection with Buddhist missionary activities fostered by Maurya emperor Aśōka the great.

Background fo the Kaikeyas

One of the minor dynasties of Uttara Kannada region was that of the Kaikeyas or Kēkayas of which only few epigraphical references are available. Because of the paucity of information, it is difficulty to trace a connected history of this family, Here is a small efforts have been made to rearrange the available epigraphical records in systematic way.

The antiquity of the Kekayas goes back to the *Puranic* age. The Kekayas are mentioned as a people of Udichya[1] (*i.e.* North-Western part of India)[2] the Kekayas took part in the marriage ceremony of Rukmini.[3] The *Vnyu, Brahmaṇḍa, Matsya* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas* mention the Kaikēyas.[4] One of the wives of lord Kṛiṣṇa was a Kēkaya princess.[5] When Krishna was proceeding to Mirthila the Kēkayas met him with presents.[6] They were present at the sacrifice performed by Yadhishthira.[7] Some princes of the Kēkayadēśa served as the allies of Pandavas in the *Mahabaratha* war.[8]

The *Rāmayāṇa* throws some light on the Kēkayas. Daśaratha, the king of Ayōdhyā, had Kaikēyi as one of his wives. She belonged to the Kaikēya family.[9] The *Purāṇas* place the Kēkayas in the region around Punjab.[10] However, no epigraphic evidence of their migration to the South is traceable.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The earliest reference to a Kēkaya family in the inscriptions of Karnataka is to be found in the famous Halmidi inscription. This stone inscription is found in Hassan district, and is dated to middle of the 5th century CE or slightly later on palaeographical grounds. Among other things, the inscription refers to the Kekayas and Pallavas as adversaries of the Kadambas, and also mentions a person by name (K) ellabhaṭāri,[11] whose name recalls those of the Kaikēya chiefs of Uttara Kannada region like Māhakella,[12] Elakella,[13] etc.

The next reference to the Kēkaya family is the Aṇaji stone inscription (Davanagere taluk, Chitradurga district).[14] It refers to Shivanandavarma *of* Sōmavamsa and Ātrēya gōtra, who claims to have belonged to the Kēkaya family of paurānic fame. It also refers to Kṛishnavarma, obviously Kṛishnavarma I (455-467 CE), of the Kadamba family, whose army was overrun by invading Pallavas under Nanakkāsa. Śivanandavarma is stated to have died a heroic death by fasting and sleeping on the *kuśa* (*darbha*) grass.[15]

The Muḍigere plates of Vishṇuvarma, belonging to the Kadambas *of* Triparvata line, mention the ruler as the eldest son of the daughter of the Kēkaya king.[16] A similar reference is found also in the Banahaḷḷi plates of Kṛishnavarma I, father of Vishṇuvarma, revealing that he married a Kekaya princess.[17] The above references point out to the fact that there was a family of Kēkaya chiefs ruling above the ghat region and serving at times as allies of the Pallavas or of the Kadambas of Triparvata line. The name Śivananda in Anaji stone inscription is a typical when compared to the names of Kēkaya princes like Mahakella and Elakella of Coastal Uttara Kannada region. The location of these inscriptions above the ghat also points to Kekaya family being different from that of the Utara Kannada region.

The Kaikeyas of Coastal Uttara Kannada Region

Kadamba Mṛgeśavarma of Banavasi line married a Kaikēya princess named Prabhāvatī, who was destined to become the mother of Ravivarma.[18] Unfortunately, the inscription referring to this fact mentions neither the name of her father nor the region where this Kaikēya family ruled. Ravivarma's inscriptions also testify that he was the son of the daughter of the Kaikēya, withought giving any further details. At the time of Ravivarma the only family of the Kaikēya chiefs known is from Honnavara region of Uttara Kannada. The copper plate inscription of Kaikeya Chitrasena refers to the rule of Ravimaharāja,[19] thereby showing that this Kaikēya family was subordinate to the Kadambas of Banavasi. It is probable that Kadamba Mṛgesavarma had matrimonial alliance with this very Kaikēya family.

In Coastal Uttara Kannada, the first inscription to refer to the Kēkaya family is the Honnavara copper plate record of the time of Kadamba Ravivarma. This inscri-ption records Buddhist grants by Kaikeya Chitrasena Kella. It describes him as an abode of wise people and benefactor of his subjects, endowed with most excellent qualities and healthy body. It mentions the first regnal year of his rule from the victorious Ambudvīpa (*i.e.* Anjadive island). The ring of the copper plates bears the figure of a lion on the seal. The donated lands were located in Napitapalli (unidentified)[20]

The next known person of this family was Kottipeggili. He is mentioned in a Buddhist grant of the time of Bhōja Aśankitarāja discovered at Hiregutti (Kumta taluk of Uttar a Kannad District). He belonged to the Kaikēya lineage of Nāndipalli.[21]

The Kāpōli plates of Bhōja Aśankitavarman mention another Kaikēya chief Elakella, who along 'with the king, made a Brāhamana gift in Palaasika Vishaya (Halasi, Khanapur taluk, Belgum district).[22]

In the absence of a proper evidence, it is difficult to ascertain the relationship between Chitraṣē na Kella, Koṭṭipeggali and Elakella, though it may be postulated that they belonged to one and the same family of Kaikeyas. After the decline of the Kadambas they accepted the suzerainty of the Bhojas under Aśankitavarman.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In the reign of the Chālukya Vikramāditya II or slightly later, a copper plate record from Haladipur (Honnavar taluk of Uttara Kannada district) mentions one Gōpāladēva, who described himself as "Pallavarāja". In this inscription Gōpāladēva is described as *Vikramaditya satyasraya Prithvivallabha Raja*,[23] there by showing that he was probably a contemporary of Chālukya Vikramāditya II. He was the son of Chandasena. The epithet Pallavaraja has been used by him twice in this inscription, which is partly in Sanskrit and partly in Kannada. Scholars have suggested that his father Chaṇḍasēna had probably married a Kaikēya princess, which explains the statements in the record. It may be noted that Gopāladēva is described as *Paivegunda-puravarā-dhiśvara, i.e.*, the lord of the city of Payvegunda (modern Haigunda in Honnavara taluk).[24]

A curious aspect of this inscription for our purpose is that apart from being described Pallavarāja, Gopāladēva is also described as *Kaikēya vamśōdbhava- ōdhanta- pradhāna purushashya...*[25] implying that he was related to the Kaikeya family also. The editor of this inscription has suggested that he was connected through his mother side.

But it is surprising to note that while all other earlier inscriptions of this region and even a later one mentioned the Kēkayas as associated with Paivegunda, it is only this inscription that speaks of a Pallavaraja. This raises a doubt as to whether really Gopāladēva was a scion of the Pallava family or of a family which claimed to be *Kēkaya-Pallava.* We may recall the family names like the *Noḷamba-Pallava* in this connection. It is also worthwhile to draw attention to the phrase *Kēkaya-Pallavaram* occurring in the Halmidi inscription, which has been hitherto interpreted as meaning the Pallavas, assisted by the Kekayas. It is just possible that the *Kēkaya-Pallava* of the Halmidi record really refers to one family, namely Kēkaya-Pallava. If this observation is correct then we can easily explain the occurrence of the single record mentioning a Pallavaraja as also the term *Kaikēya vamsodbhava.* Perhaps, it is justified to consider from this point of view, the Kaikēyas really as *Kēkaya-Pallavas.*

A stone inscription of the 8th century from Kekkar, mentions Aṇṇeyarasa as the lord of the city of Paivegunda. He was administering the land between Kadatoke and Sivaḷḷi, jointly with Dantiga, Chuṭṭa, Rāja, Baṇḍiga and Kaṭṭiga. Aṇṇeyarasa here is described as *Simha-dhvaja, Simhalānchana* and *Kaikēya vamśōdbhava.* Panchamukhi feels that this Aṇṇeyarasa belonged to the family of Pallava Gopāladēva and was connected with the Kaikeyas from his mother's side.[27] However this opinion does not seem to be palatable, because if that was the case the family name of Aṇṇeyarasa himself would not have gone unmentioned in the record. Probably Aṇṇeyara belonged to the Kaikeya family from his father's side. If this is correct, then it would imply that the Kaikēyas had made Haigunda (in Honnavara taluk) as their capital at this time and were administering the Coastal tract with the assistance of other chieftains like Dantiga, Chufta etc.

After this record no more information is available about the Kaikeya family in Coastal Uttara Kannada region. The above survey shows that the Kaikēyas of this region rose to prominence from the time of Kadamba Mṛgesavarma, when their princes, Prabhavati, married the Kadamba ruler. Obviously they served as allies of the Kadamba from that time. Their prominence continued during the long reign of Kadamba Ravivarma, whose mother belonged to the Kēkaya family. However, they shifted their allegiance to the Bhōjas, when the latter occupied the Coastal region of Uttara Kannada and parts of Belgum district under Aśankitavarman. The paucity of reference to this family in the Bādāmi Chālukya records shows that they had been reduced to unimportant status by that time. They revived about the close of the Chālukya rule, as indicated by the Haladipur plates. They were active in Honnavara region. The names of the early rulers, particularly the suffix *Kella,* indicates that they were indigenous to land, though like many other minor warrior families they claimed puranic ancestry by describing themselves as Kēkayas.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

References

1. Singh M.R., *A Critical Study of the Geographical data in the Early Puranas.* pp. 161-162.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 162.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 161; Datt, M.N., Vishnu Puraqa, part IV, p. 297.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 162.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. Vittam, Mani, *Puranic Encyclopaedia*, p. 403
10. Pargiter, F.E., *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 264
11. Gopal, B.R., *Corpus of Kadamba Inscriptions.* Vol. 1, No. 5
12. *Ibid.*, No. 26.
13. *Epigraaphia Indica.*, Vol. XXXI p. 236; Some names like Sebya- Arakelian are also found in the inscription of South kanara, Ramesh K.V. *A History of South Kanara*, p.88.
14. Gopal, B.R., *Corpus of Kadamba Inscriptions.* Vol. I, No.5.
15. According to the Mahabharatha Kekayas belonged to Solar dynasty; Vittam Mani, *Puranic Encyclopaedia*, p. 403.
16. Gopal, B.R., *Corpus of Kadamba Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 36.
17. *Ibid.*, No. 40.
18. *Ibid.*,
19. Gopal, B.R., *Corpus of Kadamba Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 26.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 70-75.
22. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 236-273.
23. *Epigraphia Indica.*, Vol. xxi, pp. 173-179, Text line, I.
24. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI., pp. 173-I79.
25. *Ibid.*, LINE. 2.
26. Gopal, B.R., *Corpus of Kadamba Inscriptions.* Vol. I, No. 5, Text line, 11.
27. *Progress Report of the Kannada Research Institute*, Dharwad. 1941-56, p. 5.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

52

Akbar's Dasā (One tenth of a Rupee)

Devendar Handa

Amongst the names of the various denominations of Akbar's silver coins Abul Fazl[1] has mentioned in his *Āin-i-Akbarī* the following fractions of a rupee – Darb = ½ rupee, Charn = ¼ rupee, Pandau = 1/5 rupee, Asht = 1/8 rupee, Das[1] = 1/10 rupee and Suki = 1/20 rupee.[2] Though some coins of ½ and 1/4 rupee[3] are listed in some catalogues the denominations lower than Charn are quite rare and only a few pieces of Pandau[4], Asht[5], Das[16] and Suki[7] have been published. Besides Akbar, some other Mughal emperors also issued small denominations and largesse type light-weight coins like Nisars, Dirham, Khair-Qabool, Nur-Afshan, etc. which too are generally quite rare.[8]

Dr. Major M.K. Gupta of Burhanpur is known for his forte of collecting rare and fractional Mughal coins, mostly from the bed of the Tapti and Utaoli rivers at Burhanpur, quite a few of which have already been published by him in different journals. During my visit to him in September 2004, he was kind enough to give me a rare and unpublished piece from his collection. Keeping in view the rarity of such coins I am publishing it to bring it to the notice of scholars and collectors interested in Mughal coins.

Metal	:	Silver
Shape	:	Circular
Size	:	9.5 mm
Weight	:	1.0642 g
Obverse	:	*All[1]hu Akbar*
		Jalla Jal[1]lahu
Reverse	:	*Bahman*
		Il[1]hī 3[7?]

(Pl.)

The coin does not bear the mint name and the date has only partially been accommodated on the small flan. The Das[1] coin published earlier by Dr. Major Gupta was struck in the month of Ardi Bihisht Ilāhī 34 and the obverse legend was enclosed in a dotted border. The present piece is bereft

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of the border of dots and bears the Ilāhī date with the name of the month given in the second line and the date [37?] of the Ilāhī era above. The obverse of our coin is similar to the one published by Kulkarni but the latter bore the mint-name Lahore and the date 3x Azar Ilāhī on the reverse.[9] It is thus a new coin struck from different dies at a different date (and probably place also).

The dates on the Dasā coins indicate that such low denomination silver coins were struck quite late during the reign of Akbar after he founded the Ilāhī era. The tradition of issuing such small denomination coins was kept up by Jahangir and other Mughal emperors also and Burhanpur was one important mint issuing such small pieces. Later Mughal emperors Alamgir I and II and Muhammad Shah issued silver coins of 1/32 and 1/48 fractions even from Khujista Buniyad (Aurangabad) mint.[10]

Counterfeit Sikh Coins of Malkarian Mint

Celebrations of the tercentenary of the foundation of the Khalsa Panth in 1999 and the 400 Years of the 'Prakāśa Utsava' (installation of the Guru Granth Sahib) in 2004 and the minting of Commemorative Sikh coins have given a boost to collecting not only the commemorative but also the old Sikh coins by the Indians and the non-resident Indian Sikhs as a result of which the demand for Sikh coins has increased manifold. Rise in the prices of the Sikh coins is the natural consequence. A silver coin with the '*Deg Tegh wa Fath. . .*' legend on the obverse and depicting Maharaja Ranjit Singh sitting kneeling before the effigy of Guru Nanak and worshipping him (KM 68.2) bearing the Samvat date 1885 (= 1828 CE) and the mint name of Lahore on the reverse has recently been sold as per my information for the high price of Rs. 850,000. The prices of other rare Sikh coins too have skyrocketed giving an opportunity to the undesirable elements to counterfeit these rare coins. Recently counterfeit coins of Malkarian mint have surfaced in considerable numbers in the market –

Fig. 52.1

The eight coins (four obverses and four reverses) illustrated here have been struck from the same obverse and reverse dies as is clear from the uniform impressions of the two sides. Though effort has been made to keep uniformity of size and weight with the originals yet the degraded

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

calligraphy, the varying thickness of the long horizontal strokes of certain letters, the defective die-cutting as clearly seen in the name of Gobind Singh and wrongly engraved words '*tegh*', '*fath*', '*jalus*' and '*manus*' betray the forgery. As per my investigations, these forgeries emanate from Ludhiana in Punjab. Whereas the price of the genuine coins of Malkarian mint varies between Rs. 10,000 to 20,000 these counterfeit pieces are available for the price ranging between 500 to 1000 rupees. The collectors, therefore, should be cautious when going in for such coins.

Huvishka's Buddha Image Gold Coin

Kanishka's gold coins depicting Buddha (Boddo), and copper pieces showing Śākyamuni (Sakamano Boudo) and Maitreya (Metragu Boudo) are well known now.[11] While Buddha on gold and Śākyamuni on copper coins are portrayed in standing posture, Maitreya on the latter specie is shown as seated cross-legged on a low stool. Though it has been and still is a matter of debate whether Buddha appeared in human form for the first time in sculptures or on these coins, the importance of these pieces for the art and religious history is well recognized. The coins are quite scarce. In 1999/2000, Joe Cribb studied 6 gold coins (representing 3 reverse dies) and 109 copper coins (representing 16 Śākyamuni and 7 Maitreya reverse dies) and referred to two more gold and 8 copper pieces according to recent rumors.[12] Of the known six gold coins three are staters (*dīnāras*) and three quarter staters. Two reverse dies have been used for the *dīnāras* and one for the quarter staters (Pl. I.1-5). Die 1 is represented by the coin in the British Museum and is characterized by a single-lined halo while die 2 and 3 show the halo drawn as a double line though the figure of Buddha is similar (Pl. I.6-8).[13]

Huvishka is known for showing a large number of divinities on the reverses of his coins except Buddha. The absence of Buddha on his coins has been very baffling particularly when he continued to depict Nana, Nanashao, Athro, Ardoksho, Mao, Meiro (Miiro), Oksho, Pharro, etc. from his predecessor and also added many new deities like Heracles, Manaobago, Oaninda, Shaosheoro, Rishti, Roma, Serapis, Skandokomaro-Maceno-Bizago, etc. Recently I have acquired a gold *dīnāra* of Huvishka with the image of Buddha the details of which are given below.

Description of the Coin

AV, Round, 20 mm, 8.0095 g, die alignment 11

Obv. Profile bust of the king to left (emerging from clouds); flames rising from the shoulders; diademed and nimbate; wearing conical helmet bedecked with pearl strings, round gem and crescent-shaped beaded ornaments and bejeweled tunic; holding in his right hand what looks like a flower and a spear in his left hand supported slantingly over the shoulder; legend [RAONA]NORAO OOHRKI K[O]RAN[O] from about 8 to 4 o'clock position around the margin.

Rev. Within a beaded border Buddha standing facing, single-lined halo around the head and the whole body except the feet enclosed in a linear frame; clad in chiton and himation; right hand raised to the level of the chest, left holding the bunched end of the cloak at the waist level, four-pronged amga on right and legend BOΔΔO from 10 to 7 o'clock along the border to be read from outside.

We thus see that the obverse shows similarities with a gold coin of Huvishka in the British Museum[14] (Pl. I.9) though some of the details differ. The object held in the right hand is slightly better preserved on the present coin and looks more like a flower than a double ear of corn. The king also seems to wear a scarf-like upper garment. The reverse die seems to be similar to the die of the British Museum Buddha image coin of Kanishka.[15] The details of the image of Buddha are unfortunately somewhat worn out and not as well preserved as on the British Museum coin. The

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

figure, the posture of Buddha standing enface with splayed out feet, the placement of the four-pronged Kushāṇa symbol and the legend, the palaeography, the depiction of dress, etc., however, match almost perfectly. Though the general impression that the Buddha is dressed in monastic robes as in typical Gandharan sculpture is confirmed by the present coin we are not sure whether the Buddha here too had a wheel-mark (*dharma-chakra*) on the palm of his right hand like the British Museum specimen as discerned by Joe Cribb.[16] Even the exact posture of the hand is not very clear though the hand is raised to the level of and held near the chest. The angle at which the forearm is bent from the elbow also differs from that of the latter indicating clearly that a different reverse die has been used for striking this coin. Buddha probably wore the lion cloth (*antaravāsaka*) and cloak but unlike the v-shaped folds of the lion cloth on the legs it had looped and almost horizontal folds. The hem of the shift (*uttarāsaṅga*), however, is similarly falling triangularly and is visible at mid-calf level. The cloak (*saṅghāṭī*) also has a firm collar line across the neck and is draped over the arms and shoulders and hangs in folds from the raised right arm. It falls in a triangular shape from the bunch held in the left hand. Buddha probably bore a topknot (*ushṇīsha*) but the dot in the center of the forehead (*ūrṇā*) and moustache, which may have been there originally, and all other details of the face are completely worn out. The elongated ears, the halo and the oval mandorla around the body are quite similar to those of the British Museum coin of Kanishka. The die alignment is 11 which is similar to some coins of Huvishka in the Indian Museum, Kolkata.[17]

The present coin thus furnishes evidence of the continuity of the tradition set by Kanishka of representing Buddha on gold coins. Unfortunately no copper coins of Huvishka are available to aver that Śākyamuni and Maitreya were represented on them. Though the origin of the Buddha image is a much debated question and opinions differ, I concur with Cribb that the appearance of Buddha on the coins of Kanishka provides evidence of the existence of the representations of the Buddha in the contemporary lithic art of the Gandhāra region. The Buddha image on Huvishka's coin reconfirms this view and corroborates the fact that Buddha worship continued to be popular during Huvishka's reign.

The wearing out of our coin indicates that it was in circulation for some time and was not deposited (in a *stūpa*?) immediately after mintage. The coin may not, thus, have been issued for deposition in a *stūpa* at the time of its construction. It, however, cannot be discounted that it was not issued at the occasion of some Buddhist celebration. It is difficult to ascertain the mint where it may have been produced but the close similarities of the reverse device to that of the British Museum specimen indicate that the two coins may have been the issues of the same mint. Coins showing double-lined halo around Buddha's head may be the products of a different mint and issued at a different occasion.

References

1. Abul Fazl, *Āin-i-Akbari*, English translation by H. Blochman, 3rd ed., New Delhi, 1977, Vol. I, p. 32.
2. P.P. Kulkarni, "Coin Names in Mughal Chronicles and Corresponding Coins", *Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Numismatics*, London, 1986, pp. 497-505 and Pls. 50-51. Kulkarni brought to light many new small denominational coins for the first time.
3. Chester L. Krause and Clifford Mishler, *Standard Catalog of World Coins*, Second Edition, 2002, p. 847. Darb and Charn specimens are listed by R.B. Whitehead in his *Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. II, Oxford, 1914. See also Geo.B. Bleazby, *Numismatic Supplement*, No. 5 (1905), p. 122, Pl. IV.5. Bleazby also refers to a quarter rupee of Akbar dated AH 987 from Ahmadabad mint published by Dr. L. White King and Captain Vost in 1896. A Darb of Dewal (Bandar) of Akbar

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

was published by M.K. Gupta in 1991 (M.K. Gupta, "Three Fractional Coins of Akbar", *Numismatic Digest*, Vol. 15, pp. 108 ff.). The latest work on the coins of Akbar is that of Andrew Liddle which takes stock of Akbar's coin types [*Coinage of Akbar – The Connoisseur's Choice*, Kapoori Devi Charitable Trust (Regd.), Gurgaon, 2005: S-27, 29, 31, 45, 66-70 (half rupee) and S-28, 32, 46, 71-73 and 75 (quarter rupee)].

4. Kulkarni, *loc. cit.*, p. 498, Pl. 50.4; Liddle, *op. cit.*, S-33 and 34. The weights of the two coins in the Indian Museum belonging one each to the two types are given as 2.3 g and 1.55 g respectively. It is very doubtful that the second specimen represents a Pandau.
5. Krause and Mishler, *loc. cit.*; Liddle, *op. cit.*, p. 55, S-76. Specimens of 1/8 rupee of Jahangir have been published by C.R. Singhal ["A Unique One-Eighth Rupee of Jahangir", *JNSI*, VII (1945), p. 60], S.K. Bhatt [A Rare Square One-Eighth Silver Tankah of Jahangir", *Coin Review* (A Quarterly Bulletin of the Numismatic Society of India, Indore, Vol. 2 (1975), p. 2]; Kulkarni, *op. cit.*, p. 499, Pl. 50.5; etc.
6. Kulkarni, l*oc. cit.*, Pl. 50.6; M.K. Gupta, "Dasā" 1/10th Rupee of Akbar", *Numismatic Studies*, Vol. 5 (Ed. Manmohan Kumar), New Delhi, 1997, pp. 129-30] but Liddle did not take note of it and has published only one-tenth rupee of the Lahore mint (*Op. cit.*, p. 55, S-77, Pl. XXI).
7. Kulkarni, *loc. cit.*, p. 499, Pl. 50.7; M.K. Gupta, "A Twentieth Rupee of Akbar", *JNSI*, L (1988), p. 42, Pl. VI.2.
8. H.N. Wright [*NS*, II, 1904, pp. 239-40: Jahangir's 1/8th rupee (Pl. III.13) and Aurangzeb's 1/16th rupee], Whitehead, *op. cit.*, p. xxv; C.J. Brown, *Catalogue of Mughal Coins in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow*, Oxford, 1920, Vol. I, p. 40; Krause and Mishler, *op. cit.*; Kulkarni, *op. cit.*; M.K. Gupta (1991), *op. cit.*; "Nur Afshan Coins of Burhanpur Mint", *Oriental Numismatic Studies*, Vol. 1 (Ed. Devendra Handa), Delhi, 1996, pp. 134-37, Pl. VIII.3-4; Danish Moin and M.K. Gupta, "Dasā and Sukki Coins of Jahangir", *ND*, Vols. 23-24 (1999-2000), pp. 83-88.
9. Andrew Liddle has also listed one fractional coin of the denomination of one tenth of a rupee of Akbar issued from Lahore mint. The Ilāhī date and the mint name are, however, not clear in the illustration.
10. Devadutta G. Angal, "Smallest Silver Coins of Later Mughal Emperors", *JNSI*, Vol. LIX (1997), p. 96.
11. For a latest study of these coins see Joe Cribb, "Kanishka's Buddha image coins revisited", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, 6 (1999/2000), pp. 151-89. I am thankful to Joe Cribb for kindly sending me this issue of the Journal.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
13. *Ibid.*, Pl. I.1, 3-5; Spink-Taisei, Singapore, *Auction Catalogue 9*, 2 Feb 1991, no. 18.
14. Percy Gardner, *The Coins of the Greeks and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, Chicago, 1966, p. 145, Pl. XXVIII. 9.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 130, no. 15, Pl. XXVI.8.
16. Cribb, *Op. cit.*, pp. 165-66.
17. B.N. Mukherjee, *The Indian Gold : An Introduction to the Cabinet of Gold Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, 1990, pp. 49-50, nos. 45-46 and 49 respectively. The die alignment on the coins of Huvishka in the Indian Museum as recorded by Mukherjee varies from 11 to 1.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

53

The Kaḷabhras–An Overview

S. Saroja and M.D. Sampath

The identity of the Kaḷabhras is still an unsolved issue. Inscriptions and literature speak of the Kaḷabhra rulers and their sway in South India. The Anbil plates of Sundara-chōḷa[1] refer to one Suvaraṇ Māṛaṇ *alias* Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyaṇ as a Muttaraiyar king. He was a contemporary of Pallava Nandivarmaṇ Pallavamalla according to a record from the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple at Kañchī. This Suvaraṇ Māṛaṇ is mentioned as Kaḷvara Kaḷvaṇ, the Kaḷvaṇ of Kaḷvayṇs. The Sanskrit expression for Kaḷavara seems to be Kaḷabhra. Here T.A. Gopinatha Rao has identified the Kaḷabhras with the Muttaraiyars. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyengar opines that the Kaḷabhras were Kaḷvar of the area to the north of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam belonging to the Muttaraiyar territory. Some scholars believe that there is no satisfactory evidence to identify the Kaḷabhras with the Muttaraiyars on the basis of literary evidences. According to Sēndalai record Muttaraiyars were the feudatories of the Pallavas. The absence of the mention of the Kaḷabhras of the Koṛṛamaṅgalam plates indicate that the Kaḷabhras are different from the Muttaraiyars who were the allies of the Pallava kings.

'Yasya vallabha-kaḷabhra karēlāḥ
Paṇḍya-Chōḍa-Tuḷu-Gōṅgaṇādayaḥ'[2]

There is a reference to Kaḷabhras in the Vēḷvikkuḍi plates of Neḍuñcheḷjyaṇ. In the Saṅgam literature *puḷḷi* is called Kaḷvar Kōmāṇ. Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyaṇ claims himself as Kaḷvara Kaḷvaṇ or the Kaḷvaṇ of Kaḷvags in the Sēndalai pillar record[3] This dismisses the theory of identification of Muttaraiyars or Kaḷvars as Kaḷabhras.

The Kaḷappāḷar seem to belong to the Veḷḷāḷa community. The Tiruppugalūr record mentions a Kaḷappāḷarāja by the name Neṛkuṇṛam-kiḷār. This chieftain is referred to in the *Tiruttoṇḍar Tiruvandādi*[4] of Neṛkuṇṛavāṇar. Among the chieftains of the Kaḷappāḷar family mention may be made of Kūṛṛuvanāyanār, one of the celebrated by saint Sundaramūrtināyanār in *Tiruttoṇḍattogai.* Nambiyāṇḍārnambi refers to this nāyaṇār with the epithet *'Kaḷappālaṇāgiya kūṛṛuvaṇē'.*[4] He was a warrior who brought the Tamil rulers under his control.

The Tamilnāvalarcharithai speaks of the subjugation of the kings namely Chōḷa, Chēra and Pāṅḍya by Achyuta Kaḷappāḷan. Both Achyuta and Kūṛṛuva-nāyaṇār were the celeberated kings of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the Kaḷappāḷa line. That the Kaḷappāḷars held sway before the 7th century CE is justified by the statement mentioned in the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant.[6]

'Alavariya ādiarāśaraiy-agala-nīkkiy-agaliḍattaik-kaḷabraṇ-eṇuṅ-
Kaliyaraiśaṇ kaikkoṇḍu.'

The Adirāśar represents the ancient kings of Tamil land and Kaḷabhra is none other than Kaliyaraśaṇ. It is interesting to note the expression Kalikula in the Kopparam plates of Chālukya Pulakēsi II. The ancient Tamil work called Jīvakachintāmaṇi refers to the term Kaliyaraśaṇ meaning a 'cruel king'. Again in the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant while speaking about Neḍuñcheḷiyaṇ, Kaliyaraiśaṇ is referred to as

Velitaḷarap-poliviṇōḍu-vīṛṛirundu, etc.,

One can find a reference to a Kaḷamba king Achyuta Vikrama as the ruler of the Chōḷa country. This was mentioned by Buddhadatta, a contemporary of Buddhagōsha who lived in the 5th century CE. The Pāli text refers to the expression Kaḷamba or Kaḷabbha, which term is almost akin to the Sanskrit word Kaḷabhra. The term Kaḷabbha is the same as Kaḷappar in Tamil. This as well as the term Kaḷappāḷar means *Andaṇar* or *Andaṇāḷar* etc. Thus, the scholars have suggested the identification Achyuta Kaḷappāḷaṇ with Kaḷabbha Achyuta. From the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant and Aṇaimalai inscription it may be suggested that the Paṇḍya king Neḍuñcheṛiyaṇ ascended the throne in 770 CE. This grant records the regranting of the village of Vēḷvikkuḍi to one Naṛchiṅgaṇ of the family of Naṛkoṛṛaṇ to whom the above village was granted by Pāṇḍya king Palyāgaśālai Mudukuḍumipperuvaḍudi. The Kaḷabhras who once took possession of this gift dispossessed among others of this gift village. This village was regranted after the driving away of the Kaḷabhras by the Pāṇḍya rulers. The earliest Pāṇḍya king Kaḍuṇkōṇ expelled the Kaḷabhras and took possession of the kingdom and therefore the termination of the Kaḷabhra rule has been tentatively fixed by scholars around 600 CE. M. Raghava Aiyangaṛ's statement that the Kaḷabhras were the Veḷḷāḷa Kaḷappālar and not the Kaḷvar or Kaḷavar-Muttaraiyar and that Achyuta Kaḷawāḷar is the same as Achyuta Vikrama of Buddhadatta's time have been set aside by S. Krishnaswami Aiyengar while commenting on the Kaḷabhras who ruled over for more than two centuries *i.e.*, around 5th and 6th centuries CE.[7]

There is a question among the scholars whether the ruler Chēṇclaṇ-Kūṛṛaṇ of the Pūlāṅkuṛichchi record belongs to the Kaḷabhra family or not. Since there is no specific reference to his family as such, it may not be possible to assertively say that the king referred to in the above record is a Kaḷabhra ruler. Except for the period of 4th century CE., to which period the record belongs falls within the Kaḷabhra period of 4th to 6th centuries CE., there is no other evidence to vouchsafe the argument Chēṇclaṇ-Kūṛṛaṇ seems to be an independent ruler who happen to count his own reign period which could not be tallied easily, in the absence of the mention of a specific era like Śaka era, etc. If the commencement of the reign period could be identified with certainty, then it may be possible to conjecture as to which dynasty he belongs.

Another interesting record which falls within the rule period of the Kaḷabhras comes from Ammaṇkōyilpaṭṭi in Omalur Taluk of Salem district. This is a Tamil record of 4th to 5th century CE., which is written on a rockyoutcrop near a water spring. It refers to the excavation of a water spring by Kōpaṇ Gaṇadēvaṇ son of Kēkūrkiḷār who is referred to as Varambaṇ. The expression *varambaṇ* reminds us of the well-known Imaiya-varambaṇ Chēralātaṇ of the Saṅgam fame. This record on the basis of paleographical evidence fits into the Kaḷabhra period, not to speak of Chēralātaṇ who seem to belong to the family of Ataṇ chieftains. One will be tempted to take back the hero stone record of the 5th century CE from Iruḷappaṭṭi in Dharmapuri district to the Kaḷabhra period even

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

though there is no clue from the records themselves. On the other hand the records belong to the Vāṇakkōvaraiyar family, whose mythical geneaology mitiates against the identification with the Kaḷabhra kings. Through a number of label inscriptions have been discovered from the Pudukkottai region in the recent times, yet they do not support the identification of the Kaḷappāḷar of the Muttaraiyar fame. The area of the rule of the Kaḷabhras may be tentatively identified with the Pudukkottai region, where from the Sēṇdalai record comes and from which area the successors of the Kaḷabhras namely the Muttaraiyars claim their nativity. A thorough epigraphical survey of not only the Pudukkottai area but also its adjoining region may help us to trace the identity of the Kaḷabhras and to assess their contribution to Tamil country.

References

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol, xv.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol xm, pp 136.
3. *Sentamil*, Vol XXII, pp 196: *JAIH.*, Vol IV.
4. *Tiruthondar Tiruvandadi.*
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XVIII.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 306.
7. *Jivakachintamani*, 2323, *Kaṭṭiyaṅ-kāraṇeṇṇuṇ - Kaliyarai-śaṛindadu.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

54

The Art of Ancient Writing

M.D. Sampath

The early Jaina settlers got their inscriptions engraved on rugged and unhewn rock surfaces in the caves of Tamil country. These records in Tamil highlight the factual occurrences. It was at this time that the contemporary Mauryan emperor Aśoka (*c.* 3rd Century BCE) got his edicts engraved on rocks and pillars at various places of the Indian sub-content. The Jaina proselytorsers were keen in propagating the Jaina religion among the masses. They selected secluded places to perform their religious rites and worship. Most of the Jaina caves and beds, scooped out by the Jaina ascetics with the patronage of beneficiaries and merchants carry the engravings in Tamil language and Brāhmī script. On the otherhand, Aśoka was motivated by the desire to propagate his message of *dharma* among his subjects and neighbours. For this purpose he appointed the *mahāmatras* who toured several places on different occasions. Not only within our country but also outside our country, he tried to spread the Buddhist principles and doctrines through Buddhist *saṅghas* and laity. Thus the epigraphical writing was purely of an utilitarian type when it was introduced in our country. The Śrīlaṅkans knew the method of writing but it was brought into epigraphical medium subsequent to the Tamil writing in the caves of Tamilnāḍu. This particular aspect was predominant throught the Tamil age in the extreme south and the Prākṛitic age in the north as well as in Deccan. The Tamil inscriptions in Tamil language and Tamil cave - Brāhmī script lasted till about the end of the 3rd century CE, *i.e.*, the date of Arachchalūr inscription while the Prākṛit inscriptions of the Prākṛit age also lasted till this date. The artistic excellence in those Prākṛit records, though visible, but was left unnoticed by the subjects. In the case of early Tamil inscriptions on stone and pottery, it is difficult to find the calligraphic excellence. Infact the megalithic people knew the art of writing on potsherds engraved with the help of iron tools. This could be possible due to the innovation of iron by the people of this period. As early as 5th century of BCE or so we could see the beginning of the writing as evidenced from the script inside a burial urn of the megalithic people who settled down at Ādichchannalūr on the bank of Tāmbraparaṇī river in the extreme southern Peninsula.

It is clear from the Tamil Cave Brāhmī writings found on rugged rocky surfaces of the Jaina caves that the *Tolkāppiyam sūtras (Eḷuttadikāram, nūrpā-14)* have given suitable directions for the method of writing. The duct of writing as evident from the letter forms point to the letter format.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Accordingly the clue that the engraver or the composer got from the *sūtra* has been introduced in writing. For instance, a dot inserted inside has become the form of the letter *m*. Nachchiṇārbekiṇiyar, a grammarian commentator has commented on the rule *uṭ-peṛu-puḷḷi-urur- āgummē* and noted that this *sūtra* pertains to the form of the letter *m*. By drawing a vertical line with an upward hook added to its right at the bottom is the only feature to distinguish *m* and *p* forms, though the commentator indirectly suggests the inscription of a *dot* inside. One can find the subtle differences in writing, not to speak of the sound values. In the later period, to avoid the confusion the writer of the Brāhmī inscriptions has clearly converted the dot inside into a dash resulting in a cross-bar since the dot inside is an integrate part of the letter, the writer has introduced dot outside as followed in *sūtra* 15.

If some scholars think that the dot is meant to be used to denote the short *mātrā* of the sound as in the letter form *e* in *eḷuttum* found engraved in Arachchalūr inscription of *c*. 3rd century CE, the question of *a, i* and *u* with no dots remains unexplained. Therefore, neither the composer nor the writer need to follow the grammar *Tolkāppiyam* wherein it is suggested that the dot for the letter *m* inscripted inside is an integral part of it. The use of dot seems to be germane to the system of alphabetic writing of that period.

During the period of Kaḷabhras the Tamil country witnessed a revival. Jainism was overtaken by Brahmanism resulting in the shift of the Jaina ascetics. They clinged back to the hilly region which is seen from the Jaina beds and Jaina sculptures in the Kīḻakkuyilkuḍi of the Nāgamalai hill region. The Jainas could not resist the Brahmanical thrust during the period from 3rd to 6th century CE.

With the revival of Brahmanical faith in the Indian sub-continent, Prākṛit was replaced by Sanskrit. The introduction of classical Sanskrit in the early fourth century CE, *i.e.*, during the beginning of the rule of the Guptas resulted in the change of the temperament of the kings. The major development that took place was the proliferation of arts. It was a matter of great surprise that flowery literacy compositions in Sanskrit came up due to the patronage of rulers. The art of skilful writing gradually grew up as a result of the above development.

The promotion of classical Sanskrit is generally attributed to the Guptas. Their subordinates and contemporaries were responsible for the growth of and development of classical Sanskrit. The art of writing has been drawn to epigraphs and thus the chances for the introduction of calligraphy camp up.

Inscriptions speak of the style of writing and the situation in which it received the appreciation from one and all. Epigraphs are recorded in accordance with principles, methods and traditions, not to speak of the eulogistic preambles. The text *nyūn-āksharam-adhik-ākṣharaṁ vā tat-sarvaṁ-pramāṇam* brings to light the writing practice and the nature of engraving. A majority of memorial inscriptions record, in austere fashion, due to deaths in battles or religious background. Though the contents of the inscriptions not worth mentioning and essential, yet they display calligraphic features. It is these records that describe the flowery eulogies of munificent gifts, donors, donatrix with a view to register the construction of architectural edifices like big temples, well-designed *maṇḍapas*, tanks, step-wells, etc., and that they display their skill in composing chaste *praśastis*. The writers and engraver's effort to suit the poetic flourish with suitable chisels exhibit their skill and calligraphic features. Such writings merge with the artistic beauty of the monuments. The main objective in these writings is to boost the aesthetic sense with which the calligraphers have attempted. An analysis of these classical Sanskrit epigraphs enable us to judge the degree of calligraphic excellence in these records.

In the post-Aśokan period the writers used paint for recording inscriptions on stone surface. The inscription of a painted inscription from Chibbarnāla in Madhya Pradesh resembles the Aśokan

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Brāhmī. It mentions words like *Muhu, Bhadam, Vasasata,* etc. Along with the above form of painted writing, one can notice the bow-shaped punctuation marks indicating some letter representations. Unless a detailed digital study is made, it may not be possible to get positive clues or meanings of the writing.

A few records contain the flowery eulogies of munificent donors with a view to focus on their contribution to the temples. They are recorded on the architectural edifices such as gigantic *vimānas* and *gōpuras.* Such compositions exhibit the skill of the composers in composing excellent *praśastis.*

The engravers or the scribes tried to apply the ink so as to suit the poetic flourish and used their chisels carefully and generously and thereby adopting the calligraphic features.[1]

It is known from the classical Sanskrit records that the calligraphic beauty in them is equally of the same degree as that of the skill of their poetic composition and equally so of the architectural and sculptural excellence of the edifices about which they glorify. We know that Kubja, the court-poet of the Kadambas of Banavāsi, composed his eulogy in chaste classical Sanskrit employing unusual words and metres. It is but natural that he must have thought of an artistic rendering of his composition on stone that was to be set up in the Praṇavēśvara temple at Tāḷagunda. He went one step ahead by taking to himself the effort of writing the text of the above eulogy on the stone with appropriate calligraphic acumen. The text referring to his writing is self-explanatory

śrī-Śāntivarma-nṛipatēr-vara-śāsanasthaḥ |
Kubjas-sva-kāvyam-idam-aśma-talē-lilēkha ||[2]

The text of any inscription recorded on stone surface with paint is not perennial. But the task of engraving the same on stone by acute chiselling for the sake of permanency is much more greater. In order to ensure its permanent existence *(ā-chandra-tārakaṁ),* more efforts are taken by the lithic engraver. Thus, the impressive inscriptions of calligraphic excellence are the contributions of the poet or the composer, the writer and the engraver. Any number of instances may be quoted to adduce this fact.

The test of the Chandella king Dhaṅgadēva, from Khajurāho, dated in 1001-02 CE, was composed by the great poet Rāma. It was written on the stone by *Kāyastha* Yaśaḥpāla. The same was engraved by Siṁha.

Three verses in this epigraph reveal the professional achievements and talent to these three persons. The composition of the poet Rāma is indeed fascinating.

Sūnuḥ sūnṛitā-gīr-girīṁdra-mahimā Bhadrasya tasy-ābhavat bhūpālair-
bhuvi Pūjit-aṁghrir-anagha sahitya-ratnākaraḥ |

śrī-Rāmō ramaṇīya-sūkti-rachanā-chāturya-dhyuryaḥ kṛitī tēn-ēyain vihitā
praśasti-rachanā bhaktyā-'layē śālinaḥ ||

He was peasants spoken, in greatness lofty has be Himalayas, worshipped by king and was the very responsibility of literature, he was an export composer of charming and beautiful verse.[3] According to poet drama the writer Yaśaḥpāla was an accomplished person at his own field.

Na saṁkīrṇāḥ varṇāḥ kvachid-iha na sāpatnya-kalushāḥ sthitāḥ Kāyasthēna
prathita-kula-śīl-ōjjvala-dhiyā |

Yaśaḥpālēn-āyaṁ vidita-pada-vidyēna lakshitaḥ
praśastēr-vinyāsaḥ Kṛita-yuga samāchāra-sadṛiśaḥ ||[4]

He was of proven family, character and intelligence, and was well acquainted with the science of words, his writing does not betray the crowding of letters, nor is it marred by an unholy mixture of alphabets. His arrangement of writing is as well balanced as the norms of the *Kṛta-yuga.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Unlike the engravers who were familiar with the script written on stones by the misplacement of letters, particularly medical signs etc., not to speak of the excellent calligraphy, the engraver of the Khajurāhō *prasaśti* Simha was an exception to such things.

He knows the script and the method of engraving the text. That is the reason why the letters have been properly arranged, symmetrical and beautiful to look at.

Lipi-jñana-vidhi-jñēna prājñēna guṇa śālinā |
Simhēn-ēyaṁ samutkīrṇā sad-varṇā rūpa-śālinī ||[5]

We have instances for good and efficient calligraphy so as to distinguish the letters clearly written (*sphuṭit-ākshara),* curvilinear letters *(Kuṭil-ākshara)* ad crooked letters *(vikaṭ-ākshara).*

A good calligraphic performance depends upon the language - equipment of the writer *(lēkhaka).* The writer of the Khajurāho inscription belonging to 10th century CE is praised as a scholar in Sanskrit *(Saṁskṛita-bhāshā-vid)*[6] and on account of his scholarship only, he was able to write the *prasasti* in a befitting manner and with charming and loverly letters. *(ruchir-ākasharā praśastiḥ).* So, also the engraver was glorified as one who is adept in the handling of the chisel. The Dewal *praśasti* of Chhimda Lalla of 10th century CE has been classified for the excellence in writing beautiful, small and curvilinear letters *(kuṭil-āksharāṇi).* The expertise of the engraver in employing the chisel is revealed through this record *(ṭaṅka-vijñāna-śilpin).*[7] Hence, the views of Bühler and Princep that it is a crooked script does not hold good.[8]

A good calligraphic record depends upon an accomplished poet, writer and engraver. The efforts of all these three put together generates a sense of fulfilment and satisfaction.

For the poetic value of a *praśasti,* the record of Rāshṭrakūṭa king Parabala dated 861 CE, may be cited.[9] The verses quoted here was known for its skilful composition, depth and able arrangement 'of well-knit words and carries the grace of style.

Not only such a composition gives fulfilment to a poet but all the more greater when he can observe the same with a good hand on a beautiful stone surface. This is described and compared with a divine damsel.

sura-strī-ābhati-s phaṭika-vimala-staṁbha-ruchirā |

The poet brings out in its final form, the inscription with the letters clearly written and with the tastefully engraved syllables, dancing, glitters forth, like goddess of learning *(Sarasvatī)* herself.

utkīrṇā sūtradhārēṇa sāhilē na sphuṭ-āksharā |
chir-āṅga-vāg-vyagra-varṇṇāṁ Sarasvatī-va-bhāsatē ||[10]

The letters are mentioned as soft *(mṛidu)* by a dexterous engraver Nāgamuṇḍi who incised the Vasantagarh record, *prabhāti mṛidubhir-varṇaiḥ-prōtkīrṇāṁ Nāgamuṇḍinā.*[11] The composer of the Nīdhanpūr plates of Kāmarūpa king Bhāskaravarman in order to establish the genuineness of the plates has taken enough care. He expresses in his statement to make clear the plain words of the destroyed plates.[12] Towards the end of 6th century CE, the king had issued a charter. The set was burnt due to reasons not known. It was reengraved on fresh plates. The text reveals this fact *viz., bhūvaḥ-sphuṭa-vāchan-Ujjvalam.* The letter copy is identifiable easily due to the change in the script and style of writing. The composer very clearly quotes that the difference in characters should not make anyone to feel that the replaced charter as spurious. The text says:

Śāsanadāhād=arvāg=abhinava-likhitāni bhinnarūpāṇi |
tēbhyō='ksharāṇi yasmāt=tasmān n= aitāni kūṭāṇi. ||[13]

Vasuvarman is mentioned as *śāsayitā* and *lēkhayitā* (engraver)[14]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The overall quality of any composition or writing was well appreciated if the engravers were familiar with these scripts and the norms of inscribing them on stone. The reference to *Vikaṭākshara* is probably indicative of the characters of the 8th century inscription from Shanichara in Sultanpur District of Uttar Pradesh.

In the Deopara record Śūlapāṇi describes himself as the best among the craftsmen of Vārēndra *i.e.*, Bengal. The text reads as:[15]

buṛihaspatēḥ sūnur-imāṁ praśastim |
Chakāna Vārēndraka-śil pa-gōshṭhī-Chūḍāmaṇī Rāṇaka Śūlapāṇiḥ ||

The writer Takshāditya from Gauḍa-dēśa claims himself as well acquainted with *kuṭil-ākshara* (crooked letters).[16]

. . . . . likhitā Gauḍēna karaṅikēṅaishā /
kuṭil-āksharāṅi-vidushā /

The term *vidushā* is meant here to indicate his proficiency in writing *kuṭila-li pi. (Kāyasthaiḥ; kuṭila-li pibhiḥ)*[17].

The writer of Koḍḍapaḍḍu grant of the Eastern Chalukya ruler Vijayāditya Narēndra-mḍigarāja calls himself as an expert in writing beautiful letters. He was as a resident of Vijayavāḍa, identical with the present Vijayawāḍa in Andhra Pradesh. *(Vijayavāḍa-vāstavyāya Akshara lalitāchāryēṇa-likhitaṁ).*[18]

Rājalēkhakas came to be called in the earlier days as *rājalipikaras* and this synonym is used for a royal scribe Śubāhitāgotiputa; whose gift is recorded at Sāñchī.[19]

The letters engraved by the writer *(sūtradhāra)* Mahīdhara, son of the chief (of artisans) Bālasiṁha have been compared to the stars in the sky. *(śilāntathākarōd-varṇṇair-nnabhastār-akilaṁ-yathā).*[20] This is record in the Bhāraghāṭ stone inscription of the queen Ālhṇadēvī dated in the Chēdi year 907 (1155 CE).

The letters engraved by Vīśala are described as *ruchir-ākshara* in the Chitorgadh inscription of Mokala of Mēwāḍ, while the *praśasti* was composed by Vīsa, son of Manā *(Manākhyasaḥ) sūtradhārakaḥ; tasy-ātmajēna Vīsēna praśastiriyam-utkṛita*)

(ruchir-āksharam-utkirīrṇā praśasṭir-iyam-ujjbalā lilēsha-Vīśalaḥ śilpī Samādhīśa-prasādataḥ).

These letters are caused to be engraved on the stone of the temple dedicated to god Śiva, who is called Samādhīśa (or *Samiddhīśa).*[21]

In the Bhuvanēśvar record of the Gaṅga king Aniyaṅka-bhuīma of 12th century CE, the *praśasti* composed by Udayana has been compared to pearls and gems (verse 33) *(Udayana-Kavis=tasy=ādēśāt=praśasti-vilāsinīṁ sulalita padanyāśaiḥ; sasvad=vidagdha-manōharāṁ / dhvanibhir=aniśaṁ kaṇṭhē śliṣhṭāni=alaṁkṛiti-hāriṇīm = atirasatayā śayy-āyātāṁ prasādhitavān=imāṁ ||)*[22]

This was composed by Udayana under the orders of a Śaiva teacher Vishṇu (verse 32). Such a smooth and fluid composition with beautiful letters was written in stone at the entrance *(dvāra)* of the temple of Mēghēśvara by Chandradhavala, the son of *Diśidhavala* (verse 35) and caused to be engraved by the *sūtradhāra* Śivakara.

(saral-ākshara-mālābhir=llilēkha Mēghēsvara-dvārē (verse 35)
Sūtradhāraḥ Śivakaras=sadvṛittām=aksharāvalṁ /
nichakhāna śilāpaṭṭe muktāphala-nibhām=iha || (verse 36)[23]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

An artist *(śil pin)* by name Karṇabhadra is said to have engraved the copper plate charter of Vaidyadēva, king of Kāmarūpa during the 12th century CE. He is described as an intelligent, courteous and accurate workman.

(Karṇṇabhadrēṇa-bhadrēṇa śilpinān=al pa-buddhinā
tāmrain vinayanaśvēṇa nirmmitāṁ sādhukarmmaṇā ||)[24]

King Arjunavarman has been credited with a number of works including *Rasikasaṁjivini*, a commentary on the *Amaraśatakam* and *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*. This Paramāra king was the son of king Subhaṭā and hero of the drama called *Pārijātamañjari* or *Vijayaśrī*. This was composed *(rachita)* by Rājaguru Madana who was the author of this panegyric of the reigning king. This *praśasti* was neatly engraved by the artist *(śilpin* Rāmadēva, the son of the excellent sculptor *(rūpakāra Sīhāka)*.

Rūpakāra-prakāṇḍ Sīhākasy=āṅgajanmana /
praśastir=i yum=utkīrṇṇa Rāmadēva-śil pinā ||[25]

In a copper-plate inscription of king Gōvindachandra of Karauj dated Saṁvat 1171 (1115 CE) Jālhaṇa, the engraver compares himself to Chitragupta, the divine recorded of man's good and evil deeds serving under Yama and describes him as *Karaṇik-ōdgata* meaning as one who descended from a *Karaṇika*.[26] It is this Jālhaṇa who wrote another grant in Saṁat 1172 (1116 CE) is described as *śrī-vāstvyakul-ōdbhūta-kāyastha-ṭhakkura*. This reputation he earned because his writing was done with ease and pleasure.

Karaṇik-ōdgatō vidvāṁs=Chitragupt-ōpamō-guṇaiḥ |
yaśasē Jālhaṇa[ḥ] śrīmān=ali[kha]t=tāmrakaṁ mudā ||*[27]

The merchants (in virtue of their office) came to be recognised as the scribe - (executor of charter or letters) from the period atleast not letter than 6th century CE. In one of the charters of the Gupta period the writing is stated to have been executed by a trader. The Betul plates of Samkshōbha dated in the (Gupta) era 199 (518 CE), states that one trader called Iśvaradāsa, son of Bhujaṅgadēva has been chosen for writing this charter.

Likhitaṁ cha Jīvita-naptrā Bhujaṅgadāsa-putrēṇa vyāpārarṇayā Ī śvaradāsēna ſ[28]

The letters engraved in the Batihagarh stone inscription of Samvat 1385 (1328 CE) have been described as *vimal-ākshara* (beautiful and clear letters).

The honest Māthura family person Baijūka Kāyastha composed the *praśasti* of Batihagarh inscription for the delight of the minds of the wise. A famous trader and clever Māthura scribe Vāsu, son of Sahadēva got this engraved in clear letters *(vimal-āksharaiḥ)*.

Māthur-ānvaya-Kāyastha-Vair(Bai)jūkō vinay-ānvitaḥ |
manīshi-mānasa-mudē praśastim=akarōt=sudhīḥ ||
Māthurō divirō dakshō-dhūryō vyāpāriṇām sadā |
Sahadēva-sutō. Vāsū lilēkha vimal āksharaiḥ ||

Not only the transfer of a manuscript of a *praśasti* to stone in clear letters incised on it as alluded to in the *Mau inscription* of Madanavarman, the stone inscription in Nāgarī script was reproduced from a copper-plate inscription *(Tāmrakaṁ-śāsnaṁ-dṛishṭvā-śilāyāṁ-cha-likhāpitaṁ)*.

We have instances of the Vātāpi Chalukya copper-plate records being transferred on stones at a later date, not in the Nāgarī script but in the contemporary Kannada script. The biscriptal records came to be written with local as well as Nāgarī scripts in Karnataka. It was the old practice that Sanskrit records to be recorded in Nāgarī even though the script has not developed well in a full fledged form. Since Nāgarī script was not familiar to the local Kannada knowing people and with the development of Kannada script, Sanskrit was also recorded in Kannada script only.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

But for the sake of some official use, in such cases, the Nāgarī version came to be recorded in many places. The Alampūr inscription of Chālukya Vijayāditya is an example wherein the Telugu-Kannaḍa script and another of the same in Nāgarī script called at that point of time as Siddhamātṛkā script. It is not difficult to find a skilled engraver lest eulogy becomes hyperbolic and untrue. In a Kannada record from Chitradurga District, the engraver boasts of his skill by entwining forms of parrot swan, elephant, lion and so on along with Kannada letters. It is with Sōvarāśi, the engraver of this, can anyone compare equally or by mistake even. The talent of this sculptor cum engraver is seen from the flowing writing of the preamble of the record. Similarly, the paṭṭadakal inscription was assigned to 754 CE by some scholars.

References

1. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XL, pp. and plate.
2. *Ibid.,* Vol. VIII, verse 34.
3. *Ibid.,* Vol. I, p. 141, v. 58.
4. *Ibid.,* p. 146, v. 59.
5. *Ibid.,* p. 146, v. 62.
6. *Ibid.,* p. 129, v. 47.
7. *Ibid.,* p. 81, v. 37.
8. *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XXXIII, p. 50; C. Sivaramamurti, *Indian Epigraphy and South Indian Scripts,* p. 35.
9. *E.* Ind., Vol. IX, p. 254.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid,* p. 192.
12. *Ibid.,* Vol. XII, pp. 65-79.
13. *Ibid.,* Vol. XII, p. 76, v. 28.
14. *Ibid.,* p. 75, 1. 50.
15. *Ibid.,* Vol. I, p. 311.
16. *Ibid.,* p. 81.
17. *Ind.Ant.* XXXIII, p. 50.
18. *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. I, p. 34.
19. *E. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 102.
20. *Ibid.,* p. 13, text line 29, v. 37.
21. *Ibid.,* p. 421, line 53.
22. *Ibid.,* Vol. VI, p. 202.
23. *Ibid.,* pp. 202-03.
24. *Ibid.,* Vol. II, p. 354, v. 35.
25. *Ibid.,* Vol. VIII, pp. 116-117, line 82, v. 76.
26. *Ibid.,* Vol. IV, p. 104.
27. *Ibid.,* Vol. VIII, pp. 153-54, 1. 20.
28. *Ibid.,* p. 287, 11. 27-29.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

55

Vēdic Sacrifices : Performed by the Pallava Kings

Chithra Madhavan

The Pallava kings who ruled from *c.* 4th century CE upto the second half of the 9th century CE, from their capital-city Kānci or Kāñcipuram over the area named Tondaimandalam (erstwhile North Arcot, South Arcot and Chengleput districts), were strong adherents of the Vedic faith. In conjunction with the tenets of the Vedas and other Brahminical texts, they performed a large number of Vedic sacrifices just like the kings of various other dynasties of India like the Satavahanas, Guptas, Visnukundins and the Pandyas.

The tradition of performing Vedic sacrifices was there in the ancient Tamil country during the Sang am age. Naccinarkkiniyar, a famous commentator of the Sangam works states that the sacrifices prescribed for the kings were Rajasuyam (the imperial sacrifice) and the Asvamedha (the horse-sacrifice).[1] The Sang am work *Pattinapalai* mentions that the Cola king, Karikala performed many Vedic sacrifices, while the Silappadikaram states that Senguttuvan performed the Rajasuya sacrifice.[2] The Pandyan king, Palyagasalai Mudukudumi Peruvaludi's titles suggest his having performed and encouraged the performance of many sacrifices and the building of many sacrificial halls.[3] Many other Pandyan and Cera kings of the Sangam age are known to have performed Vedic sacrifices like the Putrakamesti and the Soma Yajña.

The Pallava rulers, starting from the 4th century CE issued a large number of inscriptions, some of which are found inscribed on copper-plates, while others are found etched on the walls of the temples excavated or constructed by them. While their lithic inscriptions do not throw much light on the performance of Vedic sacrifices, their copper-plate grants provide data about their activities in this direction. Most of the copper-plate inscriptions which thus provide such information belong to the period of the early Pallava kings and have mostly been discovered in the northern part of the Pallava kingdom, *i.e.*, in the Andhra area. These inscriptions lay particular stress on the performance of the *Asvamedha yajna* (horse-sacrifice), the antiquity of which dates back to the Vedic age and the completion of which resulted in immense triumph and glory for the king who performed it.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

One of the earliest inscriptions of the Pallava dynasty which records the performance of such rites is the Manchikallu inscription of Simhavarman.[5] This epigraph (found in Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh), is in Prakrit language and Brahmi script, datable to the latter half of the third century CE and records the performance of *santi* and *svastyayana* for the victory and increase in merit and prowess of this king. The expression *'santi-svastyayana'* indicates certain propitiatory rites, *santi* being a rite for averting evil and *svastyayana* for attaining prosperity.[6]

Another early Pallava epigraph which mentions several Vedic rites is the Hirahadagalli copper-plate inscription of Sivaskandavarman.[7] This inscription, datable to around the middle of the 4th century CE, discovered in Hirahadagalli (Bellary district, Andhra Pradesh), is also in the Prakrit language and Brahmi script. This record clearly states that Sivaskandavarman performed the *Agnistoma, Vajapeya* and *Asvamedha* sacrifices and is referred to as *'aggitthomavajapeyassa-medhayaji'*. While the *Asvamedha* (horse-sacrifice) sacrifice is well-known, the *Vajapeya* refers to one of the seven forms of the soma-sacrifice offered by kings or brahmanas, aspiring to the highest position and preceding the *Rajasuya* and *Brhaspati-sava*.[8] The *Agnistoma* is a protracted ceremony or sacrifice, forming one of the chief modifications of the *Jyotistoma,* offered by one who is desirous of obtaining heaven.[9]

The Omgodu (I) copper plate record, discovered at Omgodu (Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh), belonging to the fifth century CE, is composed wholly in Sanskrit. It registers the performance of the *Asvamedha yajña* by the Pallava king Kumaravisnu.[10] Several other early Pallava copper-plate inscriptions such as the Uruvapalli plates of Yuvamaharaja Visnugopavarman belonging to the 5th century CE[11]; the Pikira plates of the 5th century CE from Nelatur (Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh)[12]; and the Vilavatti plates, belonging to the 5th century CE from Vavveru (Nellore district, Andhra Pradesh)[13] and the Chendalur plates of Kumaravisnu of the 6th century CE found at Chendalur (Nellore district, Andhra Pradesh)[14]; are all composed fully in Sanskrit and praise the Pallava rulers as having performed many *asvamedha* sacrifices according to the rules (prescribed in the Vedas).

Yet another copper-plate inscription, the Vunna Guravapalem plates of the 7th century CE, of the reign of Paramesvaravarman I (670-691 CE), while describing the kings of the Pallava dynasty, mention that they performed many sacrifices including the *Asvamedha,* according to the rules.[15] This no doubt refers to the horse-sacrifice celebrated by two of the early Pallava kings, *viz.*, Śivaskandavarman and Kumaravisnu.[16]

The Reyuru copper-plate grant, dated 702-703 CE, belonging to the reign of Paramesvaravarman's son and successor Narasimhavarman II, better known as Rajasimha (691-723 CE), also written in Sanskrit language, mentions that Paramesvaravarman I performed the *Asvamedha* and many other sacrifices according to rule.[17]

The Śivanvayal Pillar inscription (datable to *c.* 7th century CE), of a Pallava king, whose name is lost in the damaged portion of this record, praises an ancestor named Simhavarman as the performer of ten *Asvamedha* sacrifices *(Dasasvamedha)* and also the *Bahusuvama* sacrifices.[18]

The *Soma* sacrifice too was performed during the Pallava times as gleaned from the information found in the Kuram copper-plate inscription of Paramesvaravarman I. This bi-lingual record, in which the first or *prasasti* part is in Sanskrit and the latter operative portion in Tamil, mentions that all the kings in, the race of the Pallavas performed the *Soma* sacrifice.[19]

The Udayendiram copper-plate inscription of the reign of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla (731-796 CE), also bi-lingual in character, records in the first part which is composed in Sanskrit, that Udayacandra, a famous general of this king chased a Nisada chief named Prithivivyagra, who was following the *Asvamedha* horse, and defeated him.[20]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

However, there are some scholars who have felt that some of the Pallava rulers unduly glorified themselves as performers of the *Asvamedha* sacrifice. While the Hirahadagalli plates state that Śivaskandavarman celebrated the horse-sacrifice, it appears that the later descendents of his family took pride over this and duly incorporated the event in their *prasastis* in general terms as a praiseworthy qualification of the Pallava family.[21] This claim was also exaggerated by multiplying the number of horse-sacrifices performed and thus in the Chendalur and the Uruvapalli grants, the Pallavas in general are referred to as the performers of horse sacrifices.[22] Since no other inscription of Paramesvaravarman registers his performing such a great sacrifice, it is likely that the drafter of the Reyuru grant (of Rajasimha), influenced by the texts of the copper-plate charters of the earlier period, simply borrowed this expression from them and attributed it to the father (*i.e.*, Paramesvaravarman) of the ruing king, his patron for his glorification.[23] This same reason would apply to the phrase 'performer of ten horse sacrifices' ascribed to the Pallava king Simhavarman, as mentioned in the Śivanvayal inscription.[24]

It must however be noted that the performance of sacrifices such as the *Dasasvamedha* was not unheard of in ancient India before the Pallava age. The Bharasivas (*c.* 4th-5th century CE), of Central India acquired the distinction of having performed the *Dasasvamedha* sacrifice, the Vakatakas, the *Caturasvamedha* sacrifice, the Visnukundis (*c.* 5th-7th centuries CE), the *Ekadasasvamedha* and others the *Dvirasvamedha*.[25] This has led to doubt if in each case the *Asvamedha* was indeed performed as many times as indicated. Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar has suggested, giving in support a passage from the *Mahabharata*, that if at the performance of a single *Asvamedha*, the gifts to *Brahmanas* were increased four-fold, ten-fold or eleven-fold, then by going through one sacrifice, the performer secured the merit and also claimed the distinction of having performed more than one *Asvamedha*, four, ten, etc.[26] The *Bahusuvama*, also, mentioned in the *Mahabharata* belonged to a class of sacrifices called *ahira* and was called *Bahusuvama* owing to the profuse gifts of gold made during this ceremony.[27]

The information supplied by the inscriptions of the Pallavas about the *Asvamedha* ritual is further supplemented by the sculptures found in the panel of historical carvings depicted on the inner wall of the verandah in the Vaikuntha Perumal temple, Kancipuram, constructed in the 8th century CE during the reign of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla. It is indeed rare to find representations of the *Asvamedha* sacrifice in iconography and the ones in this Pallava sandstone temple are very unique.

C. Minakshi has identified at least three panels which depict the performance of the *Asvamedha* sacrifice in this series of sculptures. While one of these panels has been assigned to the early Pallava ruler, Kumaravisnu, the other two have been ascribed to Nandivarman I although the copper-plates do not give any information regarding the performance of *Asvamedha* sacrifices by Nandivarman I.[28] Therefore, these sculptural panels are indeed invaluable as they provide addition information about the reign of Nandivarman I not found in the copper-plates.[29]

Incidentally, a certain convention seems to have been adopted by the Pallava sculptors who chiseled these panels with regard to the *Asvamedha* scenes. Firstly, the *yupa* or the sacrificial post is shown as a vertical band with acurvature on top; secondly the beautifully caparisoned horse is fasted to the *yupa* by a string tied to its body and thirdly, the performer of the sacrifice is depicted resting on his knees and holding some grass in his right hand for the horse to eat.[30] The royal umbrella (*chatra*) is seen over the head of the king and usually the queen is to his right.

The decline of the power of the Pallavas seems to have marked the decline of such Vedic sacrifices mentioned above in the Tamil country, at least to a very great extent. The inscriptions of the imperial Colas of Tanjavur do record the performance of some Vedic sacrifices, but they

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

seem far less in number than those found in the Pallava records. In the words of K.A. Nilakantha Sastri. More emphasis seems to have been laid in this period on *dāna* (gift) in preference to *yajña* (sacrifice).[31]

References

1. N. Subrahmanian, *Sangam Polity, Madurai*, 1980, p. 57.
2. *Ibid.*, p.58.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. *E.I.*, Vol. XXXII, No.2, pp. 87-90.
6. *Ibid.*, p.88.
7. *EI.*, Vol. I, No.1, p. 5.
8. Sir Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, New Delhi, 1988, p. 938.
9. *Ibid.*, p.5.
10. *E.I.*, Vol. XV, No. 11, p. 251.
11. *Indian Antiquary* (Feb. 1876), p. 51.
12. *E.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 15, p. 162.
13. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 43, p. 302.
14. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 23, p. 235.
15. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, No.9, p. 96.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
17. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, No. 11, p. 95.
18. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, No. 13, p. 62.
19. S.I.I., Vol. I, No. 151, p. 148.
20. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 74, line 57, p. 368.
21. *E.I.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 93.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, No. 13, p. 61.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. C. Minakshi, *Historical Sculptures of the Vaikunthaperumal Temple*, Kanchi, 1941, p. 59.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. K.A. Nilakantha Sastri, *The Colas*, Madras, 1984, p. 451.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

56

Management of Irrigation Tanks During Vijayanagara Period

C.S. Vasudevan

Water is *sine quo non* to all human beings for survival and subsistence and it plays a vital role in everyday human life. For the overall development of a man and society, especially in the fields of agriculture, industry, fine arts and economic prosperity, since time immemorial, water has become one of the primary source materials. Man depended on river as well as rainwater and rivers which, in turn depend on the rain. The rains basically being seasonal and failure of timely rains resulted in the depletion of subsoil water table. It further resulted in the poor agricultural production. In order to overcome these lacunae man started storing the water by artificial methods and utilised the same, whenever he needed water, even when timely rains failed. Such artificial water storages are called tanks. Enough evidences are at our disposal to substantiate the prevalence and usage of such irrigational tanks since prehistoric times in India.

The excavations of some of the Harappan sites in India have yielded artificial water storage facilities. In south India the irrigation, according to a few scholars, rice cultivation, in particular was started by the people of Megalithic culture. *Yajurveda*, *Atharvaveda*, *Arthaśāstra* (of Kautilya), *Mahābhārata*, *Jataka* stories and other literatures provide valuable information about the tank irrigation during ancient period[1]. Since early historic times people paid more importance to irrigation as many contemporary inscriptions of the period refer to them[2]. The Junagadh (Gujarat) inscription of Mahakshatrapa Rudradaman mentions about the hydraulic architectural features of the Sudarasana lake[3]. This tank of Sudarsana was excavated by Vysa Pushyagupta, a provincial governor of Chandragupta Maurya (324-300 BCE) and subsequently it was renovated by a prince. Later on during the time of Mauryan emperor Aśoka, a provincial governor of the area got the silt removed from the tank and repaired the canals and facilitated for the easy flow of water through the canals.

While in south India the Cholas of Sangam Age, who gave a boost to the agrarian order, made elaborate irrigational arrangements during the initial years of the Christian era. Satavahanas and Ikshvākus who followed them also provided encouragement to the irrigation, a fact that is known

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

from the archeological evidences. Subsequent dynasties like Pallavas, Cholas, Pandyas, Kadambas, Gangas, Chālukyas and Hoysalas continued the same zeal in providing sufficient attention and fillip to the irrigation system and excavation of tanks, and continued the popular social welfare schemes like their predecessors. Inscriptions of their period provide us with a mine of information on this aspect[4]. The Chandravalli tank[5] of Karnataka, Vairamegha tataka of Tamil Nadu[6] and Kavitagunarava tank[7] of Andhra Pradesh were well known tanks of early historic period that are often referred to by scholars.

During the medieval period, the Vijayanagara empire occupies an important place in the history of south India. The entire south India got unified to become a single large state or empire and roughly comprised of the present day states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala. This empire also provided not only political stability but also stability in social, religious and economic spheres also. The kings of this dynasty provided irrigational facilities and encouraged agricultural activities, trade and commerce and gave a new lease of life to the economy of the state. They also continued the welfare schemes introduced by their predecessors by constructing check dams and barriers to small streams and rivers, by excavating wells, ponds and tanks. It will not be wrong to opine that they provided a new base to the agriculture and brought new lands under fresh cultivation as well as fallow lands, thereby increasing the inflow of income to the treasury.

During Vijayanagara period also the excavation of tanks, wells and canals were considered to be pious acts and were continued unabated. The common and popular belief of the predecessors of Vijayanagara empire got codified during this period, which fact is reflected in one of their inscriptions. An inscription[8] of Devaraya's time, dated 1410 CE, composed by the poet Madhurakavi, states that when Lakshmidhara was a baby, his mother, while feeding milk, also fed noble thoughts like excavation of tanks, excavation of wells, construction of temples, releasing the prisoners, protecting the good and noble men, providing shelter to friends and noble men, and protecting the people who trusted the protector. These seven moral codes of conduct no doubt were fed to the child at a tender age. This shows that while feeding food to the child they also fed them with moral code of conduct. The people, especially the womenfolk promoted the social causes and were instrumental in framing the society. These philanthropic activities were silently carried out by the go people who were moulded to carry out the tradition of doing good deeds for the uplift of the society. These acts, no doubt, were laced with the religious beliefs so that the common man, for the fear of god and other religious considerations scrupulously followed them. Since it was thought, even today also, that the excavation of tank is a pious act or an act, which would bestow merit for the person, engaged in doing this deed. Along with the general populace, people occupying different strata of the society like kings, governors, regional or provincial governors, officials, traders and others were closely associated with the building of tanks during the period under discussion. They too believed in the fact that their act would bring merit for themselves. They also would name such tanks after their parents, brothers, sisters or who was near and dear to them and whose names endured forever. These facts are more explicitly expressed in the numerous epigraphs, tanks, canals and dams of Vijayanagara period. Some the tanks and canals excavated during this period are still being used by the present day generation is worthy of note. The statistics on the construction of tanks during Vijayanagara period is interesting and is as follows[9].

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sl. No.	*Builders of tank*	*Social group % (percentage)*
1.	King	5.72
2.	Ministers	7.90
3.	Local officers (Provincial Governors)	29.90
4.	Feudatories	20.54
5.	Traders, Institution, Individuals	26.56
6.	Central Officers	5.62
7.	Regional Officers	3.76

The people's participation in the management of tanks during Vijayanagara period can be identified at two stages. In the first stage, tanks were excavated and water was distributed while in the second stage peoples involvement was in the upkeep and maintenance of tanks. From the above statistics, it is clear that provincial governors or local officers, as well as Traders, Institution and individuals were actively engaged in the excavation of tanks rather than other categories of people of the society. These people, no doubt utilised the locally available resources, both monetary and human, to manage the tanks is evident from the study.

An inscription dated 1357 CE states that while Bukka I was a prince and governing the region, a person by name Mahāvadda Vyavahari Mahadevanna with the permission of the king established a village by name Lakshmipura and excavated a tank there. A canal emerging out of the tank was named *Rajakaluve* and was passing through four villages. King Harihara ordered that either sides of the canal be cased with stone slabs and accordingly prince and minister Sovapparasa provided the required casing of slabs on the inner sides of the canal[10]. The persons engaged in carrying out this task were provided with lands as *umbali*. The stone easing of canals facilitate the easy flow of water and stops water seepage, soaking, draining and percolation is avoided and valuable water is conserved. The inscription at Porumamilla in Cuddapah district of Andhra Pradesh is very important from the point of view of its contents as it gives vivid and elaborate information about the tank building activity and management[11]. It is considered as a landmark inscription so far as the tank and hydraulic architecture is considered. The inscription narrates the various precautions that have to be undertaken before excavating a tank. This tank is still being used by the local people, which clearly indicate the technological achievement of the Vijayanagara period. An inscription from Indakuru, Cuddapah district is dated 1386 CE and states that Eragamaredi and Maramredi brothers got excavated a tank[12]. A record from Tirumalla, Kurnool district records that while Kathari Saluva Gundayyadeva maharaja was the provincial officer and governing the region, several families, along with village accountants (*Karanas* or *Shanabhogas*), got excavated a tank in the and obtained lands under the tank[13]. An epigraph[14] from Hampi records that Virupaksha pandita and Vinayaka pandita got constructed a temple and built a tank (*sarovara*) in 1396 CE.

Women were also engaged in the excavation of tanks as evidenced by a number of inscriptions. An inscription dated 1397 CE records that Jommadevi daughter of Bukkaraya a resident of Penugonda got constructed a canal, probably an inlet canal, for the flow of water to the tank[15]. It was agreed upon by the lady and Peddabhairoja and Pinnabhairoja that if the latter carried out the work satisfactorily, 130 gold coins (*Singeya gadyana*), land under the tank, a house in the village and gold anklet was to be given by the former to Peddabhairoja and Pinnabhairoja. If the work was not carried out efficiently, all the above given things were to be returned to the donor. However, the two persons completed the work to the satisfaction of the donor and got all the materials as per the deed of agreement. Similarly another record, dated 1403 CE, mentions that Irugasetti, a merchant

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

got constructed a temple for god Virabhadra and excavated six tanks, further it stipulates that the produce of the land utilising the water of the tanks be donated to the above temple[16].

In a few instances, the State used to provide land to individuals with the stipulation that tanks be excavated in such donated lands by the donee. An inscription, dated 1416 CE provides a little more information on this aspect.[17] It states that "We provide you with a piece of land in which you have to deforest the area and make it cultivable and also to excavate tank and utilise its water". And it further mentions that "the lands be shared by both the builder of the tank and State proportionately in the ratio of 3:1 among themselves.

Most of the inscriptions assert that the tanks were part of the State or a possession of the State, we have enough evidence to substantiate, at least, that in a few cases it was possessed by individuals who exercised their full rights over such possessions and were empowered to transact, sell, or mortgage them. A Telugu inscription, dated 1426 CE, from Venkatapurahalli of Nellore district is interesting. This record states that the donor who was in possession of a tank, sold it to another person. The inscription refers to the tank as *Dasavandanaku kattimachina cheruvu.*[18] Similarly another epigraph states that the tanks situated at Boyavidu and Kudichipadu villages in the Udayagiri *rajya* were sold to a certain person by name Bayichinnabboyadu.

Like common populace, the temples were also engaged in the philanthropic activities and used to control the society in it's own way. In south India, during the medieval period, the Venkatesa temple at Tirupati, Chittoor district, Andhra Pradesh, played an important role in the society. There are more than one thousand inscriptions that are found in this and other surrounding temples at Tirupati and all of them excepting a few belong to the Vijayanagara period. These epigraphs by and large record the various donations given to the main temple and other subsidary temples in and around Tirupati. An inscription mentions that Koyilkelvi Emperumanarjiyar deposited 5,000 *narpanams* (gold coins) in the temple treasury in 1456 CE with the intention of utilising the deposited money for the development of temple agricultural lands and the agricultural produces from such lands have to be provided to the temple. The 108 Srivaishnavas, who administered the temple affairs, were to supervise such donations[19]. Another inscription dated 1507 CE, records that Tippasetti donated 8,305 *panams* as deposit in the temple treasury (*Sribhandaram*) with the condition that the money be utilised for the development of temple villages and excavation of tanks and canals.[20] An inscription from Srisailam states that a couple from Siddhapura got excavated a tank in 1516 CE.[21] Another inscription records that a person Bhupatiraju, an assistant of king Krishnadevaraya's barber Jiyappa nayaka got renovated a tank and made some donations to a temple at Yagattahalli in the Kadur district.[22] A record from Srirangam in Tamil Nadu states that Ramanujadasa *alias* Lakshmipatisetti and his brother Antappa donated 10,500 *chakrapanams* to the temple treasury with a condition that the amount be utilised for the development of agricultural lands.[23] Thus, people from all walks of life were engaged in the excavation and construction of tanks. The above-mentioned aspects narrate the tank building activities of the people, and while the foregoing discussion, with the help of epigraphical evidences, narrates the renovation, management and protection of built up tanks by various agencies.

Generally, all the basic components of the tank were completely built by the builders during the period under consideration. It was also not unusual that in a few instances, they used to build a few parts of the tanks like sluice, bund, waste-weir, inlet as we as outlet canals, depending upon their economic status and conditions. It was considered that building a part or parts of the tank was also equaled like building a tank with all the necessary components.

During Vijayanagara period the builders of the tank were given special sanctions and donations like *Kattukodige, Kattu manya, kere bittuvata, bittuvatta,* and *dasavanda.* Some of the sanctions

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

were also given to the persons who were engaged in the repairs and renovation as well as maintenance of tanks[24]. Generally, many of the tanks were administered by local officers, who were though, vested with powers, and acted in consonance with the local people in the management of tanks. Normally the Oddas and people belonging to Uppara community used to build tanks. People from these two communities who used to build tanks were exempted from paying taxes and were given land and other grants by the donor. The administration also encouraged these communities to continue the tank building activities. Thus keeping alive the traditional knowledge of the people.

The tanks were managed independently by individuals also. However the tank management committee, encompassing the local people as its members used to manage the tanks. On this aspect epigraphical evidences are abundantly available to us. A few inscriptions from Tamil Nadu throw light on this aspect. The Uttaramerur inscription of Chola period is interesting and it states that during Chola period *Erivāriyam*, a tank committee used to manage the tanks. This inscription further states that the Committee comprised of six members and their term lasted for 360 days and the entire responsibility was to be shouldered by them. The Committee members were expelled from the Committee if they committed any crime and their responsibility was to see that agricultural activities were carried out by the people.[25] Apart from this a number of inscriptions mention about the other agencies that were looking after the tanks like *sabhā*, *Mahājanas* and other committees supervised the management of the tanks. This kind of references is hardly met with in the epigraphs of Vijayanagara period from Karnataka. However, the *nāyaka* or *amaranāyaka* system was in vogue during the period under discussion and it was this office that shouldered the responsibility of management of tanks.

An interesting inscription from Tiruppalangadu in Tamil Nadu, states that the officials of the temple in the village sold some of the lands belonging to the said temple for the repair and renovation of the temple.[26] In another instance people of two villages namely Irumballi and Tiruvengavasal as well as the temple officials signed an agreement. Accordingly people of Tiruvengavasal got repaired the waste-weir of the village tank for which act the Irumballi villagers conferred *padikaval* rights on the villagers of the former.[27] The possible reason for doing this may be that the Irumballi village was economically weak and could not venture to undertake the renovation work of the tank or they were not so competent to undertake repairs of hydraulic structures.

Another inscription states that the provincial governor Lakkanna odeya, upon the orders of Virupanna Odeya, in the divine presence of Sringeri Sri Vidyaranya Sripada, the pontiff, exclusively donated 100 *honnu bangara* coins (gold coins) to the *Mahajanas* in 1377 CE for the repairs of the tank.[28] Yet another record belonging to the regin of Virupaksha, in 1381 CE, the temple officials sold their own lands and made use of the sale money for the repair and restoration of breached tank in the village.[29] A certain person Mallanayaningaru gave certain measure of lands to another person Malagara Obala Ojiyalu under *Dasavand* system as token of appreciation for repairing tanks in Padlimari village in Cuddapah district. The donor and his associates strengthened the tank bund and were responsible for maintaining the same and should ensure that it should not breach in future.[30]

A Tamil inscription, belonging to Devaraya's period, dated 1427 CE, mentions that while according permission to excavate a tank at Nergunam, the depth of tank should be increased by removing silt and the mud should be made of for strengthening the bund of the tank.[31] Two inscriptions from Timmanahalli from Hassan district mention that a tank in the Neralige village was de-silted, cleaned and tank bund was strengthened by certain Virupanna, upon the orders and Jayapanayaka in 1429 CE and received certain measure of lands.[32] Since this work remained

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

incomplete after a lapse of three years, *i.e.*, in 1432 CE, Basashankarasetti, a merchant undertook the repair of the tank and for which purpose he made some donations.[33]

An inscription dated 1471 CE mentions that the tank at Tiruvamattur in Tamil Nadu fell to disuse after it got breached and the local officer collected various taxes like *vibhuti*, *kanike*, *Jodi*, *sulavari*, *rekhai* and rehabilitated village and also renovated the tank.[34] In another case[35], villagers of Dondavati in the present day Bellary district gave a petition to the local officer or provincial officer about the lack of facility of water for irrigation. And the officer took action and donated certain measure of lands for the tank and money to an individual Melasani, who repaired the tank in 1529 CE. Another inscription states that the *Mahajanas* of Bupasamudra in Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh came together and provided lands to Gadada Basavireddi in 1534 CE who repaired the tank.[36] During the reign of Achyutadevaraya, two tanks situated near Melukote breached due to excessive rain in 1534 CE. Periraja, a Srivaishnava paid one hundred *gatti varaha*, for each tank 50 *varahas*, towards the repair of the tanks.[37] The villagers of the Tirunadi unified together and repaired the village tank, which had breached at three places and obtained one *Khanduga* of land as *Kattukodige* incentive in 1541 CE.[38]

An inscription[39] form Siddhapura in Chitradurga district dated 1551 CE states that an officer Koneya Devamaha arasu made some donation for the repair and renovation of tank and made arrangements for excavation of pits measuring 30 sq. ft and 2 feet deep on the floor of the tank. And further the soil dug out from the pits was utilised for strengthening the tank bund. The money was paid according to the number of pits dug by the excavator. In 1554 CE the tank at Sidalayanakote tank developed fissures and began to breach. The local officers, *gaudas*, *shanubogas* and others joined together and submitted a memorandum to the provincial officer Mahanayakacharya, stating that if they are provided with lands near the sluice, they would initiate repair works. The inscription further states that they obtained lands near the sluice after completing the work satisfactoraly.[40] The lands situated near the sluice will always fetch good price, as this part of the land will get good water supply since its close proximity to the sluice.

According to an inscription dated 1556 AD, from Yalahanji, Rayadurg taluk belonging to the reign of Sadāśivaraya, the administrative officer collected taxes illegally from Yalahanji, Somalapura and other villages. The villagers of Yalahanji lodged a complaint with a higher officer named Tirumalarajadeva, who after going through the case ordered that the taxes thus collected illegally be used for the renovation of tank and improvement of other irrigational facilities[41]. Similarly another inscription records that Karadihalli in Chitradurg district, which was renamed Harigararayapura, was donated to brahamanas in 1556 CE. The local officer collected taxes illegally from this village. However, the taxes collected illegally by the officer was ordered to be utilised for the improvement of the tank and temple[42] when it came to the notice of the higher authorities. Another interesting inscription, dated 1375 CE, from this district, states that a person by name Yadavanarayana stipulates that the residents of Lakshminarayana *agrahara* dying without leaving any heirs should donate their property to the brahamanas of the village, who after obtaining such properly should utilise them for the up keep and maintenance of tank.[43] Thus the people used to come together and join hands in the upkeep and maintenance of village tanks and with combined effort under *Kūdimaramat* and *Ālamanji* system, a fact that can be gathered from the study of inscriptions.[44]

The kings and the local officers used to encourage the general public for the excavation and preservation of tanks by according grants like land, money, and exempting them from payment of taxes and thus encouraged the irrigational facilities. This system of management of tank irrigation is termed as *Dasavanda*, which is frequently met with in the inscriptions of both Tamil Nadu and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Andhra Pradesh. In Kannada inscriptions this *Dasavanda* system is referred to as *Kottukodige*. Few epigraphs also refer to this term. There are many explanations offered for the *Dasavanda* system and with regard to tank irrigation system, it may be construed as 1/10 share. This can be elaborated further, as a person carrying out the irrigation directly or engaged as labour was paid 1/10 portion of the produce or its equivalent amount as his labour charges. There are many instances recorded in epigraphs that this ratio got varied and modified from time to time. There are instances[45] of allocation to the tune of 2/10 portions also.

An inscription of the time of Krishnadevaraya, from Bangalore district mentions two terms *Kattuguttie* and *Gaundagodike*. Ketagaunda, when he was the local officer donated grants as *Kattuguttige* and *Gaundagodike* for building the Gopasamudra tank built in the name of Gopanayaka. The donor before donating the grants obtained the due consent of his wife and children, which is noteworthy.[46]

A record dated 1529 CE from Havinahalu in Bellary district states that for the excavation of the tank in the village Dondavati, the residents after getting the due consent of Muddanna Nayaka, gave a perpetual *dasavanda* grant to an individual Malesari, who built the tank and made irrigational arrangements.[47] Such references are found in the inscriptions.

In the management of tanks the bullock carts (*Kerebandi*) played an important and significant role. Epigraphs provide us with significant details about this aspect. In order to maintain the tank in a neat and tidy manner, *Kerebandis* were pressed into service for the transportation of the silt and persons engaged in operating these bullock carts were given donation. The donees, periodically removed silt and other impurities from the tank, and used to protect the sluice from the onslaught of natural twigs and branches of shrubs and trees. It was one of their chief responsibilities to keep the tank free from all these dust and dirts.[48]

The Kellangeri inscription from Hassan district of the time of Bukkaraya I (1367 CE) records that Notada Chandappa donated 10 bullock carts and bullock to the *Mahajans* of the *agrahara*. In spite of this arrangement it was not operable smoothly. The *Mahajanas* provided some additional money for the maintenance of the tank. The money was raised by collecting two *taras* (silver coin) per load of grains and also received some taxes on the betel nut, coconut, betel leaf and fruits that were grown in the region. The amount thus collected through taxes was used for the bullock carts (*Kerebandis*), crowbars, and oil used for the carts.[49]

An inscription belonging to the reign of Krishnadevaraya, dated 1513 CE, mentions that the tank in the village Kadalure, Bangalore district fell into disuse. For its repair and renovation, bullock carts (*kerebandis*) and a village Hosahalli was donated.[50] Similarly, the tanks at Kadalure and Mogehalli of Channapattana taluk were repaired in 1513 CE for which work six *Kerebandis* (carts) were employed.[51] Such system was widely used in the preservation and maintenance of tanks.

Minuguttige is another important mode of maintaining the tank like *kerebandis*. During the Vijayanagara period contract was given for fishing in the tanks. The persons getting the contract were to maintain and protect the tank. An inscription states that Mahamandalesvara Machareddi Ganapatireddiyar got constructed a sluice for the tank at Siyapadi and for its maintenance gave fishing contracts to the fishermen and proceeds of contract amount was collected from them.[52] Another interesting record narrates that in 1466 CE, for de-silting tank at Tennamahadevi, Akkadevi collected certain measure of paddy, *eriminvilaippanam* and *minuguttige* amount[53]. Indiravanam inscription dated 1446 CE records that Timmanayaka collected money from the fishermen for desilting the tank.[54] Many records from Tamil Nadu mention the term *erivilaippanam* and *eriminpasam* and these are names of money obtained after the according fishing contracts of the tanks and the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

same money was utilised for the upkeep and maintenance of tanks. Besides these other kinds of taxes were also levied on tanks and a number of inscriptions do refer to them which are as follows: *eriayam, cherevukunchalu, nirabirada, vibhuti, kanike, jodi, sulavari, rekhai*, etc. In Telugu, Tamil and Kannada inscription these terms are frequently met with. In Tamil Nadu, taxes like *eriayam* and *nirkuli* were leived.[55] An inscription from Hampi, belonging to the reign of Krishnadevaraya, dated 1513 CE, and mentions the term *nirukandaya* levied in the name of the God Virupaksha, the presiding deity of the capital.[56] This is referred to as *kaluve nirina birada*, which may probably refer to the Turta canal that criss-crosses the capital city. It has already been mentioned above, about the illegal collection of taxes by some officers and in such instances, when it came to the notice of higher officials, as a remedial measure they, in most cases diverted such collected amount for the upkeep of tanks.

From the above discussion, it can be gathered from various sources that, both directly and indirectly how the common man or general populace were engaged in the tank building activities, its maintenance and protection during Vijayanagara period. The problem that is being faced in the present day also existed during the medieval period *viz.* Vijayanagara period. The individual and community effort, were put forth during the medieval period to solve the problem and they used to manage the tanks more efficiently. If a careful study and analysis of the ancient and medieval period tank system is undertaken it will certainly no doubt help the present day crisis of shortage of water, especially during lean period of rains. The management of tanks of the ancient period if understood properly by us and incorporated in the policy making of the conservation of tanks by the people's representative and officials we may restore many ancient tanks and give a new lease of life to thousands of tanks in Karnataka.

References

1. Kotraiah, C.T.M, (Author), Dhruvanarayana, M. (Trans), *Vijayanagarada Niravari Vyavasthe*, (Kannada), pp. 2-7; Vasudevan C.S, *Hampi Parisarada Keregalu*, (Kannada), pp. 4-16; Vasudevan C.S, "Vijayanagara kalada Kere niravari nirvahaneyalli janara sahabhagitva – Kela amshagalu", Chandrapujari M., (Ed.), *Samudaya mattu Sahabhagitva*, (Kannada), pp. 50-64.
2. *Ibid.*, pp.7-9
3. *Ep. Ind*, Vol. VIII, pp. 40-49; *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, pp. 259-261.
4. Dhruvanarayana, M. (Trans), *Op. cit*, pp. 9-28.
5. *MAR*, 1929, p. 50.
6. Shastri, K.A.N, *The Colas*, pp. 583-584; *ARSIE*, 1923, p. 123.
7. *Pampabharata*, 14, 56-57; Chidanandamurthy, M., 'Jinavallabha Kurikyala shasana hechchina shodhagalu mattu Vyakhyanagalu', *Hosatu Hosatu*, (Kannada), pp. 97-120; Vasudevan C.S., (Ed.), *Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh*, Intro. p. XL and No. 428 and 429.
8. Vasudevan C.S., *Op. cit.*, p. 1 and *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 267.
9. *Ibid*, pp. 20-21 and Dhruvanarayana, M. (Trans), *Op. cit*, pp. 71-72.
10. *EC* (Old), Vol. XI, No. Dg 67.
11. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, No. 4, pp. 97; Dhruvanarayana, (Tran), pp. 72-73.
12. *ARSIE*, 1935-36, No. 312.
13. *Ibid.*, 1949-50, No. 278.
14. *Ibid.*, 1934-35, No. 351.
15. *EC* (Old), Vol. V, No. Bg 10.
16. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. Kl 37.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

17. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, No. Cp169.
18. *SII*, No. IX, pt.ii, No. 440.
19. *Tirumala Tiurpati Devasthanam Inscriptions.* Vol. I, No. 223.
20. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 11; A Number of inscription do refer to this.
21. *Topographical List*, Vol. I, No. 448.
22. *EC* (Old), Vol. VI, No. 20.
23. *SII*, Vol. XXIV, No. 378.
24. Dhruvanarayana, M, (Trans), *Op. cit*, pp. 142-143.
25. Shastri, K.A.N., *Op. cit*, pp. 583-584.
26. Mahalingam T.V., *Administrative and Social Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, p. 89.
27. *Topographical List*, Vol. III, Pudukottai, No. 380.
28. *EC*, (Old), Vol. VI, No. Kp 19.
29. *Topographical List*, Vol. I, North Arcot, p. 64.
30. *Hyderabad Epigraphical Series*, No. III, No. 34.
31. *ARSIE*, 1909, No. 87.
32. Gopal, B.R., *Vijayanagara Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 751 and *EC* (Old), Vol. XV, No. Ar. 238.
33. *Ibid.*, No. 752 and *Ibid.*, No. 239.
34. *AREp*, 1922, No. 8 and para 49.
35. *SII*, Vol. IX, Pt. ii, No. 528.
36. Rama Rao, *Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh*, Tirupati, No. 157.
37. *EC* (Old), Vol. VI, No. Kp 138.
38. Mahalingam T.V., *Op. cit.*, p. 89.
39. *EC* (Old), Vol. XI, No. Ak 8.
40. *Ibid.*, No. Hr 22.
41. *SII*, Vol. XVI, No. 213.
42. *EC* (Old), Vol. XI, No. Ak 5.
43. *Ibid*, No. Dv 70 and Mahalingam, T.V., *Op. cit*, p. 55.
44. Dhruvanarayana, M. (Trans), *Op. cit*, pp. 153-55
45. *Ibid*, p. 155.
46. *EC* (Old), Vol. IX, No. Cp 169.
47. *SII*, Vol. IX, pt. ii, No. 528.
48. Dhruvanarayana, M. (Trans), *Op. cit*, p. 154-159.
49. *EC* (old), Vol. V, No. Ak 115 and Mahalingam T.V., *Op. cit.*, p. 54.
50. *EC* (old), Vol. IX, No. Cp 156.
51. Mahalingam T.V., *Op. cit*, p. 54.
52. *ARSIE*, 1942-43, No. 164.
53. *Ibid.*, 1933-34, No.47 and Mahalingam T.V., *Administrative and Social life under Vijayanagara*, p. 87.
54. *ARSIE*, 1923, No. B. 424.
55. *Ibid.*, 1934-35, No. 54.
56. *SII*, Vol. IX, pt. ii, No. 493.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Telugu Folklore in the History of Andhra Pradesh

P. Sumabala

The evidence of existence of folk literature in Telugu with distinct cultural values, representing the spontaneous artistic expression of the Telugu people, can be traced back to 11th century. Nanne Choda (11th Century) and Palkuriki Somanatha (13th Century) in their poetical works referred to the different kinds of folk songs and folk art forms prevalent in those days.[1] Telugu folklore can be broadly divided into songs, prose, and drama. Folk songs may again be divided into simple songs and ballads or narrative poems. The ballad songs cover a variety of stories from mythology, religion, epics, puranas, history, legends, fables, and local events. Historical ballads have a major part in the Telugu folklore. The historical stories of Katamaraju Katha, Palnati Yuddham, Bobbili Katha, and Alluri Sitaramaraju, etc. are the most popular of the ballads.

It was C.P. Brown (1798-1884) a civilian in the East India Company who collected for the first time some important Telugu ballads like Palanati Virula Charitra. Kumara Ramuni Katha, Bobbili Katha, etc. besides many songs and Yakshaganas. Later, scholars like Panchagnula Adinarayana Sastri, Veturi Prabhakara Sastri, Dr. Chilikuri Narayana Rao, Akkiraju Umakantham, Suravaram Prataparedi and Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma brought to light the hitherto neglected branch of folklore in general and folk songs and ballads in particular. Akkiraju Umakantam edited and published in 1938 Balachandruni Yuddham, celebrating the glory of battle of Palanadu (12th century). His critical introduction to this work is a powerful plea in defence of folk poetry, folk language and hero cult. The ballad cycle of Palanati Vira Charitra, collected and preserved by C.P. Brown, was edited by Pingali Lakshmikantham and Avasarala Surya Rao (1961). Dr. N. Venkataramanayya (1952) edited Kumararamuni Katha of Kampili singing the gloy of Kumara Rama and his valorous fights against Mohammad Bin Tuglaq in 1327, with a critical introduction. Katamarajukatha a part of the famous historical ballad cycle celebrating the glory of the battle (13th century) fought by the Yadavas on one side and the Nellore Cholas on the other, edited by Veturi Prabhakara Sastri (1953), and Bobbili Katha another historical ballad describing the battle of Bobbili fought in 1757, critically edited by Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma (1956) were published by the Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Dr. Tangirala Venkata Subba Rao compiled and critically edited the ballads in the name of Veeragaathalu is published by Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi (1976).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

One of the noteworthy aspects of the *Veeragadhas* (stories of heroes) is the use of ballad cycles to re-create an extensive canvas revolving around the central character. Ballads about the members in the family of a main hero in a chronological order constitute a ballad cycle. The ballad cycle of the heroes of Palnadu and the ballad cycle of Katamaraju are very popular.

Three specific events – the war of Palnadu that took place between two factions of the Haiheya dynasty in 12th century CE, the battle between the Telugu Chodas of Nellore and the Yadavas that took place circa 12th-13th century CE, and the War of Bobbili in 1757 CE between Gopalakrishna Ranga Rao of Bobbili and Vijayaramaraju of Vijayanagaram, are taken up as examples for purposes of illustration.

Palnati Virula Charitra

Palnadu is the northern region of Guntur district in Andhra Pradesh. This region was ruled by Haiheyas in 12th century. The war of Palnadu that took place between 1178 and 1182 CE is the main theme of *Palnati Vira Charitra*. The ballad narrates the geographical regions and the characters of the story. The dates of the rulers and the battle were not mentioned in the ballad. Based on the inscriptions the dates have been assigned.

It was a battle between two factions of the Haiheyas. They were the descendants of Kartaviryarjuna and were the feudatories of Western Chālukyas of Kalyani. Nalagama was the son of Alugu Bhupati of the Palnati Haiheyas. His stepbrother was Malideva. After the death of Anuguraju (Aluguraju) the Palnadu was divided and ruled by Nalagama with his capital at Gurazala and Malideva with his capital at Macherla.

Nalagama ruled between 1147 and 1162. However, according the ballads he ruled even after 1182. Nagamma, a great statesperson of the times was his adviser and minister. Malideva was supported by his noble minister Brahmanayudu. The differences between Brahma Naidu and Nagamma led to civil war that was fought between 1178 and 1182.

Nalagama's maternal uncle (and father inlaw) was Kulottunga Rajendra Choda II (1161-1181) of Velanadu Choda dynasty. His stepbrother Malideva married a daughter of Somesvara (1165-1177) of the Kalyana branch of Kalachuri dynasty. Somesvara's son was Kommaraju and grandson was Alaraju, about whom we did not get evidence in history.

Brahma Naidu tried to usher in a new era in which caste distinctions would be abolished. Nagamma was against this. According to some ballads it was a rivalry between Saivites (supported by Nagamma) and Vaishnavites (supported by Vaishnavites). Mututal suspicion and rivalry reached climax between the two courts and Nagamma under the pretext of Malideva's defeat in a cock fight, exiled them for seven years from Palnadu.

After seven years, Brahma Naidu sent Alaraja, the son of Kalachuri Kommaraja of Kalyani, (who was also the son in law of Nalagama) to claim Malideva's share. The demand was turned down and Alaraja was poisoned to death under the orders of Nagamma. The enraged Kalyani Kalchuris and Brahma Naidu declared war on Nalagama and his supporters of Velanadu. The fierce battle was fought in Karempudi on the banks of the river Naguleru. The Kaktiyas, Kota Vamsis, Parichedas, and Hoysalas supported Nalagama. Malideva was supported by the Kalyani Kalachuris. Nalagama was Victorious.

Though started as a civil war between two factions of Haiheyas, this war shook the Velanadu kingdom to its foundation. A whole generation of the greatest warriors of Andhra perished. The tragedy hastened the end of Chālukyan rule in Vengi. It exposed their weaknesses and allowed the Hoysalas, Kalachuris, Eastern Gangas, and the Kakatiyas to eventually overturn them. The rule of Haiheyas came to an end and the Kakatiyas occupied this region.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The ballad of Palnadu has the oldest historical ballad cycle. A thorough study of the ballad cycles of Palnati Vira Charitra (about 25 in number)[3] and contemporary inscriptions is required to ascertain the names of the rulers (and their dates) who participated and supported the two parties in this historical battle. This ballad also provides a platform for the study of society, role of women in the political affairs, customs, practices, games, entertainment, religious conflicts, and conflict between different castes.

The authorship of Palnati Viracharitra is attributed to Srinatha (14th century), Mallayya (16th century), Kondayya, and Mudigonda Virabhadrakavi (19th century).

This ballad is sung by the Vira Vidyavantulu of Guntur and Nellore regions, who have an education centre at Karempudi, 35 Kms from Macherla, where the historical battle took place. A *viraotsava* is being celebrated here very year in the temple of Palnati heroes. The historical Chennakesava Swamy temple built by king Brahmanayudu is located here. Weapons used during the Palnadu war have been carefully preserved here. An annual festival to commemorate the memories of the heroes of that war attracts visitors from all over the region.

Katamaraju Kathā

The battle between the Telugu Chodas of Nellore and the Yadava chiefs that took place in 13th century CE is the main theme of *Katamaraju Katha.* The Telugu Chodas claimed descent from the famous Karikala Chola. They ruled over their kingdom consisting of the Nellore, Kadapa, Chittoor, and Chengalput districts with Yikramasimhapura (modem Nellore) as their capital. Chola Bijjana was the first important chief in the Nellore Choda clan. As a feudatory of the Western Chālukya Someswara I (1042-1068) of Kalyani, he took part in the wars of the Chālukyas and Cholas. In recognition of the loyalty and services of his descendants to the Chālukyas of Kalyani, Vikramadiya II (1076-1126) appointed them as rulers of Pakanadu.

During the reign of Nallasiddhi, a dangerous feud broke out between Nallasiddhi and Katamaraju, the Yadav Chief of Erragaddapadu in Kanigiri region. The feud was on the issue of the rights of the two princes to use certain wide meadows as grazing grounds for their flocks of cattle. It is said that as there was a severe famine in his region, Katamaraju took permission from Nallasiddhi to graze his cattle in the pastures of Nellore kingdom and entered into an agreement with him for paying grazing tax (*pullari*). He agreed to give all the male calves born to his cows during his stay in Nellore region. However, he broke the terms of the agreement and grazed his cattle in the pastures as well as in the cornfields around the city of Nellore as he had a tiff with the queen (or courtesan) of Nallasiddhi, Kundamadevi. Enraged at this, she ordered her hunters to destroy the cattle. Katamaraju thought that this was done at the instigation of Nallasiddhi. It led to the fierce engagement of the two sides and the bloody battle was fought at Panchalingala on the banks of Paleru river. Nallasiddhi's forces led by Khadga Tikkana won the cattle, but the leader perished in the battle. Shortly after this disastrous battle, Nallasiddhi also died.

The ballad cycle of Katamaraju is a longest historical ballad cycle. It is longer than that of Palnadu. No research of comprehensive nature has been done on the ballad cycles Katamaraju Katha. Hence, most of the ballads in this cycle are left unknown. According to T.V.Subbarao, who made an extensive research on this work, there are baout 32 long ballads in this cycle.

King Nallasiddhi and Khadga Tikkana are the two historical persons in the ballad-cycle of Katamaraju. It is said that it also contains references to the kings of Orugallu (Kakatiyas of Warangal). According to inscriptions and ballads, this took place during the last days of Kakatiya queen Rudramadevi when Pratapa Rudra was heir apparent. That means it was fought during 1280-1297.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

There is a difference of opinion among historicans of the identity of Nallasiddhi. Some consider him as Manumasiddhi, while according to others he was the son of Manumasiddhi, who ruled Nellore towards the end of 13th century, which, coincides with the rule of Kaktiya prince Pratapa Rudra (1280-1296).

The authorship of this ballad cycle of Katamaraju was attributed to Srinatha, the famous poet of 15th century, though there is no. evidence to support this attribution. In 1952, Veturi Prabhakara Sastry edited the ballad of the battle of Yerragaddapadu written by Gangula Pina Yellayya. It was published by the Madras Govt. Oriental Manuscripts library in 1953 with an introduction by the late Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma. This ballad has been written by several other authors. Most of the ballads connected with this story are with the folk minstrels in the form of palm-leaf manuscripts.

These ballads of Katamaraju are usually sung by Madigas called Kommulavaru and Suddula Gollalu. The Burrakatha players adopted this ballad from these minstrels. Goddess Gaṅgā is the family deity of Yadavas. It is customary to sing the ballads of Katenaraju in the jubilant folk festivals called Gaṅgā Zatara. Bhaktiranna, eldest son of Polaraju who survived the battle ordained the off springs of the Yadavas to immortalize their memory of posterity.[4]

Though it is considered as a mere ballad, it provides an excellent source material for the study of political, social, and economic history of 13th century. The customs, tax terms, sentiments, and traditions appear in this ballad form a base for a thorough research. An extensive study of inscriptions and other historical records will further help to prove the historicity of this ballad.

Bobbili Kathā

Bobbili is a town in Vizianagaram district in Andhra Pradesh. It was the headquarters of the zamindari estate of same name. The War of Bobbili in 1757 AD between Gopalakrishna Ranga Rao of Bobbili and Vijayaramaraju of Vijayanagaram (or Vizianagaram of the district of same name) is the main theme of this ballad. The Velama chief, Gopalakrishna Ranga Rao of Bobbili, was defeated by the troops of Vijayanagaram, supported by Mons. Bussy, the French commander. Later, Vijayaramaraju was killed by Tandra Paparayudu, the brother in law of Ranga Rao. Finally, Venkata Ranga Rao, who was saved by his uncle Vengalara Rao, becomes the Achief of the Bobbili estate. In this ballad, the achievement is attributed to the daringness and valour of one hero, Tandra Papayya.[5]

The autnor of this ballad of Bobbili is a certain Mallesam of the Peddada family. His name mentioned at the end of the story, in the last two lines. His father was Nagesam. It is certain that this work was composed sometimes after 1757, the, date of the battle of Bobbili, most probably in the 19th century.

Bobbilikathā, the ballad on the battle of Bobbili, is very popular in the Andhra country. This is particulary popular in the East and West Godavari and Visakhapatnam districts. It continues to be sung all over the country. The Bobbili singers are a particular class of minstrels whose profession is to sing this ballad. They give performances for a pittance and engage the rapturous attention of the masses. Generally, the performance is given during the night and lasts for nearly three hours.

Telugu ballads in song were and are written generally in popular colloquial style so as to be easily understood by the man in the street, and this is one of the factors which accounts for their immense popularity among the masses. The Bobbili ballad is no exception to this rule. It is colloquial but dignified style. Its popularity can be estimated by the several numbers of folk

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

editions it has run into and by its several revisions. The Bobbili Katha mentions the villages on the road from Hyderabad to Bejavada (Vijayawada), from Bejavada to Eluru, from Eluru to Rajamahendravaram (Rajahmundry), and finally from Rajamahendravaram to Bobbili which are all halting place of rest after a strenuous journey. It also mentions the various local chieftaincies or Zamindaries situate on the way.

Much intersting information about customs, manners, and items of dress of the Velamas and pieces of art, which were in vogue during that period lies scattered through this work. This information will be useful for the reconstruction of our social and economic history of the period.

References

1. Dr. B. Ramaraju, *Glimpses of Telugu Folklore,* Janapada Vijnana Prachuranalu, Hyderabad, 1991.
2. Pingali Lakshmikantham and Avasarala Surya Rao (Ed.), *Palnati Veera Charitra,* Visalandhra Publishers, Vijayawada, 1961.
3. Tangirala Venkata Subba Rao, *Katamaraju Kathalu,* Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi, Hyderabad, 1976.
4. T.V. Subba Rao, *The Ballad cycle of Katamaraju, A Telugu Folk Epic,* Dravidian Folk and Tribal Lore, B. Ramakrishna Reddy (ed), Dravidian University, Kuppam, 2001.
5. M. Somasekhara Sarma (Ed.), *Bobbilikathā,* Govet, Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, 1956.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

58

Interface Between India and South-East Asia

Amar Nath Khanna

India's contact with Funan which included Cambodia, Cochin-China and southern Siam started in the first century of the Christian era or even earlier. On seeing in Cambodia the stone temples and marvels of sculpture and decoration which for combined extent, magnitude and splendour remain unmatched and unequalled even in the mother country, *i.e.*, the Indian sub-contient, and dwarf the wonders of Egypt, Greece and Rome. Rabindranath Tagore said at Saigon on 21st June, 1929:

"I can see across centuries and a vision comes to me of a life which has left its signature in this land. That age is silent today among the torn leaves of records difficult to decipher; it is like a gem that Time has stolen away; only the casket of it lies in magnificent ruins. The heart of India once throbbed under the sunny skies of these shores and dreamed its dreams in beauty and scattered its thoughts for a rich harvest of culture in an alien land."

The use of permanent mterials for temples, etc. in Java (Indonesia) began in about the 5th century CE. There were three phases of the evolution of classic Indonesian architecture: (i) 600-900 CE (ii) 900-1250 CE and (iii) 1250-1450 CE Several buildings of the classic period, mostly concentrated in Java, are considered to be an invaluable part of the world's cultural heritage, which binds human beings at a sensitive level.

In about 775 CE, Mahāyān Buddhist *stupa* of Borobudur, the largest Buddhist monument in the world, was laid out in the midst of the lush Kedu Plain of central Java at the confluence of the Progo and the Elo and this site was probably selected in memory of the confluence of the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā and the subterranean Saraswati at Prayagraj (Allahabad) in India. It is situated 40 km north-west of Yogya and attracts over a million pilgrims and tourists annually. As a classical *stupa*, it is both a *meru* (mountain) inhabited by the gods and a replica of the three divisions of the Mahāyana Buddhist universe: *khamdhatu, rupadhatu* and *arupadhatu*. Borobudur was erected by a family of great builder kings known as Sailendras, Lords of the Mountains.

About 50 km away at Prambanan, there is an outstanding example of Hindu art, the great Candi (temple) Lara Jonggrang of 8th century CE. It is 16 km east north-east of Yogyakarta. In the central courtyard of the temple-complex, there are three main temples dedicated to Śiva in the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

centre, Visnu to the north and Brahma to the south. Facing these temples are three sanctuaries – Nandi, Śiva's mount in the central shrine while the sculptures of Garuda and Hamsa, vehicles respectively of Vishnu and Brahmā, are missing. Lord Śiva's consort, Durgā, is on his left in the north cella and it figures in the local legend of an unwanted suitor on whom a trick was played upon by the maiden to get rid of him, that gave the courtyard complex the name Lara Jonggrang meaning Slender Maiden. The goddess has eight arms and is in the process of killing the buffalo demon (*Mahiśāsura*).

Dr. Raghuvira writes: Not very far from Borobudur is the complex Prambanan, the like of which is known neither to India nor to any other neighbouring country or distant land. ... Here are the life cycles of Lord Krishna known as Krishnayana parallel to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the powerful dragon being torn asunder by the superb arms of the Divine Krishna. In another place is the scene of Kumbhakarna being awakened by conches and screeches of elephants, a portrayal of the highest order. Scenes from the Javanised version of the Ramayana are depicted in reliefs in the Prambanan temples. Once there were about 250 temples in this complex. It suffered an earthquake measuring 5.9 on the Richter scale on 27th May, 2006, and the Archaeological Survey of India has been cooperating with the Government of Indonesia for conserving this World Heritage Site.

Indian traders and priests had started settling in Sumatra and Java from the first century CE. The island of Bali possesses the unique distinction of being the only colony of the ancient Indians which still retains its old culture and civilization. Hinduism was integrated with Buddhism and Śiva and the Buddha were described as brothers! In 1960s, the earthquake caused the loss of 2,500 temples but there are still extant more than 4,500 large and important temples on this island.

In Myanmar, the pagodas of Sri Ksetra, Bagan, Mandalay and Yangon inspire the followers of Buddhism. In Thailand (known as Siam or Shyam till the 12th century), Hindu and Buddhist remains of Dvaravati may be seen. Wat Mahathat, 1.5 km out of Chaiya, is one of the most revered temples of the coutnry white Wat Phra Sri Mahathat temple, Phitsanulok, is one of the most beautiful temples. Ayutthaya is to Thailand what Taj Mahal, Agra, and the Great Śiva Temple, Tanjore, are to India, Borobudur and Prambanan to Indonesia and Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom to Cambodia. Ayutthaya was the second capital city established in 1350 CE after Sukhothai and before Bangkok. It was here that Thai architecture really developed. The European visitors were greatly impressed by its beauty and splendour. A Frenchman, Abbe de Choisy, wrote home about Ayutthaya:

> "I stood ... in admiration of the strong great city, seated upon an island round which flowed river three times the size of the Seine. There rode ships from France, Britain, Holland, China and Japan, while innumerable boats and gilded barges rowed by 60 men plied to and fro ... I do not know whether I have conveyed to you the impression of a beautiful view, but certainly, I myself have never seen a lovelier."

Emperor Asoka, the Great, sent missionaries of Theravada from India to this country in the 3rd century BCE and they had preached Buddhism in the kingdom of Suvarnabhumi near the present-day provincial capital of Nakhom Pathom. The shrine of the Emerald Buddha in the royal Palace, Bangkok, was probably the most important statue of the whole of the country. In chiang Mai, the Emerald Buddha was housed in the Wat Chedi Luang until 1552 CE when Laotian invaders took the image back to Luang Prabang. In 1564 CE, the statue was moved again, this time to Vientiane (Laos) where it stayed for 214 years until General Chakri (later king Rama I) brought it back to the capital at Thonburi in 1778 CE. In 1784 when he moved the capital across the river Chao Phraya to Bangkok, Rama I installed the invaluable image in its present shrine in the Royal Palace. The Reclining Buddha in the large building is 140 ft. in length and about 47 ft. high and is covered with a thick leaf of gold.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Bangkok is the Venice of the East and the visitor must go about by boats to enjoy the atomsphere and cool breeze though all other modes of transport are also how available.

The first Royal Śivaliṅga in South-east Asia was established at Mi-son near Da Nang (Vietnam) and the oldest Sanskrit inscription too was found in a village Vo Canh near Nha Trang in the southern part of Vietnam. The ancient kingdom of Champa extended all the way from Phong Nha in north-central Vietnam to Vung Tau in the south of the country. This kingdom incorporated the five provinces of Indrapura, Amaravati, Vijaya, Kauthara and Panduranga. At Indrapura (now known as Dong Duong), 60 km from Da Nang, the Hindu and Buddhist monuments bear inscriptions about a line of nine kings and their achievements. The second century CE bronze Dong Duong Buddha which is now in the collection of the National Museum, Ho Chi Minh city, was also discovered here. A large Buddhist monastery and a number of shrines are located in this city.

In Malaysia, Tunku Jiwa (a member of the Kedah Ruling House) has traced back his ancestry to *Pry Ong Mahawangsa* the last of the Hindu kings who was the first Kedah ruler to convert to Islam and adopt the Muslim title Sultan. In Bujang Valley, Quaritch Wales has excavated the sites of 21 stone temples and shrines dating from the 5th to the 12th centuries. The settlement has the Sanskrit name of Kadaha and the Pallava name of Kadaram. Pallava traders from India's Coromandel coast had begun to explore the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal in search of spices, sandalwood, ivory, gold and tin. The language was a colloquial form of Sanskrit with a local Pallava alphabet. The proper Pallava alphabet was used in inscriptions.

At Bujang, a huge granite relic of Kali was unearthed in the mosque grounds and it is now on display in the grounds of the Kedah Museum in Alor Setar. Bachchan Kumar has written recently that over 500 images of Durga *Mahishasuramardini* have been discovered in Indonesia.

These are some of the interesting glimpses of the interface between India and South-east Asia,[1] which was known as Greater India or Further India till the II World War.

Reference

1 The matter has been taken from my book *Hindu and Buddhist Monuments & Remains in South-East Asia,* Aryan Books International, Delhi, 2008.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

59

Ayōdhyā in Inscriptions

R. Jayashree

Ayōdhyā is one of the seven sacred cities in India and ha been associated with Rāma, a scion of Ikshvaku race. There are a few well-dated references to the temples and endowments for Rāma, the Lord of Ayodhyā. These inscriptional records that are found in the temples of South India also reflect the high esteem and admiration that the city was held in by the common people and devotees.

In Tamil Nadu it is interesting to note that in most of the earliest references (especially Choḷa), recording donations, Rāma is described as the Lord of Ayodhyā indicating the familiarity of the people with the city of Ayodhyā. The inscriptions are helpful in tracing the popularity of prevailing beliefs throughout ancient India. The paper deals with the study of inscriptional evidence on Ayodhyā, mainly from the Chola period.

1. The earliest inscription referring to Rāma as *Tiruvayodhipperuman* (the Lord of Ayodhyā) is found on the south wall of the Kodandarama shrine in Kadaperi. This is believed to date back to the first decade of Parantaka Chola's reign, possibly 915 CE. This records a gift of land by the King Parantaka to the shrine of the Lord of Ayodhyā as *Tiru-Udaiyattam*, in Madurantaka Chaturvedi Mangalam. The Mahasabha of the village ordered the recording of the grant.

2. Another inscription datable to within a decade of the first is the inscription of the Chola King, Parāntaka I, issued in his 14th regnal year corresponding to 921-922 CE.[2] Inscribed on the south wall of the Vaikunta Perumal temple in Uttaramerur, this records a sale of land located on *Pungodi Pundi*, the western hamlet of Uttaramallur Chaturvedi mangalam. The land was sold by Kuruvasiri Uluda Kumara Peruman of Govindacheri to the temple of *Tiruvayoddhiya Perumanadigal* at Uttaramerur Chaturvedi mangalam.

The evidence also records the subsequent remittance of all taxes on the land by the Mahasabha of the village after receiving the *Purvacharam*.

3. In the Kamakshi Amman shrine in the Kailasanatha temple, Gorittoppu, Pullalur, (Kanchipuram dt) an inscription recorded in 941 CE[3], mentions a gift often *Kalanju* for burning a perpetual lamp to Sri Raghava, seated in the temple of Tiruvayyodhi in Pulvelur in Eyirkottam. The donor was Queen Cheyyabhuvana Sundaramaniyar.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

4. On the walls of the Vishnu temple, a damaged inscription of Partivendravarman of 956 AD seems to record a gift of six *Kalanju* of gold for the purpose of burning lamps in the temple of Tiruvayodhi Perumal and Tandalattu Perumaliv.[4]

5. This inscription is recorded on the north wall of the Vaikunta Perumal temple at Tiruvandavar in the year 967-968 AD.[5] This record registers the grant of land to provide for Sribali service, archana bhogam and other services to the deity of the Tiruvayoddhi Perumandigal temple by Villavan Mahadeviyar, the wife of Partivendrapativarman. This inscription also mentions the remittance of taxes on these lands by the Perunkuri sabhā of Uttaramerur Chaturvedi mangalam.

6. The Ammangudi records of Rajaraja I (dated to 992-993 CE) mention the reconstruction of a shrine under the name of Tiruvayotti dedicated to Ramadeva Perumal and the construction of the image of the deity by the Ganaperumakkal.[6]

7. An inscription of Rajendra I inscribed in his 25th regnal year and datable to 1037 CE is found on a slab of a ceiling in the Adikesava Perumal temple at Vadamadurai in the Tiruvallur taluk[7]. Commencing with the historical introduction of Tirumannivalara, this inscription registers a gift of fifty Kuli of garden land rendered tax free in Jeyyamkondachola Chturvedi mangalam. The gift was made by Padagattulauda Vamanakramavittan. This was to be Sridana for the Goddess Nambirattiyar (Sitā) on the occasion of her consecration and, marriage with Tiruvayyodhi Chakravarti (Rāma).

8. A mention of the temple of Tiru-Ayotti Alvar is made on an inscription on the north wall of the *Mandapa* in front of the central shrine in the Chandramouloshwara temple in Brahmadesam, Cheyyar Taluk. This inscription is also from the reign of Rajendra Chola and is dated to 1050 CE.[8]

9. A gift of lands rendered free from taxation known as *Bharatvritti* was made by the Village assembly during the reign of the Chola King Rajendra II for the purpose of exposition of *Bhāratam*, Rāmayāṇa, and Purāṇas in the temple of Tiruvayyodh[9]. This was recorded on stones built into the walls of the Kamakshi Amman shrine in the Kailasnatha temple in 1061 CE.

10. On the south wall of the Kodanda Perumal temple at Kadapperi, an inscription dated 1125 CE, during the reign of Vikrama Chola, records that four *padagam* of temple land had been brought under cultivation for providing offerings to the God Tiru-Ayoddhiperumal by a lady in Madurantaka Chaturvedimangalam, an independent village of Kallaturkottam in Jayamkonda Chaturvedimangalam.[10]

11. Another inscription (1127 CE) belonging to the reign of Vikrama Chola registers the gift of four *kasus* by a Brahmin lady, Perianangaichani.[11] It is found inscribed on the north wall of the central shrine in the Kodandaraman temple at Kadapperi. The interest of the gift was to be spent on the expenses incurred for the worship and offerings to the deity and for the processions of Tiruvayoddhi Perumal.

12. On the west wall of the same temple, another inscription registers the gift of a garden In Sri Parakesarichchari in Madurantaka Chaturvedimangalam[12] by Guntur Sarvadevabhattan-a member of the *aalunganam* of Madurantaka Chaturvedimangalam. The gift was to finance the lighting of a perpetual lamp and an evening lamp to the deity Tiruvayoddhi Karunakkarapperrumal. This record was inscribed in the year 1136 CE.

13. A temple of Srimadvarapati Alwar Tiruvayoddhi Vinnagar is mentioned in a record found on the north wall of the *Mandapa* of the central shrine in a Perumal temple[13].

14. A Tamil inscription on a pillar set up close to the east wall of the record room in the Kalajastiswara temple mentions that a chief called Valliarasar, who styled himself as Lord of Ayodhyāpura.[14]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A few Telugu inscriptions very near the Tamil country also mention Ayodhyā. But these mainly refer to local chieftains bearing the title "Lord of Ayodhyā". One such record confers the right of management of a temple of Stalasayana Perumal to a person bearing two titles similar to those of Rama-Ayodhyapuravadishwara and Ikshvakuvamsodhbhava.[15] An inscription of Hallavarasa, a feudatory of Vikramāditya mentions Ayodhyā-Simhasana.

In the earlier records, the inscription mentions only the deity as the Lord of Ayodhyā. Shrines of Rāma are described as the temple/shrine of the Lord of Ayodhyā. Most of the inscriptions record the donations made to the deity and to the temples.

References

1. *Annual Report on Epigraphy (A.R).* no 126 of 1896.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 297 of *SII (South Indian Inscriptions)* volume 6.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 46 of 1923.
4. *Ibid.*, No. 52 of 1923.
5. *Ibid.*, No. 193 of *SII Volume* 3.
6. *Ibid.*, No. 297 of *SII volume* I.
7. *Ibid.*, No. 262 of 1952-53.
8. *Ibid.*, No. 263 of 1915.
9. *Ibid.*, No. 48 of 1923.
10. *Ibid.*, No. 391 of 1922.
11. *Ibid.*, No. *A79* of *SII Volume* 5.
12. *Ibid.*, No. A77-of *SII Volume* 7.
13. *Ibid.*, No. 541 of 1926.
14. *Ibid.*, No. 174 of 1903.
15. *Ibid.*, No. 507 of 1906.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

60

Reflections on Indian Cultural Motifs in Vietnam

P. Shanmugam

Indian influences in South-east Asia generally dates back to the early centuries of Christian era. The recent archaeological discoveries suggest an earlier time line for the establishment of Indian contact in the countries of South-east Asia. Indian merchants moved to several South-east Asian destinations probably many centuries prior to the beginning of the Christian era. The Megalith folk seem to have established the first contact with the people of South-east Asia and the maritime trade relationship led to the establishment of mercantile settlements at different locations. The cross cultural exchanges influenced the local technology, script and also in the styles of art and architecture.

In the art history of South-east Asia the imprint of various regional styles of Indian art could well be recognized. The influence of Sunga-Kushana-Gupta and Pala art forms are well known through the medium of Buddhism and Hinduism. The regions of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu in South India have contributed to the artistic development in architecture, sculpture and iconography which remain largely unexplored. Similarly, the regions of eastern and Central India have carved their own regional identities in the sculptural art forms from the beginning of the Christian era. The spread and assimilation of influences were the results of a prolonged cultural and mercantile interaction effected between the two regions. At times the political powers have also helped in the exchange of religious and cultural ideas. Stylistically, the temples in Southeast Asia followed the Indian plan and conception while some temples have features of South Indian forms, especially the pyramidal arrangement of the gopuras. But the use of *amalakas* at finials on the tiers and at the pinnacle would show the adoption of other regional styles from India. Dvarapalakas and the decorated *lalatabhimbas* are found at the entrances. As in the South Indian temples niches are provided on the side walls of the garbhagriha for the installation of subsidiary deities, though the distribution of these deities differs considerably from the South Indian conception. The concept of Meru or mountain was another aspect that has been faithfully adopted.

Vietnam had close links with China and India from the early centuries of Christian era and its culture was greatly influenced by the ideals of both the countries. The northern part of Vietnam was

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

influenced by Chinese ideals owing to its close proximity and early occupation of China. However, the central and southern parts of Vietnam had very much influenced by the cultures of Southeast Asia and India. In this context, the central Vietnam has been considered as the meeting point of two great cultures of the East and South Asia. In about the first century CE the Punan state emerged in the southern parts of Vietnam. According to Chinese legends, the local Naga princess married a foreigner, named Kaundinya and became the king over her domain[1]. During this period both Hinduism and Buddhism were accepted as court religions and became popular cults among the population.

The spread of Indian culture and its influence in the art of Vietnam could be noticed in the various sculptures of central and southern Vietnam. Some of the temples were in ruins and others were unearthed and identified from the several excavations. Hindu icons of Śaiva and Vaishnava pantheons are found and some of them are displayed in the several museums in Vietnam. The Hindu religious cults influenced the life of Vietnam and two religious centers became significant. The one Was My Son, situated in the north (Quang Nam province) and the other Po Nagar situated in though (Khan Hoa province). The temple at Mi Son was dedicated to Bhadresvara, a form of Śiva and Po Nagar belonged to the Goddess Bhagavathi, the consort of Śiva. The Śiva temple at My Son was built by Bhadravarman during his rule between 380 and 413 CE., and is considered as the oldest Hindu temple in Vietnam. In one of the shrines of the My Son, an anthropomorphic image of Śiva was installed. There are several Hindu temples constructed during the 6th-8th centuries CE., and the building activity continued in this region till the end of the 13th century AD. These sculptures were produced in the Khmer style but the themes are Indian. The southern Vietnam, comprising mostly the Mekong delta has a few significant temples dedicated to Hindu and Buddhist pantheons. The temple situated on top of a hillock at Vangthe was of Buddhist association but believed to be originally a Hindu temple. The temples in ruins at Go Roc Chanh, Binh Ta and Luu Cuu are noteworthy.

A few inscriptions in Sanskrit represent the influence of Hindu icons and cults. An inscription from the Buddhist temple at Vangthe hill at Oc-Eo, in the Mekong delta and dated to 6th-7th century CE., records the construction of a brick temple on top of the hill by Krishna for the god Vardhamana (Viṣṇu) and for the merit of King Adityadeva[2] Siva is described as dancing Bhairava with one thousand arms and the greatness of the mountains Himālaya and Meru are told. The greatness of 'Om', the sacred syllable is expounded. As in the Indian inscriptions, the inscription ends with an imprecatory verse. In another inscription from Ho Chi Ming City Musuem, Hara, who is also called Viresvara, is described as dispeller of darkeness. This inscription is dated in the Śaka era 561 (= 639 CE) and records the grant for the establishment ofan alms house.[3]

Śaiva motifs are numerous and were discovered at different places. It seems the *liṅga* worship was introduced some time in the beginning centuries of the Christian era and continued till the end of the 10th century CE. *Liṅgas* of various sizes are found. There are a few *spatika* (crystal) lingas with square and circular *yonipitas*. They were collected mostly from excavations from temple sites. Since they are smaller in size, they could have served as *ishtalingas* to be Kept in *pūjā* rooms of houses for private worship. When there is a need, these small sized *liṅgas* could be carried by devotees to their destinations and could perform worship without any interruption. Some of these *ishtaliṅgas* seem to have been made of gold. One such liṅga of gold with a square copper *yonipita* was found from an excavation from V ong Che.

Stone liṅgas were numerous and are found at different places. Some of them have a square *yonipita* and the others have a circular one. The *liṅgas* with a circular *yonipita* could represent the Pallava or South Indian model. The other form of *liṅga, i.e. liṅgas* with a square *yoni* may represent

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the acceptance of north Indian idiom. These *Liṅgas* with *yonipitas* were discovered at Luu Cuu (Tra Cu province), Nen Chura and other places. Some of the *liṅgas* exhibited in the Ho Chi Ming City Museum, are with a square base, an octagonal middle section and a circular top. A small human figure is found on the face of the liṅga and could be compared to Mukhaliṅga form. One small *liṅga* with a height about 39 cms and collected from Rach Nui (Long An province) exhibits the mastery of craftsman in carving the lings. It is of sandstone and could be dated to the 7th century CE. It is a well carved piece with a broken *yonipita.* The shaft of *liṅga* is well polisheq. Looking at the number of *lingas* and *yonipitas* one may suggest that there were good concentration of temples dedicated to Śiva, where the *liṅga* formed the primary object of worship.

Images of Ganesa were found represented in the Southern Vietnam. The earliest images of Ganesa are dated to the 6th century and are available up to the end of the l0th century. One image of Ganesa from Long An and dated to 600 CE show the South Indian influence. The standing image of Ganesa from Ho Chi Ming City Museum with a *karanda makuta* represents the South Indian style of the 8th-9th century CE. The four armed image of standing Ganesa with outstretched ears was another Indian motif carved by the Vietnamese sculptors. The body of Ganesa is carved without any flexion. Part of his legs and two front hands were broken.

Among the female deities, the Durgā in the form of Mahiṣāsuramardinī is represented both in stone and bronze. One of the stone figures of Durgā is from the Ho Chi Ming City Museum. Durgā stands on a simple flat pedestal on which is carved the head of a buffalo with long and outstretched horns. She has four arms, the attributes held in the upper two arms are not clear. The right hand holds an object looking like a small indistinct dagger (?) like object. Her left hand holds a circular and flat object looking like a shield (?). These objects were not modeled with care and therefore they could be identified as a conch and discus. Her lower hands are shown as if holding something but attributes are not displayed. However it could be surmised that in both her hands she hold dandas or staffs as found in other images of Durga. She is wearing a lower garment in the Thai fashion which is decorated with wavy lines. The square crown, worn by her is devoid of any ornamentation.

One excellent bronze image of Durgā in the South Indian style was collected from a burial at Vinh Binh (Nenchura), situated about 80 kms. away from Oc Eo, an ancient port of the Mekong delta. She wears a tall *kirita makuta* and stands on a pedestal carved with head of a buffalo. As in the other images of Durgā she has four hands and in the upper hands hold a *sanka* and *cakra* and in her lower hands hold *danda* (staff). The *danda* in one of her lower arms is depicted as a long club or a *gadā.* Her lower garment is arranged with neat folds. These images seem to have been installed in shrines dedicated to Durgā and worshipped.

The images of Viṣṇu are dated from the 6th century to the 8th century CE. There are severail images of standing Viṣṇu on display in the Ho Chi Ming City Museum. One of those images is well modeled with six arms and a *h-ita makuta.* Viṣṇu is shown holding a *sankha* and *cakra* is his lower arms The upper arms are broken. The dress is artistically shown with decorative folds and the garment on both sides is hanging down. This fine piece, datable to the 6th-7th century CE and the squarish face and the standing posture recall the Pallava idiom. Another image of Viṣṇu is from Go Xai (Long An Province) with similar Pallava features. It is in standing posture, wearing a square *makuta* with the upper hands holding *sankha* and *cakra,* the lower hands rest on *gada.* Another notable one was a four armed bronze image of Viṣṇu with *sanka* and *cakra.* The 13th century Viṣṇu image from Daitam (Hau Giang at Can Tho) is of stone with four arms, the upper two hands hold *cakra* in the *prayoga* form and the *sankha.* One of the lower hands is in *abhaya* and the attributes in the other hand is indistinct. The pedestal has a Sanskrit inscription reading *narayadeva* and on

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

paleographical consideration could be dated to the 13th century. The crown is triangle shaped and tied to a circular band at the bottom suggesting the Khmer style.

Garuda, the mount of Viṣṇu is also represented in several sculptures. Among the forms of Garuda, two pieces from the Ho Chi Ming city Museum are outstanding. In one, the Garuda standing on its legs with outstretched wings holding the serpent in one of its claws. It is well decorated with ornaments. It could have served as a pedestal for Viṣṇu. Another image of Garuda from the Historical Museum at Ho Chi Ming city has been modeled in the form of a *kudu* arch. The bird Garuda with outstretched wings is depicted in the human form with smoothly delineated facial features and prominent beak. The ornately carved and decorated head dress suggests the high skill attained by the artist of this region. It is well decorated with ear ornaments and neck ornaments. A five hooded nāga is sculptures above Garuda.

One female figure of sandstone identified as Devi is of beautiful workmanship. It has been dated to the 9th century and collected from Huong Que (Da Nang province). It is now in the Ho Chi Ming City Museum. Both the hands are broken and the portion below the waist is lost. It has an oval face with a long and well decorated headdress.

The Brahma(?) image discovered 3 kms. from Luu Cuu is with a *karanda makuta*. His left hand as well as the lower right hands are broken. The image could be dated to the 8th century. The Surya image with a square *makuta* holding flowers in his hands, from the Ho Chi Ming museum and dated to the 8th-9th century CE, had features identical to Pallava idiom. Another figure of seated Agastya from the same museum also represents Pallava features. The Indra seated on his *vahana*, elephant, was another Hindu deity depicted in Vietnam. It could be dated to the 10th century CE.

Images of Surya are also found in the Ho Chi Ming City Museum. In one of the images, Sūrya is depicted with a thick coat hanging up to his knees but part of his legs and hands are broken. He wears a tall *makuta*, which is devoid of decoration. He wears ear ornaments and neck ornaments and holding flowers in his two hands. A 10th century image of Indra riding on an elephant was another interesting motif adopted by the sculptors in Vietnam. The other images found at Vietnam are the images of Harihara, and Lakshmi. Many of the decorative motifs like *yali* friezes, kudu arches and foliages sug[illegible]st the decorative spirit of the artists. Many of these art forms are favoured and indicate the adaptation of them from the Indian repertory.

There are several Hindu deities inscribed on the gold leaves found in different places. These thin leaves are of various sizes and shapes. Some are square, rectangular and circular. They measure about 2.5 cm in width. There are a few longer ones measuring more than 5 cms in length. Since they are very thin some of them have tom and distorted. On these leaves the figure of gods and goddesses were drawn. They contain the names of divinities in Sanskrit of the 7th-8th centuries CE. Some of the gold leaves show Buddhist association. These leaves were mostly collected from excavated sites. More than 900 such gold plaques were so far noticed from the several excavations. These gold leaves with pictures of Hindu divinities were placed inside a small cellar beneath the *garbhagriha* of the temple complex. The purpose of the putting these objects is not clear but could be understood as an object of worship at the time of foundation of the temple concerned. Some of these leaves coukl have been deposited by devotees as votive offerings.

In the southern Vietnam sites like Go Thap (also known as Prasat Pream Loven, Thap Muio district) in Dong Thop Province, Da Noi (Thoai, Son district) in the An Giang Province, Cat Tien (Cat Tien district) in Lam Dong Province have yielded these gold leaves. Among the images drawn on gold leaves are found numerous deities of the Hindu pantheon. Some of them could be identified and many remain to be identified.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Among the images Śiva in represented in a few forms. Śiva's phallic form is represented in Go Thap. Very few forms of *Śiva liṅga* were found represented on these leaves. Sculptures of Śiva linga are found in the temple deposits found from Cat Tien also. They could be dated to about 8 A.D. In one image is represented a figure having 5 heads, 6 arms and 6 legs. He could be identifies as Siva in the form of Mahesvara. Some of the leaves portray the symbols and emblems of Śiva. The *trisula* with battle axe is found on some leaves. Among the other deities of Saivaite pantheon, the image of Ganesa comes from Cat Tien. He is seated with his left hand holding some indistinct object. Kartikeya or Subrahmanya image is represented as seated on his mount peacock. His left hand is resting on his hip and holding a *danda.* Other details are not visible clearly. Siva's vehicle, the bull (*vrishaba*), *Vrishabha dvaja* (the bull bannered god, Śiva), Vajra (Indra's thunderbolt), Trisula (Śiva's Trident) are also found on the leaves.

Images of Viṣṇu with his vehicle and emblems are represented on these leaves. Viṣṇu images are found in places like Go Thap, Danoi and Cat Tien. From Go Thap comes one image of standing Viṣṇu with 4 hands. The upper right hand holds a conch, the upper left a wheel, the lower hands hold *danda*/staff P). He has a *kirita makuta* and round ear rings. Viṣṇu's *Varaha,* Garuda is represented in his human form with wide stretched wings. Another piece also has the image of four handed Viṣṇu riding on Garuda. A two handed Viṣṇu image was noticed from Cat Tien site. The emblems are not clear but could be identified as disc and conch in the right and left hands respectively. Viṣṇu's incarnations of Mastya, Varāha and Kūrma are most frequently found on these leaves. Among the goddesses, images of Lakshmī are frequently met with. At Can Tien her human form is represented. She is depicted with holding lotus buds in hands, wearing pointed hat, long and broad garment. She wears earrings, necklace. She is represented in one image seated in padmasana holding in his two hands two buds.

Images of Brahmā could be identified from these gold leaves. One image of seated Brahmā on a lotus pedestal holding lotus buds in his left hand and a rosary of beads *(akshamala)* in his right hand. He wears a makuta. His three faces are visible. In another piece the god is riding on a swan (*hamsa*). Sūrya is depicted on these plaques also. From Cat Tien an image of Sūrya riding on his chariot, holding lotus buds in his hands. He wears a type of *karanda makuta* and round ear rings. The wheeled chariot is represented as two small circles on his sides. A horse pulling the chariot is visible suggesting that the carrot was that of Sūrya. The other deities represented are Kubera. He is represented as seated with a big belly. His other attributes are not visible.

Images of Dikpālas are found deposited in some places. In one of the leaves, Agni is depicted as riding on a goat. The images of Dikpālas with their names inscribed have been found in the excavations at Cat Tien. The names of the Dikpālas are written on the plaques in the South Indian Style. The following names representing the eight directions are found on the gold leaves: l. Vaisravan (Kubera) (North), 2. Isana (North-east), 3. Indra (East), 4. Agni (Southeast), 5. Yama (South), 6. Nairṛti (South-west), 7. Varuna (West), and 8. Vayu (North-west). The centre part of the *mandala* of *dikpāla* was occupied by two pieces with the names Brahma and Vedi with the following figures. Tortoise, snake and bull.

The *navagrahas* are also represented on these gold leaves. In the museums at Long Xien the embossed figures of navagrahas with their names .written adjacent to them were on display. They were collected from the excavations. The labels could be dated to 6th-7th century CE, in late south Indian characters. The writing on them could be read as follows: Āditya (sun), Chandrahasa (moon), Angara (mars), Budha (Buddha, Mercury), Brihaspati (Jupiter), Sukra (venus), Sanisvara (Saturn), account for the *Navagrihas.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Indian characters. The writing on them could be read as follows: Āditya (sun), Chandrahasa (moon), Angara (mars), Budha (Buddha, Mercury), Brihaspati (Jupiter), Sukra (venus), Sanisvara (Saturn), account for the *Navagrihas*.

References

1. Kenneth R. Hall, *Maritime Trade and State Development in early Southeast Asia*, Honolulu, 1985, p. 49.
2. K.V. Ramesh, "Reconsidering Cultural Intercourse between India and Southeast Asia: An Epigraphical Report" in Noboru Karashima, cd. *Ancient and Medieval Commercial Activities in the Indian Ocean: Teslimony of Inscriptions and Ceramic-sherds*. Taisho University, 2002, pp. 148-49.
3. K.V. Ramesh, "Text and Translation of Indian Inscriptions in Southeast Asia" in Noboru Karashima, ed. *Ancient and Medieval Commercial Activities in the Indian Ocean: Testimony of Inscriptions and Ceramic-sherds*, Taisho University, 2002, pp. 209-211.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

61

Disintegration of Matrinliny and its impact on Kerala Society

T.P. Sankarankutty Nair

One of the outstanding facts about 19th century British society was its provinciality. This characteristic is applicable to India and in particular to Kerala long before the English people realised its merits and demerits. Education in the most general sense, was indeed one of the greatest achievements of provincial culture. Many of the outstanding intellectual and scientific contributions came out of the activities of the societies and institutions.[1] This is the background for the genesis, growth and disintegration of the matrilineal system practiced in Kerala at least from the 12th century CE.[2] The patrilineal system or *Makkathayam* was practiced in almost all parts of India. The matrilineal system in Tulunad became a reality only after 1444 CE.[3] It is interesting to note that more and more people in Tulunad adopt today matriliny after abandoning patriliny.

The most important characteristic feature of the matrilineal system was the authority of the women in society. Only few countries in the world could boast of such a high women status in the main stream of life. In many places they were subjugated and they seldom come out of the house. It is all a man show rather than a woman prominence. In the south western tip of the Indian subcontinent the woman status and influence proved to be tremendous for 800 years (1150-1950). This was because of *Marumakkathayam*. In this system descent and succession to property was traced through female line. The mother formed the central figure of descent, kinship and inheritance. *Marumakkathayam* involved a system in which inheritance was through sister's children as against sons and daughters. Quite often husbands are honoured visitors and word of the uncle or *karanava* proved the ultimate.[4]

Elamkulam traced the antiquity of matrilineal system in Kerala to the Chera-Chola war, the so called hundred years war (962-1102). Since this war is proved a-myth rather than a real one, other reasons had been pinpointed to the genesis of this system.[5] One thing is certain. Untill the 12th century or so all kingdoms of the far south – Chera, Chola, Pandya – followed only the patrilineal system or *Makkathayam*.[6] What special conditions in the 12th or 13th century compelled the conversion from the patriliny to the matriliny is to be probed at length and in depth. Polyandrous

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and polygamous life led to this transition is only a strong justification based on scientific clues. Why did the Malayalees alone adopt *Marumakkathayam* in the late 12th or early 13th century?

The disintegration of the second Chera kingdom (800-1124) in the 12th century resulted in the absence of a centralized power all over Kerala.[7] In the vacancy of the strong king emerged many Nambudiris as Jenmies or landlords. They in the absence of strong monarchies as in Europe usurped maximum socio-political power. Their knowledge of *Sastras* as well as in the martial arts and their mastery of the secret arts by which the Gods could be won over were objects of veneration and awe for all people. The *Naduvazhis* were all henchmen of these Namboodiri Brahmins and their only desire was to get passports to Heaven.[8] Land had mostly passed into the ownership of the Namboodiris who leased out it to cultivating tenants. The Jenmi-Namboodiri stipulated a rent of 1/3 or 1/4 of the produce as his share.

The non-jenmi, non-Brahmin tenants developed a social structure to appease the Namboodiris by hook or crook including through *Sambandham*. The pleasure of the Namboodiri Jenmi, decided the fate of everything. Therefore, the appeasement of the Namboodiri also resulted in the growth of the *Marumakkathayam* system. Menfolk concentrated in agricultural work and as a consequence women had to grapple with all domestic duties-proof for the growth of the *Marumakkathayam* system.[9] Accounts about its full growth are seen in important works produced subsequently including the one by O. Chandu Menon[10] *(Indulekha)*. The prevalence of the system among all communities had been vouched by many foreign travellers and merchants who passed through the coast or who landed and stayed here for some years like Buchanan, Barbosa, Francis Day etc.[11]

The establishment of three Universities in 1858 at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras and subsequent spread of western and English education in India drastically altered the attitude of the people. Kerala's traditional society became a dynamic one thanks to the socio political movements begun in the princely states of Travancore Cochin and the English controlled Malabar district of the Madras presidency.

Individualism: The spread of new ideas of individualism added vigor to the society. As against agriculture educated people began to earn, not agricultural crops but cash or money. This strengthened their position in the family, man with money at a time when the *karanava* had no other source other than plantation agricultural crops like spices, coconut, corns, land etc. Money economy increased the role of the individual in a given family. Instead of consulting the head of the family, the person with money began to be counted.[12] Even land became a liability rather than an asset. This is true even today. We prefer one cent in urban Kozhikode rather than one acre in rural Udyogamandal or Karuvarakundu. We started prefering cash as against one tonne of copra or rice or corns. The edifice of the individual began his onward rise as the great sentinel.[13]

This individual's socio-political and cultural leadership reduced the status and position of the jenmi or landlord or the *karanava* in a *marumakkathayam* family. The land legislations after the establishment of responsible government based on parliamentary democracy reduced further the *charisma* of the landlord who is also the *karanava* or head of a family.[14]

The democratic movements all over the globe also had its repercussions in Kerala. By the time "one man one vote" was demanded in England as against plurality of voting, the basic elements of *marumakkathayam* also had been done away with. The *marumakkathayam* committee of Travancore consisting of Retired District Judge M. Krishna Pillai, K.P. Padmanabha Menon and K. Krishnan Pandala both High Court Vakils under the Chairmanship of A. Govinda Pillai (High Court Judge) toured all over Travancore in 1908, heard 1021 witnesses and published its report.[15] It recommended.

1. The recognition of the ceremony of *sambandham* as a legal marriage.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

2. The outlawing of polyandry and polygamy.
3. Divorce by mutual consent certified by registered document.
4. Compelling *Karanavas* to keep careful accounts of their assets.
5. The grant to wives and children of a half share of the self *taravad* acquired property of a man dying.
6. The right of any brands of a *taravad* descended from the same woman to demand partition.[16]

These six points were indispensable pillars of the *taravad* or *marumakkathayam* family. The implementation of the recommendations at one stroke resulted in the partition of over 3000 taravads and the available land was purchased by the Christians, Tiyyas/Chowans/Ezhavas and Muslims.[17] When the *marumakkathayam* regulation of 1912 was promulgated by Sree Moolam Thirunal, King of Travancore (1885-1924) Nayars were a dominant rural group similar to the non-Brahmin castes of Tamilnadu, the Marathas of Maharastra, the Patidars of Gujarat, the Jats of Punjab. The Moplahs who were tenants of Nayars or Namboodiris in Malabar also became new landlords particularly after the revolt of 1921.[18]

Kerala had never been under one powerful ruler before 1957. Consequently different customs pertaining to caste, marriage, inheritance etc. were in existence in different parts of Kerala. It varied from place to place, caste to caste, community to community, religion to religion. Same religious group followed different customs in different centuries. Because of these diversities Kerala is no homogenous unit. This is to a very large extent true of India also.

One of the unique features of modern Kerala is its matrilineal system of inheritance, followed by the Chera people from the 12th century CE onwards. *Marumakkathayam* :reigned supreme during the age of Thunchat Ramanujan Ezhuthachan, founder father of modern Malayalam language.[19] The arrival of the Portuguese in 1498 and subsequent Europeanization and latinization added more problems among matrilineal families. Under the Dutch (1663-1795) and the English drastic changes had taken place towards social improvement and transformation. Western education and the role of Christian missionaries could not be minimized in the social transition which affected the political pattern of the land.

As a result of Western education new ideas had taken shape. Instead of a family under a *Karanava,* nuclear families started developing. Land legislation, land reforms, new economic forces, social habits, customs, conventions, practices etc. added to religion means a sea change in the 20th century particularly in the second half. This is so also because of the socio-religious reform movements from the days of Vaikunda Swamikal (Mathukutty) Thycaud Ayyaguru, Arattupuzha Velayudha Panikker,[20] Vidyadhiraja Chattambi Swamikal, Sri Narayana Guru. Ayyankali, Vakkom Abdul Khadar Maulavi, Mitavadi C. Krishnan,[21] Vaaghbhatananda, Brahmananda Sivayogi, Sadananda Guru, Sahodaran Ayyappan, K.P. Karuppan, K.P. Vallon, Mannath Padmanabhan, T.K. Madhavan etc.[22] The net result is the over consciousness about oneself. Instead of thinking in terms of a group, individuals began to think for himself and his family consisting of wife and children. Grandfather, grand mother, father, mother, uncle, aunt, brother, sister, nephew, niece etc. began to play a new role unheard in the past. Property rights again began to be divided looking at the number of children.

Muslims were very seriously affected by this disintegration of the matrilineal system. Christian ladies after their marriage had no rights in their families under the old set up. This too underwent changes. The Hindus particularly Ezhavas/Thiyyas and Nayars had to grapple with innumerable problems. It was Sardar K.M. Panikker who for the first time referred to the decline of Nayars in Kerala society.[23] Dr. Robbin Jeffrey (Australia) by giving the title, *"Decline of Nayar Dominance"* to his book tried to generalize the symptom. To what extent this is true is to be investigated.[24] Even

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

now the so-called Nayar dominance could be seen or felt, but what declined was the matrilineal system. The post independence phase presented a picture of patrilineal society particularly after the land reforms. The reorganization of states on the basis of language gave a new orientation to the people and the Malayalee character is to look after oneself. The computer age even put husband - wife relations strained. Craze for money making has increased. It is to be reduced for the sake of the progress of Kerala. Inspite of all these developments, *marumakkathayam* had its inherent merits rather than demerits.

Today's children do not know the of Indian culture. They do not know about Indian epics/ puranas. They know much about our customs, festivals, legends, food habits, dress habits etc. because of the absence of a grandma. The collapse of the *marumakkathayam* system created little families. The child in a little hut gets nobody to answer his queries about life, about his needs, about his perspectives. He/She is growing with suppressed feelings. The dad or mom has no time for clearing these little conjectures of the child. The wife gets no sincere support from his mother in a nuclear family. Earlier the role of the mother was compensated by aunties/grandmas etc. The family planning and its resultant small families everywhere created more suffocation to the mind than expected. The servant /aya culture of the 21st century in the absence of *marumakkathayam* provided an unstable, unhealthy mind rather than a serene tranquil atmosphere for his / her growth or development. Computer Age is totally changing our culture further.

References

1. Stanley Hoffmann and Paschdis Kitromilides, *Culture and Society in contemporary Europe:* A case book, George Allen and Unwin, Harvard University, London, 1981, pp. 120-22.
2. Elamkulam, P.N. Kunjan Pillai, *Studies in Kerala History,* NBS, Kottayam, 1970, pp. 292-299.
3. B.A. Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka,* Bangalore, 1936, pp. 364-66. Also see. M. Syama Rao, *History of Modern Mysore,* Higginbothams, Bangalore, 1936.
4. M.P. Joseph, *The Principles of Marumakkathayam Law,* pp 1-5 quoted in PY Balakrishnan, *Matrilineal system in Malabar,* Mathrubhoomi press. Kozhikode. 1981, pp184-186.
5. *Elamkulam, op. cit.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. According to MGS Narayanan the second Chera kingdom existed upto 1124 CE, see *The Perumals of Kerala,* Kozhikode, *passim.* According to Elamkulam and Prof. A. Sreedhara Menon the kingdom disintegrated in the year 1102 and the last Chera King in disguise as Ramar Thiruvati moved to Kollam, Anandavalleswaram temple. See A *Survey of Kerala History.* NBS. Kottayam. 1967, pp. 116-176.
8. Elamkulam, op. cit.
9. According to English records available in Kozhikode Collectorate the following castes followed marumakkathayam, *i.e.* (1) Payyannur Namboodiri, (2) Chakkiyar Nambiar, (3) Poduvals, (4) Pisharatis, (5) Variars, (6) Kurups, (7) Kashatriyas, (8) Nayars, (9) Samantas, (10) Taragans, (11) Thiyas, (12) Kusavans, (13) Gurukkals, (17) Wynad Chetties, (18) Paravans, (19) Velans, Kuruthians/Mukkuvans, (20) Vannans, (22) Kurichyars/Vettuvans.
10. O. Chandra Menon, Account given as a member of the Malabar Marriage Commission. Also see TP Sankarankutty Nair (ed.) Modern India : *Society and Politics in Transition,* Inter India, New Delhi, 1989 pp. 462-69.
11. Durate Barbosa, A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the beginning of the 16th century. Hakluyat Society, London, 1866, P. Buchanan, A Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar, London 1811, Francis Day, The Land of the Perumals, Madras, 1863 etc.
12. K. Thulaseedharan, *Studies in Traditional Kerala Society,* College Book House, Trivandrum, 1977,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

pp. 88-111.

13. *Ibid.*, The land reforms, the abolition of commercial monopolies, the encouragement of European planters and the vigourous programme of public works stimulated the growth of a cash economy.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Report of the Marumakkathayam Committee, Travancore, Govt. Press, Trivandrum, 1908, pp. 1-67.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*, Also see The Madras Mail, at 21st December 1907, 9th July 1908 etc. also see Robbin Jeffrey, *The Decline of Bayar Deminance*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1976, pp. 321-327.
18. Roland E. Miller, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1976, Also see A.P. Ibrahim kunju, Mappila Muslims of Kerala. Kerala Historical Society, 1996 passim, Also see K.N. Panikkar, *Against Lord and State*, Vikas, New Delhi, 1984.
19. C. Achutha Menon, *Ezhuthachan and His Age*, Madras University, 1958, *passim.* Also see Cherukad's Jeevithapatha (Mal.), Cherukad Samiti Perinthalmanna, Mannath Padmanabhan, *Ente jivithasmaranakal* (Mal. Autobiography) NSS HQ, Changanassery 1964, *passim.*
20. Vaikunda Swamikal, Thycaud Ayyaguru Swamikal and Arattupuzha Velayudha Panikkar were three great pioneer social reformers in the pre-Sri Narayana Guru period of Kerala History. All the three proved to be like Gurus to Chattambi Swamikal and Sri Narayana Guru. Velayudha Panikker not only installed an Idol in a temple but also istalled a mirror long before the birth of Sri Narayana Guru.
21. It was Mitavadi C. Krishnan who for the first time in Kerala walked through the prohibited road in front of the Tali temple of Mahadeva at Kozhikode thereby began the temple entry movement. It was in 1917 that he broke the law in day light for the cause of untouchables and other down trodden sections. Historians of Kerala sidelined this crusader. See the present author's paper on Mitavadi Krishnan, South Indian History Congress 1983, Erode session.
22. T.K. Madhavan began his crusade for civic rights in front of the Vaikam temple in 1924 with the blessings of the Mahatma. See T.P. Sankarankutty Nair, The Temple Entry movement in Travancore, The Southern Chronicle, Kottayam, 1988 Feb.
23. His Autobiography in Malayalam as well as in the *History of Kerala.* (1498-1801) Annamalai University 1964.
24. Robbin Jeffrey *op. cit.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

62

Some Aspects of the Coins of Medieval Karnataka

A.V. Narasimha Murthy

In recent years, a large number of new coins of medieval Karnataka have come to light. They throw new light on the coinage of medieval Karnataka. This is particularly true of the Vijayanagara and Mysore Wadeyars coins. Hence, it is proposed to highlight some of these new features.

With the emergence of the Vijayanagara kingdom, we enter into the golden period of South India coinage. Many types with varieties of symbols in all the three metals make our study more interesting. A greater administrative control was imposed on mints which regulated the coinage of the period. Harihara's administrative reforms which made the payment of taxes in cash rather than in kind gave a new impetus to the development of coinage. This was responsible for the sudden development of introducing many coins with their fractions to suit the needs of taxation. Each ruler besides continuing the coins of his predecessors introduced new coins with new symbols and legends of his choice. This was responsible for enriching the typology. There was a separate Department during the Vijayanagara period for minting the coins. There was a central mint which controlled the other smaller local mints of the kingdom. Infact coins mentioning the names of the mints such as *Barakuru gadyana, Mangaluru gadyana* became popular during this period. The officers in the Department of mints were responsible for testing the weight and fineness of the metal used. According to Barbosa the help of goldsmiths was taken who always carried a touchstone and a fine balance.

We know the names of the coins of the period. They are *gadyana, varaha*, pagoda, *pratapa, kati, pana* or *hana, haga, chinna, bele, kakini, mada* and *tara. Gadyana, varaha, pon* or *hon* and *pagoda* are of the same weight. They weigh about 55 to 60 grains. There is a coin of double *varaha* weighing about 120 grains. The *pratapa* weighed 26 grains whereas *kati* was 13 grains. A *pana* or *hana* was equal to 5 to 6 grains. The coin *chinnam* weighed 7 grains. A *haga* weighed 1.5 grains whereas a *bele* was 0.75 grains. There is a great divergence in the weights of the copper coins. The highest copper coin was 250 grams and the lowest was 15 grains and in between there were coins of 160, 130, 50, 40, 32, 24 grains. Details of these coins are not known. The Vijayanagara coins provide interesting material for the study of the religious conditions of the period. The religious

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

emblems, gods and goddesses found in the coins show that Vaishnavism was becoming more dominant. In the early period *Hanuman, Garuda, Nandi* and such others were minted whereas the gods and goddesses like *Śiva-Parvati, Lakshmi-Narayana, Sarasvathi-Brahmā, Lakshmi-Narasimha,* began to appear later.

The following table shows the various gods and goddesses who appeared on the coins of the individual rulers:

Hanumān	- Harihara I, Bukka I, Venkatapariraya I
Garuda	- Harihara I, Krishnadevaraya, Sadasivaraya. Venkatapatiraya, Tirumalaraya.
Śiva-Pārvati	- Harihara II, Krishnadevaraya, Devaraya I, Devaraya II, Sadasivaraya.
Lakshmi-Narayana	- Harihara II, Devaraya I, Sadasivaraya, Tirumalaraya
Lakshmi-Narasimha	- Harihara II
Sarasvati-Brahmā	- Harihara II
Venkatesvara	- Krishnadevaraya, Srirangaraya, Venkatapatiraya I and II
Balakrishna	- Krishnadevaraya
Sri Rāma-Sitā	- Tirumalaraya
Sankha-Chakra	- Tirumalaraya
Varāha	- Tirumalaraya
Nandi	- Bukka II, Harihara II, Devaraya II, Vijayaraya, Krishnadevaraya, Tirumalaraya, Srirangaraya.
Gandabherunda	- Achyutaraya

From the above table it becomes clear that Harihara II introduced maximum variety as the deities and symbols are concerned, followed by Krishnadevaraya. Krishnadevaraya's devotion to Tirupati is well known, not only by epigraphs giving many grants but also from the huge bronze image of himself with his queens. This is supported by the gold coins on which he introduced Venkatesvara of Tirupati on the obverse. However, there is a feeling that these coins were specially minted to perform *Kanakabhisheka* to Lord Venkatesvara of Tirupati after his victory over Orissa. Another notable point is that this coin is a double *Varaha* weighing 117 grains and its diameter is 0.75". This coin also provides an insight into the iconographic features of Venkatesvara almost 500 years ago. The god is standing on a lotus; he has four hands; each holding *sankha, chakra, gada* and *abhayamudrā;* he has a tall *kirita;* above the image is an ornamental arch with a *simhamukha* at the top. The reverse has the legend *Sri Krishnaraya.* In all humility, he calls himself *Sri Krishnaraja* without any tiles and epithets. Srirangaraya II issued similar coins with Tirupati Venkatesvara on the obverse. However, Venkatapatiraya II, changed the detail of depiction and showed the God under a plain arch supported by a pillar of dots. Venkatapatiraya III further changed the depiction on the obverse. On his gold *Varāha* coins Lord Venkatesvara is shown with *Sridevi* and *Bhudevi* to right and left respectively. Srirangaraya IV issued half *Varāhas,* with Lord Venkatesvara standing under an arch and introduced the legend *'Sri Venkatesvaraya namah'* in *Nagari* on the reverse. Thus, these coins provide an interesting insight into the study of the iconography of the various gods and goddesses.

Another interesting feature of the Vijayanagara coins that attracts our attention is the variety of legends. Practically, we have no uninscribed coins of the Vijayanagara period. These legends are in three scripts, namely Kannada, Nagari and Telugu. It is of interest to note that the very first king

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

harihara I introduced Kannada and Nagari legends on his coins. Later rulers used Kannada and Nagari on their coins while only at the fag end of the dynasty they used Telugu script. To be very precise, three rulers minted coins with Kannada legends; seven rulers had Kannada and Nagari; six rulers had only Nagari and two rulers had only Telugu legends.[1] If this shows bias or preference of the rulers towards the script, then Kannada seems to have attracted more. Finally from the artistic and technical points of view, the Vijayanagara coins show a great improvement. The art of preparing the correct mould and minting the coin is easily seen, particularly in the gold coins. Legends are very clearly seen and the details of the gods and goddesses are also clear. Generally care was taken to mint all the emblems and the legend within the flan.

Now, we may acquaint ourselves with some of the important coin types of the Vijayanagara rulers. The *Hanuman* type was the first type of coin issued by Harihara I and this was followed by Bukka I and Venkatapatiraya. The other popular type minted by these rulers is the *Garuda* type. This type was issued by Harihara I, Krishnadevaraya, Sadasivaraya, Venkatapatiraya and Tirumalaraya. On the coins of Harihara, on the obverse is seen *Garuda* with a long beak standing to the right and back. The reverse has the usual legend. The coin of Krishnadevaraya is more artistic.

Dėpicting *Nandi* on the coins was quite popular with the kings of Vijayanagara. At least six kings of this dynasty are known to have minted *Nandi* type coins. They are Bukka, Harihara I, Vijayanagara, Krishnadevaraya, Tirumalaraya and Srirangaraya. All the *Nandi* type coins were minted in copper only. *Śiva-Parvati* type is another popular type issued by the rulers of Vijayanagara. Harihara II, Krishnadevaraya, Devaraya I and II and Sadasivaraya issued this type in gold and copper, though gold coins are more popular. Coins with Lakshmi and Narayana were issued by four kings, namely Harihara II, Devaraya I, Sadasivaraya and Tirumalaraya. These are gold coins of the *Varāha* and half *Varāha* value. Lakshmi and Narayana are seated on a pedestal; Narayana holds in his right hand, a *chakra* and in the left hand is the *sankha*. Coins of Harihara II depict *Lakshmi* and *Narasimha*. No other king minted this type. On his gold half *Varāhas*, on the obverse is depicted *Labhmi* and *Narasimha* seated on a pedestal; *sankha* and *chakra* are seen in the hands of the god. To this class we may add the half Varāhas of Harihara II which depict Brahmā and Sarasvati. Perhaps Harihara II was interested in depicting all such deities with their consorts, which included Śiva-Pārvatī, Vishnu-Lakshmi, Brahmā-Sarasvati and Narasimha-Lakshmi. Thus, all the important gods with their respective consorts have been depicted by Harihara II. Another coin of great interest is the *Balakrishna* type minted exclusively by Krishnadevaraya. Krishnadevaraya, after his victory over Udayagirirajya brought the image of *Krishna* and built a temple in Hampi for this deity, in about, 1514-15 CE. To commemorate this event he minted *Balakrishna* type of coins. This type seems to have been quite popular as we have found gold *Varāhas*, half *Varāhas* and quarter *Varāhas* of this type.

Coins of *Sri Rāma* type were minted by Tirumalaraya I. As he changed his capital from Hampi to Penukonda, he changed the typology of his coins also and introduced Sri Rāma on his coins for the first time. In a way this may be the beginning for the popularity of *Ramatanka* coins in South India. Tirumalaraya's *Varāḥas* weigh 52 grains and contain on the obverse Sri Rāma with Sitā on a pedestal; Lakshmana stands behind in a posture of devotion; he holds a bow on his right shoulder. Rāma's right hand is in *abhayamudrā*. On the reverse is the Nagari legend *Sri Tirumalaraya*. A reference has already been made to coins of Tirupati *Venkatesvara* type minted by Krishnadevaraya, Srirangaraya, Venkatapatiraya I and II. These coins were so popular not only during the Vijayanagara period but even later as literary works refer to them as *Tirupati hana*. Coins of *Sankha-Chakra* type were minted by Tirumalaraya. Boar or *Varāha* as a *Vaishnava* symbol appears on the coins of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Tirumalaraya. The *Gandabherunda* type of coins were minted by Acchutaraya. These coins are in gold and copper. The gold *Varāha* has a front view of *Gandabherunda* flying upwards; the wings and feathers are clearly depicted; the bird carries in each of its beaks and claws an elephant. In some coins it is shown in a different profile. Elephant type of coins were minted by Devaraya II, Vijayaraya II and Mallikarjuna. As Devaraya II had a special interest in elephant sports, the coins containing elephant have been ascribed to him and not to Devaraya I. These are gold, silver and copper coins. The former are quarter *Varahas* of about 0.3" in diameter. On the obverse within a linear circle a fine elephant moving to the left is depicted; sun and moon are seen above. Perhaps this is the coin referred to as *Tar* by Abdul Razzak. The copper coins are also similar.

The elephant type has other variations which show a different legend on the reverse. The obverse has roped elephant but the reverse has the legend *'Raya gajagandabherunda'*. In another variety the obverse is the same but the reverse has the legend 'sri Devaraya gajaventekara'. Thus a majority of the coins of Devaraya II contain elephant on them. Coins of Vijayaraya and Mallikarjuna have similar representations on the obverse, and the reverse shows the legend mentioning the name of the issuer.[2]

Before we take up the study of the post-Vijayanagara coinage, it is necessary to review briefly the coinage of the Muslim dynasties like the Bahamanis, Adil Shah is and Barid Shahis.

The Bahamanis ruled from 1347 to 1527 CE with their capital at Gulbarga. H.K. Sherwani, Thanewala, Burn, Whittel, Speight, Abdul Wali Khan and others have studied these coins in detaif.[3] The Bahmani coins are generally based upon the pattern of the coins of the Sultans of Delhi. The Bahmani Sultans issued coins in gold, silver and copper. They adopted the weight standard of Tankah of Delhi Sultans and also the *Dinars* of Muhammad Tughluk, *i.e.* 170 and 197 grains respectively for gold coins. Their silver coins weigh 170, 110, 55, 25 and 15 grains. There is a great variety in their copper coins ranging from 270 to 25 grains. At least three mints namely, Ahsanabad (Gulbarga), Muhammadabad (Bidar), and Fathabad (Daulatabad) are known to us from their coins. Almost all the kings right from Alauddin Bahman Shah (1347-58 CE) to Kalimullah (1524-26 CE) minted coins.

The Adil Shahis ruled from 1489 to 1686 CE with their capital at Bijapur. Yusuf Adil Khan, a governor under the Bahamanis became independent and established this dynasty.[4] The coins of Bahmani Kalimullah were in circulation till 1526 CE. That may be the reason why the coins of the first four Sultans of the Adil Shahi dynasty, namely Yusuf Adil Shah, Ismail Adil Shah. Mallu Adil Shah and Ibrahim Adit Shah I have not been found so far. Ali Adil Shah I (1556-80 CE.)., the fifth ruler of this dynast) was the first to issue independent Adil Shahi coins. The Adil Shahis minted coins in gold siher and copper. Their coins are either round or square. The circular coins range from 0.88 to 0.5" in diameter. The sides of the square coins measure 0.5". The gold coins weigh 52 grains and copper coins are seen in the weights of 270, 180, 120 and 60 grains. These coins contain the names of the Sultan, the mint, titles, Persian couplets and the dates. Except the first four Sultans of the dynasty, all others are known to us through their coins. Silver *Larins* were issued by Ali Adil Shah II. They are referred to as *Lorins* because they were first used by princes of *Lor* when they got separated from Persia. Usually, they are in the form of a thick hair pin made from a thin rod. Generally, they were used for purposes of trade by the sea traders. Two types of *Larins* of the Adil Shahis have been found. The first one is 3.75" long whereas the other one is smaller measuring only 1.75". The weight ranges between 74 and 70 grains.

After the downfall of the Bahmanis, Kasim Barid founded the Barid Shahi dynasty.[5] In 1542 CE, Ali Barid assumed the title Shah. But the coins of this dynasty begin from the time of the fourth ruler, Ibrahim Barid. No gold and silver coins of the dynasty have come to light. Thus, we have

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

only copper coins of this dynasty.

During the post-Vijayanagara period the *Palegars* and *Nayakas* of Ikkeri, Chitradurga and other areas, issued coins imitating the Vijayanagara coins in typology, without any richness of variety. The gold coin of Sadasivanayaka of Ikkeri, called *Ikkreri Varāha,* contains on the obverse Śiva and Pārvati and the Nagari legend *Sri Sadasiva* on the reverse. The *Palegars* of Chitradurga issued gold coins of the *Varāha* denomination, with *Durga* on the obverse and the legend *Nayakaraya* on the reverse. They are famous as *Durgi Varāha* or *Durgi Pogoda.*

The rule of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan forms a brilliant chapter in the numismatic history of South India.[6] The first systematic work is that of Marsden, whereas William Hawke's work contains details regarding the rare coins of Tipu and Haider. Thurston's fine catalogue, though confined to the Madras Museum Collection, is a very useful work.[8] Similarly Tufnell's catalogue describes the coins of Tipu in Bangalore Museum.[9] However, the most important work is that of Henderson who consulted many museum collections and wrote an uptodate account, arranging the coins mintwise.[10]

Though Haider Ali was a Muslim king, he simply continued the old tradition of the Vijayanagara coinage of Śiva-Pārvati, Lakshmi-Vishnu on his coins. However, his copper coins contain elephant and the name of the mint. But Tipu Sultan started a new series and did not continue the Hindu gods and goddesses on his coins. Tipu established a large number of mints in different parts of his kingdom and gave fanciful names to each of these mints and minted at least sixteen different types of coins in gold, silver and copper. The mints were selected on account of their military and political importance. Pattan was Srirangapattana from where coins of Tipu were minted from the very first year, except his last year. The coins were selected on account of their military and political importance. Pattan was Srirangapattana from where coins of Tipu were minted from the very first year, except his last year. The coins of this mint are of superior quality. Nazarbad, a suburb of Mysore, meaning *scattering favour* minted only copper coins. Nagar also called Bednur minted *Ahmadi, Pagoda, Panam,* double *rupee, rupee,* half *rupee,* double *paisa,* half *paisa,* quarter *paisa* and one eighth *paisa* coins. The mint at Bangalore minted mostly copper *paisas* ranging From one *paisa* to one eighth *paisa.* The mint at Chitradurga named *Farukh-yab-Hisar* meaning *Felicitously acquired fort* minted mostly copper coins. Dharwad called *Khwarshed-Sawad,* minted coins in all the three metals. Gooty in Anantapur was known as *Faiz Hisar* meaning *the fort of bounty,* minted copper coins. Gold and copper coins of Dindigal, called *Khaliquabad,* meaning *the city of God* are known. Gurramkonda in Cuddapah district of Andhra Pradesh had a mint. It was named *Zafarabad, the city of Victory.* Copper coins were minted here. Satyamangalam in Tamilnad, called *Salamabad* meaning *the city of peace* had a mint. Copper coins were minted here. *Ferolre,* near Calicut in Kerala had a mint by name *Farrukhi,* meaning *prosperity.* Gold *panam* and copper double *paisa* to quarter *paisa* were minted here. Calicut also had a mint in which the coins in all the three metals were minted. Holehonnur was the place of a mint called *Benazir,* meaning incomparable.

Another notable feature of Tipu's coinage is the large number of coin denominations he introduced in all the three metals. Each one of these coins was given a name generally based upon Islamic saints or prophets and planets. Tipu Sultan also introduced innovations in the method of dating his coins. The coins minted during the first four years of his rule, contain *Hijri era* ranging From 1197 to 1200 corresponding to his first four regnal years. However, in his fifth year he introduced the *Mauludi era,* corresponding to 1215 and continued upto 1227. It dates From the birth of the prophet. It is a luni-solar year of twelve months with an additional month at certain intervals. While adopting this system Tipu followed the Hindu calendar of sixty cyclic years. Tipu also gave new names to the cyclic years. While doing so he followed the two systems known a *abjad* and *abtath.* The former system contained twenty two different numbers, whereas the latter

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

had twenty eight numbers. Tipu followed the abjad system for the first four years and then used the abtath system. The coins of Tipu are circular and contain both obverse and reverse. From the technical point of view, they are superior and some of them even exhibit milling. However, copper coins are not so elegant and some of the letters are found out of flan. The Ahmadi weights 210 grains whereas the panam, the smallest coin weights 5 grains. All the coins of Tipu contain the name of the mint and the year; some contain other writings depending upon the space available. The silver coins of higher denominations are highly elegant.

The reign of the Wadeyars of Mysore forms a brilliant chapter in the political and cultural history of Karnataka. Modem Karnataka owes a great deal to these illustrious, generous and benevolent rulers of Mysore. Though their early history starts From the fifteenth century, they dominated the political scene of South India in the succeeding centuries, till the establishment of Democratic Republic in 1950. The Mysore Wadeyars continued the Vijayanagara tradition in their coinage. They issued coins in gold, silver and copper and followed the Vijayanagara *Varāha* pattern in weight and typology. However, with the changing needs, they made many innovations. Their coins usually contain elephant or lion on the obverse with the word *Chamundi* in Kannada and Persion or Kannada legend on the reverse. With the influence of the British, some English words also came to be the included. The gold *Varāhas* of the Wadeyars weigh 52 grains and their *Panam* 5.2 grains. Their silver coinage included Rupee. Half *Rupee* and Quarter *Rupee*. The copper coins are in many denominations.[13] Kanthirava Narasaraja Wadeyar was the first to establish a mint a Srirangapattana in 1646. Later the mint was transferred to Mysore during the time of Krishnaraja Wadeyar ill and in 1833 it was transferred to Bangalore. This mint was working till 1843.

The gold Varāhas minted by Kanthirava Narasaraja Wadeyar were called Kanthirava Varaha. On the obverse of these coins was found Lakshmi-Narasimha with *Sankha* and *Chakra* and the reverse has the Nagari legend Kanthirava Narasaraja. Chikkadevaraja Wadeyar continued the Balakrishna type of coins. On his gold Varaha coins of 52 grains and 0.4" diameter there is the figure of dancing *Balakrishna* holding a lump of butter and the reverse has the Nagari legend *Sri Chikadevaraja*. The obverse is similar to Krishnadevaraya's coin of the same type. In his *ham* coins he introduced the goddess *Chamundi* on he obverse. *Chamundi* is the tutelary deity of the Wadeyars of Mysore. Krishnaraja Wadeyar ill issued some other types. He re-introduced the Śiva-Parvati type of Vijayanagara. On the *Varāhas* of half *Varāhas* of 52 grains and 26 grains, Śiva and Parvati are seated; Śiva holds a trident and the deer; sun and moon are above. The reverse has the Nagari legend *Sri Krishnaraja*. The silver coins of this king are of different type. In his silver quarter rupees dancing Krishna holding a lump of butter is seen. The reverse has the Persian legend *'Krishenraj Wadiyar, 1244, minted Mysore.'* On some of the silver and copper coins of Krishnaraja Wadeyar there is a word in Kannada written variously as *Mayili* or *Meilee*. The meaning of this word is not known. The copper coins of Krishnaraja Wadeyar ill exhibit a great variety. They range from 40. 25.20, 15.5 and 2 *Kasu* denominations. These coins generally contain on the obverse either an elephant or a lion with the legend *Sri Chamundi* and the reverse has the name of the king Krishna, followed by Kannada and Roman legend showing the value of the coin such as *XXV Cash* and the word *Mayili* added to it. In some coins the name of the mint *Mahisur* is also added. The smallest copper coin found so far is two *Kasu*. It has on the obverse lion with sun and moon and date 1843 below. The reverse has *Two Cash* followed by kasu 2 in Kannada. In this connection tiny copper coins with Kannada numerals have to be mentioned. They are small and their diameter is about 0.2". They contain within a circle of dots Kannada numerals and so far they have been found with numerals ranging from 1 to 44. In 1881, the British coins became a legal tender. Thus ended the coinage of the Wadeyars of Mysore and also the separate coins of Karnataka.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

References

1. Kannada legends Vijayaraya I and II, Mallikarjuna, Kannada and Nagari legends Harihara I, Bukka I, Devaraya I, Devaraya II, Krishnadevaraya, Tirumalaraya, Enkatapatiraya. Nagari legends Harihara II, Bukka II, Achyutaraya, Sadasivaraya, Srirangaraya I, Srirangaraya III. Telugu legends Srirangaraya II, Venkatapatiraya II.
2. Unfortunately not many works on Vijayanagara coins have been published. In this connection the following may be cited: R.S. Panchamukhi's article in *Vijayanagara Sex Centenary Volume.* p. 70; M.H. Krishna in *MAR.* 1930-33; N. Rameshan, *A Catalogue of Vijayanagara* Cow *in A.P. Government Museum;* A.V. Narasimha Murthy, *The Coins of Karnataka.* Chapter XIV; R. Nagaswamy, *Tamil Coins,* pp. 148-162.
3. *Numismatic Supplement.* VII, p. 53; *Ibid.,* XI, p. 309; *Ibid.,* XXXVII, p. 22, *Islamic Culture.* 1935, pp. 268-308; *The Bahmani Kingdom.*
4. G.P. Taylor was the first to discover the coins of the dynasty in 1910 *Numismatic Supplement.* XV, p. 678. Then came the discovery of silver *Larins (Ibid.,* XVIII, p. 227). Henry Cousens has described some coins of this dynasty in his monumental work, *Bijapur Its Architectural Remains. 1916.*
5. For details of this dynasty, see G. Yazdani, *Bidar. Its History and Monuments;* Hormuz Kaus has written an article in *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,* Vol. 7, p. 1 and Vol. II, p. 38; Dinakar Rao, Siddiqui brought to light some more coins *(JNSI,* Vol. 20, p. 230, Vol. 22, p. 283, Vol. 231, p. 58).
6. *A Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment,* etc.
7. *Numismata Orientalia Illustrata; A Brief Sketch of the gold, silver and copper coins of Mysore.*
8. *Catalogue of Mysore coins in the Government Central Museum,* Madras.
9. *Catalogue of Mysore coins in the Government Museum.* Bangalore.
10. *The Coins of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan.*
11. For a detailed discussion on the coins of Wadeyars, vide A.V. Narasimha Murthy, *The Coins of Karnataka,* pp. 234-46.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

63

A Study of Urbanization in Early Medieval North India on the Basic of Epigraphic Sources: CE 600-1200

(With special reference to Siyadoni and Ahar Stone Inscriptions)

Santosh Kumar Singh

The urban study in India as yet is in formative stage. Recently a few attempts have been made to analyse the process of urbanization and its multifarious facets. The varied causes and processes of urbanization are being closely scrutinized by scholars, and as a result various theories have been propounded by them. These theories set forth certain common conceptual framework in the light of which the rise and growth of urban centres can be examined. V. Gordon Childe (1936) was the first to formulate the concept of 'urban revolution' and in 1950 he put forth ten important traits associated pre-eminently with the cities, in his research paper written in 1950 (Childe, 1979:12-17) these traits are as follows:

1. Comparatively dense population.
2. Surplus production of food/cereals for supporting full time specialist craftsman, merchants, officials and priests etc.
3. Each primary producer paid over his surplus to the daily and divine beings.
4. Monumental buildings.
5. The presence of a ruling class (*e.g.* Sumerian temple on Egyptian Pharaoh).
6. Inventions of art of writing.
7. The development of exact and productive sciences *e.g.* Arithmetic, geometry and astronomy.
8. Presence of full time artist craftsmen like sculptors, painters and seal engravers etc.
9. Regular forgin trade over long distances.
10. Presence/import of raw materials for specialist craftsmen to work upon.

These traits presented by Childe are not universally accepted. Paul Wheatley remarks that Childe failed to establish functional interaction between these criteria, thus these features are not represented uniformly and are not specific to cities. (Wheatley, 1971).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Robert McC Adams lays great stress on increased size and density of population as crucial to urban centres. He does not see craft specialists attributing to the primary urban needs in society. (Adams, 1979:18-26) Henri Pirenne attributes rise of medieval cities of Western Europe to large scale commercial expansion. (Pirenne, 1956:48-53) Sjoberg closely associates urban growth with the political apparatus. (Sjoberg 1965:68) Almost all these works on urbanization have been haunted by the idea of generalizing about the city as a distinctive social entity and maintain that a town is always a town wherever it is located in time as well as in space as F. Braudel maintained (Braudel, 1981: 480-1). Philip Abrams has elegantly criticized this notion and points out that path to urban analysis must run through a broader societal analysis (Adams & Wrigley, 1978:3-4,19).

The present paper proposes to discuss contributions to Indian urban studies especially on early medieval India by R.S. Sharma (Sharma 1972:94 and 104, 1987), and B.D. Chattopadhyaya (Chattopadhyaya, 1994). According to him in the absence of archaeological reports on excavation of early medieval sites, epigraphy remains the only source for reconstruction of urban history of this period. He considers early medieval period as the beginning of third phase of urban growth.

R.S. Sharma's *Urban Decay in India* (c. 300-1000) has grown out of a paper presented to the thirty-third session of the Indian history Congress in 1972, and a talk he gave to the Nehru Centre, Bombay on "Town and Country in Early Middle Ages", in 1983. His foremost argument is that the post-Gupta period witnessed a period of urban decay. He correlates urban shrinkage with unprecedented agrarian expansion that resulted in the rise of forts, temples and monasteries (Sharma, 1987:6, 185 & 122-31). His work shows the growth and decay of one hundred and thirty-two urban centres in India which have been either excavated or partially explored. In his view a mild urban renewal became possible after 1000 CE and urbanization a recognizable process only after 1300 CE (Sharma, 1987:185). Sharma links growth of towns with the history of trade. In his words 'once long-distance overland and overseas trade suffered, urban centres began to decline' (Sharma, 1987:9). Sharma heavily relies on H. Pirenne's thesis. Pirenne attributes the rise of medieval cities of Western Europe to large scale commercial expansion in the eleventh century (Pirenne, 1956:48-53). According to Pirenne, prior to the eleventh century there was 'economy of no markets', in which production had no other aim than the sustenance of land owning group (Pirnne, 1956:31). However, Pirenne's theory is no more acceptable now. Adrian Verhulst, a critique of Pirenne thesis has admirably shown that garrisons, palaces, pilgrim centres had great purchasing power and played a leading role in the economy of that particular place (Verhulst, 1989:7-8). The capital towns (*rajadhanis*) and administrative headquarters (*Pura or Nagara*) developed into urban units during early medieval period.

The scope of the present paper is rather limited. Here only a few known documents have been picked up for detailed analysis-documents which bear upon the close link between trade and urbanization. These pertain to several distinct geographical regions and it can at least partly be tested whether what emerges from them will have uniform applicability for different parts of north India. In the final part of the paper an attempt has been made to review the entire problem of decline of trade and urban centres in the light of the documents selected as well as some other material.

We may start with a site in the Indo-Gangetic divide which, if at all it has to be given the label "urban", may at best be called an incipient urban centre. This site is Prithudaka, modern Pehoa in the Karnal district of Haryana. Prithudaka is called an ahisthana in an inscription (882-83 CE) (Buhler, 184-90) of the Gurjara-Pratihara period which also provides some details of a fair at this place in which different animals –the most important of which was the horse-were sold and bought.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Inscriptions from Siyadoni (Lalitpur, UP) and Ahar (Bulandshahr, UP) Siyadoni

The Siyadoni stone inscription was edited and published by F. Kielhorn in 1892. It is a collective public copy of a series of deeds recording 27 donations made at different times by the traders and artisans of the town of Siyadoni near Lalitpur in the present Jhansi district of Uttar Pradesh. It was a mercantile town intersected by roads of different types and contained a number of market centres. A number of professional writers of legal documents prepared the document, charting the donations made at different times between 903-4 CE and 968-9 CE. Most of the donations were made to a Vishnu temple set up by a merchant named Chanduka in the southern part of the town. Here the Lord Vishnu is mentioned under a number of appellations. The list of donations made to this temple is as follows:

(1) A piece of measured land from the whole town; (2) an endowment from a feudatory chief, which secured the daily income of two specified sums of money in two coin units; (3) a residential unit comprising four houses from 3 merchants; (4) an endowment involving potters, according tot which the makers of alcoholic drinks, would donate, per cask produced, a specified amount of liquor worth a specified amount of money; (5) an endowment from a merchant securing the daily payment of a certain sum from 'suger-boilers'; (6) gift of a residence from a merchant; (7) gift of a shop located in a particular market centre and gift of four hereditary shops form a single merchant; (8) gift of a hereditary shop in a particular market from a betel-seller; (9) gift of two shops in a specified market place from a merchant; (10) gift of a shop from a merchant; (11) 1,350 coins of a particular denomination (*Srimadadivarahadramma)* invested by a merchant with the distillers of alcohol who were to pay every month a certain amount of money per cask of liquor produced by them; (12) gift of an endowment which would pay a certain sum two Kapardakas); (13) gift of a shop in a particular market from a merchant; (14) donation of three shops from a merchant; (15) a merchant's gift of a hereditary shop, which would pay a certain sum; (16) gift of two houses from a merchant; (17) gift of an Uvataka (a betel plantation?) from a betel-seller to a Śaivite Uma-Mahesvara) temple; (18) an endowment set up by a betel seller for the payment of a particular sum of money per unit of betel-heaves; (19) gift of a shop by a person; (20) a measure of oil from the owners of oil-presses; (21) gift of a monthly payment of a particular sum of money from the moneylenders/ merchants of a particular market-place to the Sri-Bhailasvamideva (Sun god) temple established by the merchant Vikrama; (22) gift of a particular sum of money from what appears to be a guild of stone cutters; (23) gift of a specified quantity of oil from oil merchants to a particular god set up in a Vishnu temple; (24) gift of three houses by two merchants to a Vishnu temple set up by somebody named Pappaka; (25) gift of some houses and shops from a few merchants; (26) gift of a shop from three persons; and (27) gift of the rental income of a shop.

This is a remarkable inscription for a number of reasons. First it brings out the general economic and social ambience of the market town of Siyadoni. The Lalitpur area where this early medieval town is located lies on the Betwa route from the Ganga plain to central India; the fact that there was a market town on this route in this sector is in itself a testimony of the fact that the commercial signification of this sector, which we notice in the early historic period, did not die out in the early medieval. Second, the economic and social ambience of the town is clearly brought out by the inscription: a number of marketplaces bearing specific names, residential units and individual houses, betel seller, oil merchants, makers of liquor, and stone cutters, at least three Vishnu temples, a sun temple and a temple of Uma-Mahesvara, and above all, an organized and monetized economy where the income from houses and shop can easily be donated to temples and where nobody was concerned with the social status of the donors. Socially, stone cutters, oil merchants, liquor-seller, and merchants had their own assured positions in the social scheme and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

none of these groups seems to be economically superior/inferior in relation to the rest, whatever their ritual status. It is also apparent that there was an administrative body of the town; otherwise the donation of a measured plot of land could not come from the town itself (donation 1). In the background, of course, there are feudatory chiefs, one of whom assigned an endowment for the temple (donation 2), but the focus of this inscription is on ordinary people, including the writers of judicial deeds, and their market economy (Chakrabarti, 2006:453-54).

Tattanandapura /Ahar

Tattanandapura, identified with Ahar near Buladshahar and situated on the western bank of the Ganga, was on the other hand a fully developed township of the upper Ganga basin. It has yielded a set of 10 inscriptions dated between 867 and 904 CE, (Sahni, 52-54) which show it to have been included in the Gurjara-Pratihara empire. The urban character of the settlement emerges from a number of indications in the record. First, the suffix pura in tis name and the fact that is was called pattana distinguish it from grama, palli or agrahara by which village settlements of the period were known. Secondly, whatever meagre information is available regarding its lay-out confirms this. It was intersected by a number of roads, kurathya (small or narrow roads, lanes?), brhadrathya (big roads) and hattamarga (road leading to the market area). Since such expressions have been used in relation to townships in early medieval literature, (Gopal, 1965:96) some functional differences between them in the context of urban settlements may be inferred. The impression one gets from the records is that the eastern market area (purvahattapradesa) was one of the nerve-centres of the towns, dotted as it was with shops and residential building. The reference to the eastern market implies that there were several other such centres which, as is clear from the eastern market cluster, were not necessarily located in one part of the town, but were dispersed among different residential areas. The inscriptions mention six temples (those of Kanca-nasridevi or Kanadadevi, Nandabhagavatidevi, Vamanasvami, Gaandhadevi, Dasavatara and Sarvamangala) which formed a distinct part of the urban set-up. At least two of them, enshrining Nandabhgavatidevi and Kancanasridevi, seem to have been located a little away from the town (*ihaiva pattanadvahi daksinayam disi*), but both owned property in the eastern market area. thirdly, the constructional details and dimensions of some of the buildings are given in the records in clear terms. Two types of building are generally mentioned: avaris (shops and enclosures) and grhas (residential buildings). The avaris seem in some cases to have combined the functions of a shop and a residential building. In one case an avari with its elevations is said to have consisted of three rooms of burnt bricks; in another it has a few inner apartments. The grihas were also constructed with burnt bricks. The inscriptions abound in references to house sites *(grihabhumi)* contiguously situated and belonging to persons of different castes.

The Ahar inscription was edited and published by Daya Ram Sahni, the first excavator of Harappa, in 1927-28 in *Epigraphia Indica*. Like the Siyadoni inscription, the Ahar inscription also is a collective public copy of a series of 10 separate documents recorded at different dates in the second half of 9th Century CE and the beginning of the 10th centuries. Document 1 seems to be a eulogy in honour of Bhojadeva, the reigning king of Kanauj. Document 2 states that two person of a mercantile caste purchased, with the money *(Dramma)* belonging to the Kanchanadevi temple, a shop or enclosure which stood in the centre of the town of Tattanandapura (modern Ahar in Bulandshahr) in the middle portion of the eastern market. The rental income of this shop or enclosure was assigned to provide for the cleaning, plastering, saffron, flowers, incense, lamps, flags, whitewashing, and the repairs of broken and craked building of this temple. Document 3 simply records that the inscription in question was engraved at Tattanandapura at the bidding of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a messenger named Kaluva and under the order of an assembly called Uttara-sabha (an urban assembly?). Document 4 states that four persons, apparently of the same family, bathed in the Ganges on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, and donated, for their own and their parents' religious merit, ensuring that every month a particular sum of money would be paid to the temple of Kanakasridevi out of the rental income of a house which was acquired by their grandfather on 99-year lease and to which two inner apartments and a large pillared hall were added by themselves. The house in question stood in the central portion of the eastern market of the town. Document 5 records the purchase, on a 99-year lease, of the southern half of a building site in the southeastern portion of the town and two shops or enclosures near it from a Brahmin of the lineage versed in four Vedas with the consent of the Brahmin's mother, and gave it to the temple. The purchasers were said to represent a Gosthi or a proup of people (presumably the managing committee of the temple) and the purchase money belonged to the temple. Document 6 also records a similar transaction where a particular building with three rooms in the centre of the eastern market of the town was acquired, on a 99-year lease from a Kahatriya merchant, with the requisite money coming from the Kanakasridevi temple. Document 7 is almost identical except that the property was acquired on lease from a Brahmin of the 'four Vedas group'. Document 8 records that two Kshatriya men and two Kshatriya women donate the rent of a house to the same temple. Document 9 states that a moneylender/ merchant of the Savarnnika (Suvarna-vanik) caste purchased, on a 99-year lease, a house from a merchant of the Mathura caste, who was a seller of perfumes. The purchase money belonged to the temple of Kanchanasridevi. According to Document 10, six such house units were acquired on a similar lease from a Brahmin of Bharadvaja gotra with the money belonging to the Kanakasridevi temple. The rental income of this property was to be spent on the worship of the goddess and the maintenance of the worship of the goddess and the maintenance of the temple (Chakrabarti, 2006:454).

This is only an enumeration of the bare content of the 10 records. There are other deails, such as the boundaries of these properties. On the whole, Tattanandapura or modern Ahar was in the 9th-10th century a trading centre of many burn-brick houses and temples, among which the temple of the goddess Kanchanasridevi or Kanakasridevi was apparently the most important. One of the merchants mentioned in the records came from Bhillamalla or Bhinmal in southern Rajasthan (south of Jodhpur) and one may assume that it was a trade centre to which merchants from other parts of India congregated. It is interesting to come across references to different castes in this set of inscriptions; Kshatriya merchants or Mathura seller of perfumes are interesting in the sense that Kshatriyas are not traditionally supposed to be merchants and modern Mathurs are Kayasthas who do not traditionally sell perfumes. Ahar is still a huge mound overlooking the Ganga and was a major crossing point on the way to Kashipur at the foot of the Nainital hills from Mathura (Chakrabarti, 2006:455).

That Tattanandapura was an important urban settlement of the early medieval period is confirmed by archaeology as well, (*ASI-AR*, 1925-26:56-58) although no attempt at correlation between epigraphic and archaeological material is possible at present. The mounds at Ahar cover a total area of 3.800 acres "Trial trenches were sunk at place scattered over nearly 1½ miles and their sites are termed A, B, C, D and E. Sites B and C lie on the south and north of the village respectively, while A lies to the east. But A and C belong to the late Muhammadan period and are on the same level as the modern village, while B, which is appreciably lower than they, dates back to about the 9th century CE Site C was excavated to 21th and A to 18, and both of them yielded Muhammadan copper coins ranging from the 14th to the 16th centuries CE and specimens of glazed Muhammadan pottery were reclaimed at varying depths. Site C was somewhat barren of buildings and smaller antiquities, but A showed no less than seven strata, of which the upper five are placed one above.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The other without intervening *debris* and follow each other in quick succession. There is an interval between the sixth and seventh strata, the remains of which are composed of whole bricks as against smaller and larger brickbats in the remaining five (Plate 63.2, fig. d). Apart form Muhammadan antiquities, fragments of several stone sculptures were recovered form site A. These belong to the mediaeval period, and must, like the inscription referred to above, have been brought from elsewhere and preserved as relics of ages gone by. The treatment, for instance, of a conventional peacock wit foliated tail standing on a lotus is reminiscent of the medieval period, like the two human heads shown in Plate 63.2, fig. e.

"In site B, a wide trench measuring 88′ x 60′ revealed the existence of a large house with several rooms and four strata of building, of which the first and the fourth are poorly represented, while the second and the third are much better preserved. Their depth from the existing surface is 3′1", 3′8", 8′6" and 10' respectively. Most of the interesting finds made here were found in association with the third stratum which consists of a series of oblong chambers on either side of a long wall running east and west, and yet another series across the chambers to the north (Plate 63.1, fig. a). The westernmost chamber in the latter series contained a *chulha* or family hearth at a depth of 8′. Pottery from this site comprises some excellent specimens of large spouted vases, *hancis,* etc., evidently superior to the Muhammadan pottery form sites A and C (Plate 63.2, figs. b and c). Other antiquities include two lower members of hand grinding mills (Plate 63.2, fig. e) a mortar (*ukkhal),* some household articles of copper such as a casket, a saucer, a spoon and a scythe (iron), a trefoil (*kirtimukha*), a star-shaped boss, a bell and a rattle (Plate 63.2, fig. f). But what lends special interest to the site and helps in dating the other antiquities is the discovery of five silver coins. Four of them are circular and one rectangular. Of the former, three bear the legend *Sn, Sn, Vi* and *Sn Vi* and *Sn* Vigra, and can, therefore, be ascribed to one or another of the Vigra-hapalas, of Magadha. (Cunningham's *Archeological Survey Reports,* Vol. XI,) But being the least barbarous specimens they may, perhaps, be assigned to about 900 CE or a little earlier. The fourth coin is struck, in imitation of the coins of Sassanian Firoz which are placed by V.A. Smith among the north-western 500 and 1000 CE. It is a very decadent specimen and rudely caricatures on the obverse a Sassanian head with winged headdress, and snows indications of fire altar and supporters on the reverse. Being degraded and found with the coins of Vigrahapala it may possibly be assigned to the 8th or 9th century CE. The fifth coin is rectangular but unfortunately not clear, though it is possible to recognise on its obverse the figure of an animal (bull?) facing left.

"Site D locally known as the *khera* near Rukmini *tal* rises only a few feet above the level of the low lying fields and is situated about three quarters of a mile south of the principal mounds. For want of time the trench (90′ x 60′) had to remain shallow and yielded nothing except a number of carved Hindu bricks. The stone head of a bearded male with upturned moustaches and elongated eyes picked up from the surface, like the other head from site E, probably belongs to the 10th or 11th century CE. Among the buildings unearthed here, attention may be drawn to a strange circular brick structure placed on a sort of temporary platform two bricks deep. It is 2′ 8" high and has a rectangular cavity in the centre found bricked up even below the level of the platform on which it stands (Plate 63.1, fig. b).

"Between Rukmini *tal* site B there is a girdle of six or seven mounds strewn over with brickbats and fragments of stone sculpture. These have been named E but could not be examined properly and five trial trenches laid at the site are scattered over a stretch of nearly one and a half miles. At it B which dates back to about ninth century CE were discovered, apart from burnt brick structures of residential character, excellent specimens of pottery, hand-grinding mills, a mortar, household articles of copper, an iron scythe and early medieval coins of at least three varieties.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

These two inscriptions from the Siyadoni and Ahar inscriptions are only four among a considerable number of such inscriptions and categorically demonstrate that early medieval India had a vibrant, monetized, and trading economy. These inscriptions belong to different parts of India and different periods. It is unfortunate that urban decay and a corresponding decline in trade gave been envisaged for this period by some historians.

Even if, a suggested by the hypothesis thus outlined, trade and urban centres suffered a setback in early India, resulting in the growth of closed village economy over a considerable stretch of time, one cannot still view this validly in terms of "production for use" as opposed to "production for exchange" (Takahasi, 1954:35). While, therefore, it is necessary to examine closely to what extent and in what precise form trade and urbanism survived (Sharma, 1965:238) in the post-Gupta period.

All the urban characteristics of Tattanandapura or; Ahar revealed by epigraphy were present at Siyadoni near Lalitput in Jhansi district. The dates of its records; ranging between 907 and 968 CE (*Epigraphia Indica,* 162-79 & Chattapadhyaya, 1974 : 203-19). relate, as in the case of the other inscriptions cited, to the Gurjara-Pratihara period. It was also a *pattana* intersected by a variety of roads, *rathya, hattarathya*, etc. The functional differences between different varieties of roads may be assumed here again; besides, there is clear mention in one case of a road belonging to the merchants (*vanijoonijarathya*). The residential sites included *aparasaraka* (houses with porch or vestibule), *avasanika* (dwellings) and *grhabhitti* (house site) owned by different communities. The spatial dimensions of the town may be assumed to have been larger than those of Ahar, considering the number of its market certres. Five of them figure in the records: Dosihatta, Prasannahatta, Gaturhatta (possibly identical with Gatuskahatta of no.12), Kallapalanamsatkahatta (*hatta* belonging to the Kallapalas) and Vasantamahattakahatta (possibly named after the chief of a guild). *Vithis* or shops owned by merchants and manufacturers of different categories constituted the nucleus of a *hatta*, though not the entirc *hatta* complex. Although, as in the case of the Kallaplanamsatkahatta, the entirc hatta appears to have been owned by and to have specialized in the merchandise of the Kallapalas, this was not the general pattern. At Caturhatta, for example, the *vithi* owned by *grahapatika tambulka* Kesava is mentioned along with that of a kamsaraka. Nor was there any clear distinction between commercial and residential areas and in this regard too the lay-out was similar to that at Ahar. The residence of a brahmana or a religious shrine could be a part of the total *hatta* complex. As at Ahar, temples formed a part of the urban set-up; there were several of them at Siyadoni dedicated to Narayana-bhattaraka, Sivabhattaraka, Bhaillasvami, Sigakiyadeva, etc. Siyadoni was, however, primarily a commercial centre, as is suggested not only by the number of its hattas, but also by a customs house attached to it (*siyadonisatkmanapika*). A mint also seems to have been located there. Siyadoni served as a political centre as well, but this point will be elaborated later on.

Though not quite close to Siyadoni yet in the same geographical region was Gopagiri (Gwalior) which, as the analysis of its two inscriptions dated 875 and 876 CE shows, appears to have been a fort town. The settelement was administered by a chief of the boundaries (*maryadadharya),* appointed by a Gurjara-Pratihara king. The second record refers to the presence at the plains, as suggested by an incidental reference to the dwellers of the plateau of Gopagiri (*Gopaginitalapari*). Gopagiri was a commercial centre as well, as *sresthis* and *sarthhavahas* were counted among its residents and as members of a loval council. Two hattika, Cacchika and Nimbaditya, are mentioned as those parts of Gopagiri where oil-millers (*tailikas*) lived, and on the strength of this indication it may be inferred that Srisarvesvarapura and Srivatsavatsasvamipura, residential areas of several other oil-millers mentioned in the records, were also parts of the Gopagiri urban compelx (Singh, 1998-99:237-253. & Singh, 2004:133-135).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The geographical areas to which the documents relate are (1) the Indo-Gangetic divide, (2) the upper Ganga basin, and (3) the Malwa plateau. This location pattern is crucial since it is known that in at least two of them, the upper Ganga basin and the Malwa plateau, important urban centres had developed in the early historical period (Map 63.1).

Of the most important guilds of early historical times at least seven existed at Tattanandapura, Siyadoni and Gopgiri, those of the goldsmiths, the stone-masons, the braziers, the oil-pressers, garland-makers, potters and caravan traders.

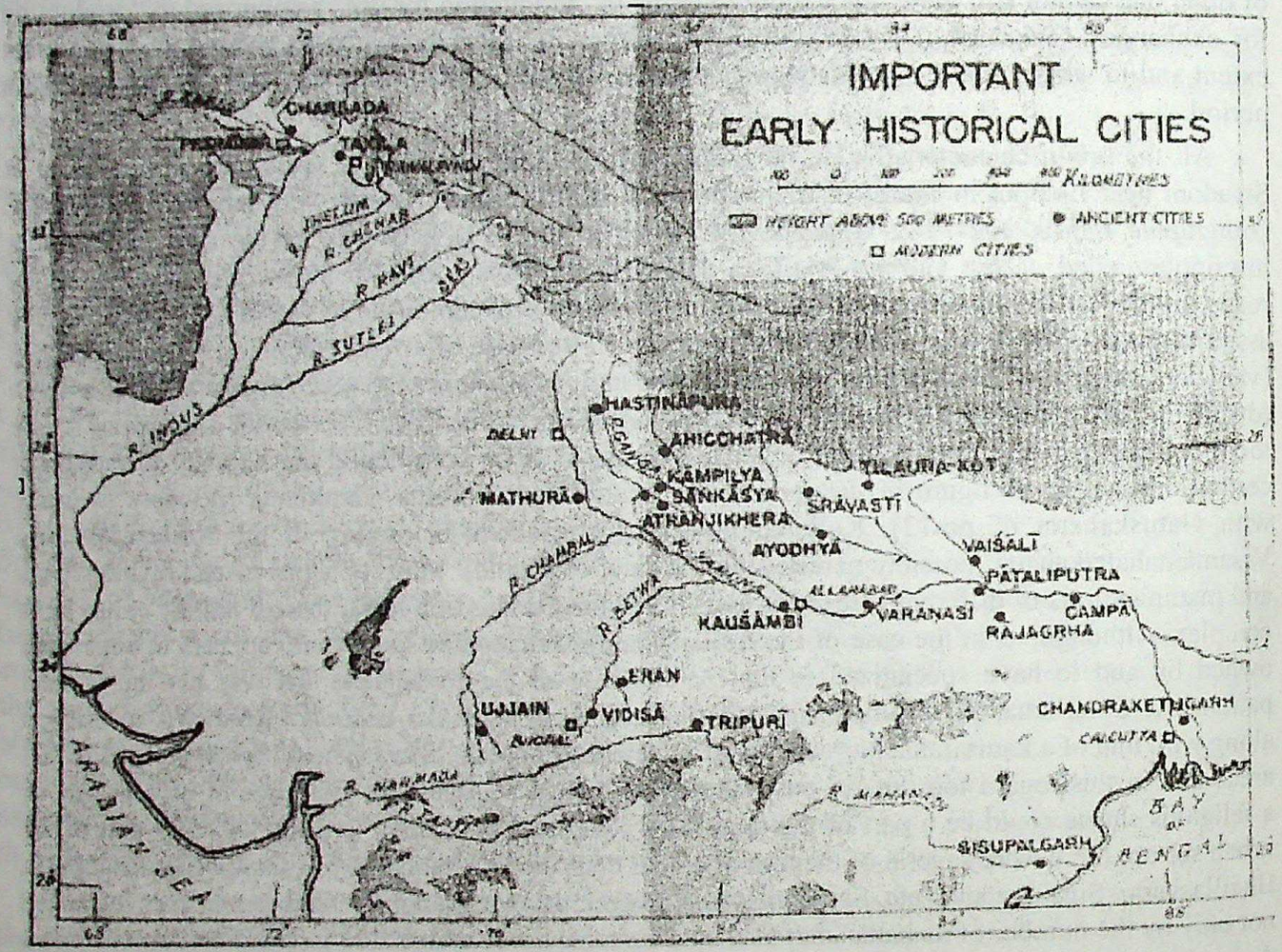


Fig. 63.1 : Map

References

1. Abrams, Philip and E.A. Wrigley, eds., *Towns in Societies: Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology,* Cambridge, 1978, pp. 3-4, 19.
2. Adams, Robert MaC 'The Natural history of Urbanism, in *Ancient Cities of the Indus,* 1979: p. 20.
3. Ayyar, C.P.V., *Town Planning in Ancient Deccan,* Madras, 1911.
4. Chattopadhyaya, B.D. *The Making of Early Medieval India,* New Delhi, 1994, rpt. 1997.
5. Chattopadhyaya, B.D., Trade and Urban centres in Early Medieval North India, *The Indian Historical Review,* 1974, Vol. 1, Number 2, pp. 203-19.
6. Braudel, Fernand, *Civilization and Capitalism* 15th – 18th Century, vol. I, The *Structure of Everyday Life; The limits of the Possible,* tr. and rev., Sian Reynolds, London, 1981, pp. 480-81.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

7. Chakrabarti, D.K., *The Archaeological Foundation of Ancient India Stone age to 13th Century CE.* New Delhi, 2006.
8. Chakrabarti, D.K., *The Archaeology of Ancient Indian Cities*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1995.
9. Champaklakshmi, R, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization: South India* 300 BCE to 1300 CE, New Delhi, 1996.
10. Childe, V. Gordon, *Man Makes Himself*, London, 1936.
11. Childe, V. Gordon, The Urban Revolution, *Town Planning Review*, Vol. 21, 1950, pp. 3-17.
12. Childe, V.G. 1952, *What Happened in History*, Harmondswarth.
13. Cunningham, A., *The Ancient Geography of India*, Varanasi, 1963 (rep.) pp. 343-48.
14. Cunningham;s Archeological Survey reports. Vol. XI. Plate XLIII, No. 1, pp. 176-77; and V.A. Smith's *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vol. 1, Part III, Plate XXV, No.10 and p. 239.
15. Dutt, B.B., *Town Planning in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1925.
16. Ghurye, G.S., *Cities and Civilization*, Bombay, 1962.
17. Gopal, L. *The Economic Life of Northern India* (700-1200 CE), Varanasi, 1965.
18. Gosh, A., *The Cities in Early Historical India*, Simla, 1973.
19. Jha, Kalpana, *Urbanization in Early Medieval North India* (An Analysis of the Samaraichchakah), Janaki Prakashan, New Delhi, 1998.
20. Jha, S.K., *Beginning of Urbanization in Early Historic India*, Patana, 1998.
21. Kielhorn, F. Siyadoni Stone Inscription, *Epigraphia Indica*, i, 162-79.
22. Mumford, Lewis, *The City in History*, Pelican Books, 1975.
23. Pirenne, Henri *Medieval Cities (Their origin and Revival of Trade)*, tr. Frank D. Halsey, Princeton, 1956, pp. 48-53.
24. Prasad, Kameshwar, 1984, *Cites, Crafts and Commerce under the Kusanas*, pp. 50-51.
25. Puri, B.N., *Cities in Ancient India*, Meenakshi Prakashan, 1966.
26. Roy, Udainarain, *Prachin Bharat Men Nagar Tatha Nagar-Jivan*, Allahabad, 1965 (in Hindi).
27. Sahni, D.R, Ahar stone inscription, *Epigraphia Indica*, XIX, 52-62; 1927 28; Also C.D. Chatterjee, the Ahar stone inscription, *The Journal of the United Provineces Historical Society*, iii, pt. iii ,1926, 83-119.
28. Shamra, R.S. *Indian Feudalism, C. 300-1200.* Calcutta, University of Calcutta, 1965.
29. Sharma, R.S., 'Decay of Gangetic Towns in Gupta and post-Gupta Times', *JIH*, Golden Jubilee Vol., 1973, pp. 135-150.
30. Sharma, R.S., *Material Culture and Social Formations in Ancient India*, New Delhi, 1983, reprinted, 1985.
31. Singh S.K. and *et. al,* proto-Historic Urbanization in India: A Archaeological Perspectives. *Bharati* No. 30, Journal of the Department of AIHC and Archaeology, B.H.U. 2006-07, pp.111-130.
32. Singh S.K., beginning of Urbanization in Middle Ganga Plain: A Technological and Ecological prospective, Joint annual Conference IAS, *ISPQS* and *IHCS* Central College Campus, Banglore, 15-18 December, 2005, abs, 75-77.
33. Singh S.K., Concept of Urbanization in Early Medieval India: an archaeological Overview, Joint Annual Conference *IAS, ISPQS* and *IHCS*, University of Baroda, Vadodara, Nov.2001-02, Abs.52.
34. Singh S.K., Emergence of Cites in Middle Gange Plain New Archaeological Evidence, *Pragdhara*, No 15, *Journal of the U.P. State Archaeologicla Department*, 2004-05, pp. 119-126.
35. Singh S.K., Guptottar Kalin Bharat Mein Nagar Nirman, *Triratna Heritage*, Governace and *Equity* (Honrable Shri T. N. chaturvedi, Festschrift), vol. IV, pp. 123-142, 2003.
36. Singh S.K., *Purva Madhya Kal Mein Uttar Bharatiya Nagaro Ki Sthiti* (600-1200 CE) *Bharati* No. 25, *Journal of the Department of AIHC and rchaeology*, B.H.U., 1998-99, pp.237-253.

CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

37. Singh S.K., *Uttar Bharat Mein Nagaron Ka Vikas,* (600-1200 CE) Book India Publishing Co., Delhi, 2004.
38. Sjoberg, Gideon. *The Preindustrial City of Past and Present,* New York, 1965, p. 68; Mumford considers institution of kingship crucial for Urbanization.
39. Thakur, V.K., *Urbanization in Ancient India,* Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1981.
40. Verhulst, Adriaan, 'The Origins of Towns in the Low Countries and the Pirenne Thesis', *Past and Present,* no. 122, 1989, pp. 7-8; also see *The Rise of Cities in North-West Europe,* Cambridge, 1999, preface.
41. Weber, Max, *The city,* collier-Macmillan Canada, Ltd., Toronto, Ontario, 1958.
42. Wheatley, Paul, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters, a Preliminary Enquiry into the Origins and Character of the Ancient Chinese City,* Edinburgh, 1971.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

64

Imprints of Buddhism in Karṇāṭaka

Nagarajaiah, Hampa

Jainism and Buddhism represent the earliest phase of Indian religions. It is believed that both these two contemporary religions reached the Deccan from north.

According to the Mahāvaṁsa and Dīpavaṁsa, the Pāli texts from Ceylon, immediately after the 3rd convention at Pāṭiliputra under the guidance of Thera Moggaliputra, emperor Aśoka had sent monk Mahādevathera to Mahiṣamaṇḍala, modern Mysore, and monk Thera Rakkhita to Vanavasi, modern Banavasi in Karṇātaka. The rock edicts of Aśoka and other corroborative epigraphical and literary evidences establish that Buddhism entered Kaṇāṭaka in around 3rd century BCE. Since then Buddhism spread as a sect with considerable elite votaries, in the early centuries of christian era.

Buddhism flourished as a noteworthy religion with the good will of the Sātavāhana and Bāṇa rulers, Buddhism gained royal support. Interestingly, a Bāṇa king is described as 'Bodhisatva in compassion to animals' [*Epigraphia Camatica,* vol.x, Mulabagil No. 157.CE.338 CE]. The Early Kadambas of Banavāsi and early Gangas, the two coeval royal dynasties, patronized Buddhism. A charter of Taḍaṅgala Mādhava (456-75), the Gaṅga chief, states that he gifted lands to a Buddhist monastery. [*Epigraphia Camatica*, vol. XII. Tumkur No. 9. *Circa* 5th century CE]. Curiously, while stipulating the boundaries of the gifted land, the word Śākyasilā, 'Stone of Śākya (Buddha)', figuring in the charter, is meaningful.

Probably, in the early phase, it was monk Rakkhita who had created a favourable infrastructure, though surprisingly none of the extant Aśokan edicts belong to Banavāsi. An inscription going around the Nāga image in the Madhukeśvara temple comlex at Banavāsi , datable to mid 2nd century CE, in Prakrit language and Brāhmi character, states that Sivaskanda Nāgasiri, daughter of Sātakaṇi of Cuṭukula and consort of Mahābhoja, donated an image of Nāga,' serpent', a tank, and a *vihāra* under the supervision of Amātya Khaḍasati (Skandasvāti). The Nāga sculpture was chisseled by Naṭaka, a desciple of Ācārya Damoraka, preceptor of Banavāsi vihāra. An inscribed stone column, commemorative of Vasitpiputra Sivasiri Puḷuvavi, containing a two lined Brahmi inscription which opens with the auspicious word siddham, is preserved in the Museum at Banāvasi.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

While about 20 and 12 grants of the Kadamba kings are of Brahmanical and Jaina affiliation respectively, only two inscriptions mention Bauddha Siddhāyatana and Ārya saṁgha. The copper plate of Citrsaena Mahākella (485 CE), feudatory of Ravivarma, the Kadamba chief, opens with an invocation to Buddha, and records Citrsena's gift of land along with a garden to Ārya saṁgha [*Corpus of Kadamba Inscriptions,* (ed) Gopal B.R.;1985: No.26 pp.102-04];

Siddhaṁ jayatyamita guṇabhṛid Buddhassatva samāśrayaḥ
Suddhodana kulodbhūtaḥ padmapatra nibheksṇaḥ ||

[Be it well. Victorious is thy Buddha, of infinite qualities, refuge of virtues, born in the family of Śuddhodana].

Amongst the early extant vestiges of Buddhism in the state, the caves at Aihole and Bādāmi are important and unique. The large enthroned image, carved upon the cliff-face to the south-east of the lake locally known as the Agasthya Tīrtha, called Kosṭharāya, leper king', in popular parlance, has a legend associated with it. Albeit, the image is of Mayāmoha of the Buddhāvatāra of Lord Viṣṇu, and the sculpture could be dated to late 7th century CE. This figure confirms that Buddha was assimilated in to the Hindu mythology as an incarnation of Viṣṇu and the concept was standardized by the age of Early Cālukyas of Bādāmi.

Baḷḷigāve, Banavāsi, Daṁbaḷa, Kadaribeṭṭa (Mangalore) and Sannati were important seats of Buddhism in Karṇaṭaka. Baḷḷigāve in Shimoga District prospered as a major Buddhist *vihāra,* where devotees of Hari, Hara, Brahmā, Jina and Buddha coexisted in harmony. Rupabhaṭṭayya, chief of the Cālukya ministers, constructed a *Bauddha Vihāra,* a Buddhist monastery, called' *Jayanti - Prabha'*, and with the concurrence of Trailokyamalladeva *alias* Someśvara I (1042- 68) ,endowed lands for its perpetual maintenance [*Epigraphia Carnatica,* Vol. VII. Shikaripura 170. 1065 CE]. The significance of this Buddhist monastery deserves an *in extenso* discussion. An image of Tārā Bhagavati was consecrated at this *vihāra.* Later, Nāgiyakka, spouse of Hampacaṭṭa, a subordinate of emperor Trailokyamalladeva, gifted lands to Tārā Bhagavati, the presiding deity of *Jayanti - prabha-vihara,* after laving the feet of Jayantiprabha-Balāra, chief pontiff of the diocese [*ibid.,* Shikaripura 169, 1067 CE]. Similarly, two more images of Tārādevi have come to light from the village Koḷivāḍa [Dharwar Dt., Hubli Tk.], and a broken one from Banāvasi (now in the local Museum). The concept of Tārādevi, of identical name, in the Jaina pantheon is different from the Buddhist Tārādevi. Luckily, the image of Tārā commissioned by Rupabhaṭṭayya is extant, and though mutilated, looks extraordinary for its quality of execution. Another salient feature of this *vihāra* is that it had permitted nuns, which assumes greater dimension in the history of Buddhism, because Buddha had reluctantly opened the gates of monastery to women and that too towards the end of his illustrious career. Incidentally it may be recalled here that Jainism had never closed the doors of its monastery to women. Buddhism did not vernacularize its preachings, whereas Jainism adopted the local languages wherever it settled.

Next, in importance, to Banavāsi and Baḷḷigave, stands Dambaḷ. The famous inscription of the place opens with *namo buddhaya*, 'salutation to Buddha' [*Indian Antiquary,*Vol. X. p.185 and 273, 1095-96 CE], and obeisance to goddess Tārā. The epigraph has recorded the details of donars and donation made over to the *vihāra* of Tārā deity. Sangavayya Seṭṭi, a burgher and trader of Lokkiguṇḍi [mod. Lakkuṇḍi, Gadag Dt.] had commissioned the *vihāra* dedicated to Tārādevi where as the 16 Settis of Dambal had caused to be made a Bauddha *Vihāra.* The above *dāna-śāsana,* also called Buddha-*śāsana,* has explained that the donation was to be utilized for the worship of Tārā and for providing alms to Buddhist monks.

In the midst of literary evidences, the *Yaśtilaka* of poet Somadevasūri (965) and the *Samaya Pariṣe* of poet Brahmaśiva (1175), are important in the context of our discussion. Somadevasūri has

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

cited instances of meat-eating Buddhists which affords authentic material for socio-cultural study and also recalls the practice of Tāntric Buddhism. Brahmaśiva has ridiculed the Buddhists eating food cooked long before and which had become cold. Further more, the poet laments, ironically, that Buddha could not overcome the delusion of red color robe (worn by Bhikkus) inspite of coming out of tearing his mother's womb like a scorpion.

The inscriptions have turned out to be priceless documents for cultural reconstruction and religious tolerence. While describing a person with impartial benevolence and equal regard for all religions, many medieval epigraphs from Karṇāṭaka employ the set phrases of *catussamayāśraya*, and *catussamaya samuddharaṇa*. The conventional group of the above four religions consisted of Mahesvara or Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, Jainism and Buddhism. A good number of instances of kings and queens who respected and protected all religions as their own faith are recorded in the inscriptions of Karṇāṭataka. So much so, we come across a good number of instances where Buddhism was treated with highest regard on par with its contemporary state religions. Lacchaladevi, an ardent devotee of Jina, extended her regards to the four *samayas* [*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. V., p. 346. 849 CE, Huli]. Gaṇḍarāditya (1110-40) king of the Kolhapur Śilāhāras , constructed a tank at Irukuḍi near Miraj, commissioned temples and consecrated the images of Buddha, Jina and Sankara. Akkādevi (1050) , the Cālukyan princess, had reverence for all the four recognized religions including Buddhism. Gūḷia Bācideva, a feudaṭory of the Hoysaḷas, ruling as chief of Marugare province, extended his umbrella to the four traditionally recognized religions. Infact his inscription commences with this invocatory verse:

Śivāiya dhātre Sugatāya Viṣṇave
Jināya tasmai sakalātmane namaḥ ||

[*Epigraphia Caratika.*,Vol. XII. Tumkur 9. 1151 CE. Kaidala]

Jainism, despite the tough competition from Buddhism, its coeval religion, stayed on with intensity and continued to be an influential and living faith through the length and breadth of the country. Of course, both of them coexisted for over a thousand years and had common royal patronage. Survival and spread of both the religion depended much on the role played by their congregation of monks, pilgrimage centers and royal shelter. Together they had rejected the authority of the Vedas, condemned unscientific blind beliefs, meaningless rituals and customs. Paradoxically, dilectician scholar-saints of the Jaina, Kalamukha and Pāśupata Śaiva faiths, had mastered Sugata-śāstra, the basic Buddhist texts and philosophy so that they could felicitously participate in the religious debates. Phrases like-*Bauddha -madebha-pañcānana*, 'lion to the elephant in rut (*i.e.*, a Buddhist scholar), suggest the religious debates where the Buddhist scholars were involved. It is rather unfortunate that instead of developing cordial relationship, the two heretic faiths of Jainism and Buddhism maintained hostility and engaged in frequent religious feud. By pulling each others feet, they suffered a set back. Instead, had Buddhism and Jainism developed more and more affinity, the religious history of India would have been different from what it is now.

Recently (2001 and 2004), Professors M.S. Krishna Murty and M.V. Krishnappa have unearthed an extraordinary brick foundation of a Buddhist Caitya and Vihāra at Rājaghaṭṭa (Bangalore Dt.), which has added a new dimension to the subject under discussion. The huge *Vihāra* consists of seven cloisters in a row and an apsidal and circumambulatory *Caitya* . The unique comlex with a compound has yielded earthen votive tablets that could be dated between 5th and 7 th century CE [*Itihasa Darshana*, Vol. 20, Bangalore, 2005: 20-31]. Though vestiges of apsidal construction, *Chaitya*, terracotas etc. have been discovered at Banavāsi, no Stūpa has come to light. But interestingly the place Koḍagoḍu near Banavāsi has yielded relics of a *Stūpa*.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Albeit, Buddhist movement failed to make inroads in Karṇāṭaka and could not leave an everlasting imprint. Even though the images of Buddha discovered at Bādāmi, Candravaḷḷi, Kadari, and Sannati attest the prevalence of Buddhism at different places, such pockets of Buddhism were not many. Nevertheless, during its long career it prospered in patches as a potential minor religion. Contemplating on the reasons for the decline of Buddhism in Karṇāṭaka, one can notice the glaring attack of Kālāmukha Śaivas on Buddhist and Jaina strong holds. The Śaivas, under the leadership of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Viruparasa, pounced upon the Jains and Buddhists and destroyed their places of worship. This Śaiva battalian was so ferocious that it is described as *Jinasamayavana-dahana-dāvānala*, and *Bauddha samaya-vidhvaṁsana - pravīṇa* [*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XV. No. 56. 1184 CE. Talikote (Bijapur Dt. Muddebihal Tk.). Though Jaina samgha could withstand the onslaught and revive its bases, Buddhism meekly succumbed and once for all lost its grip . It could muster neither political patronization nor could get the mass backing. But, the picture of Buddhism and its position elsewhere in India was also not different from this.

R.C. Mitra has discussed at length the puzzling enigma of the decline and dissappearence of Buddhism from India *[The Decline of Buddhism in* India, : Shantiniketan, 1954]. He has put forth the following seven theories:

1. Exhaustion
2. Withdrawal of royal patronage
3. Brahmanical persecution
4. Muslim Invasion
5. Internal Corruption and Decay
6. Effect of Sectarianism
7. Insufficient cultivation of the laity

In continuation of this phenomenon, Prof. Padmanabha S. Jaini has reassessed the seven theories advanced by R.C. Mitra [*Collected Papers on Buddhist Studies*, Delhi, 2001 :139-54]: It is worthwhile to re-examine the socio-cultural and historical reasons for the dissappearence of Buddhism from Karṇāṭaka, in the context of the above seven theories.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

65

The Diplomatic Approach of Buddha in Propagation of Buddhism

Dillip Kumar Khamari

Introduction

Buddham saranam gachhami, Sangham saranam gachhami, Dhammam saranam gachhami – this enchanting mantra during 6th century BCE. of Buddhism was one of the heart throbbing epigrammatic *sloka,* that mesmerized thousands of people and spiritually emotionally tempted them to embrace Buddhism, since the day of the preaching of first sermon known as *"dharmachakra pravartana"* by the master at Sarnath. Buddha lived an active missionary life in propagation of principles or the essence of his enlightenment for about 45 years till his *parinirvana* at Bodhgaya in 544 BCE. He never thought that he is propounding any religion. So, Buddhism of the title is just referring to his newly acquired principle and the ultimate truth.

Buddhism in the present day world is followed by a large population. It is a state religion in many of the south-East Asian countries such as Thailand, Burma and Sri Lanka. In India alone is a sizeable population of Buddhist followers.

Looking at its geographical extension and the size of its follower many questions arise to seek satisfactory answers to them, among them the first and foremost question is the role played by the master in the early part of the religious history. Subsequently the religion received state patronage. Both in sculptural depict and religious scriptures Buddha has been depicted as a religious preacher and a supra human character in either meditation or preaching doctrines to his followers for their total uplift, salvation or *nirvana* or *moksha.*

But, the point to discuss here is whether Buddha before the propagation of his tenets, had some thoughts to reach down to the common mass? What could be the reason that prompted him to think about it? I am of the opinion that he had taken the issue in a diplomatic way. His strategy is far reaching. A few possible reasons are given below to the question proposed.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Royal Background

Prince Sidhhartha, later known as Gautama Buddha was born to raja Suddhodhana of Kapilavastu, one of the Himalayan kingdoms during the Janapada time, *i.e.* 6th century BCE. Till he was 29 he was there in the palace enjoying all the comforts and pleasures of a palace and grew up in luxury. Against this royal background even after his enlightenment he must have thought about the future of his doctrines. It was the time when the world had witnessed many religious preachers. Sixth century BCE is known for the spiritual unrest and intellectual development in many countries as for instance, Philosophers like Lao Tzu and Confucius in China. Parmenides and Empedocles in Greece, Zarathushtra in Iran, Buddha had some powerful rivals in India. He was challenged by the leader of six prominent sects of the epoch namely Purana Kasyapa, Maskari Gosaliputra of the Ajivika sect, Ajitakesa Kambala, Kakunda Katyayana, Nirgrantha Gnatiputra, (Mahavira) of Jain sect and Sanjayi Vairatiputra.

It is in this context the long diplomatic association, the royal blood, and the wisdom of Buddha had worked as by birth and growth. His strategic thinking had worked in right direction. It is mentioned that after his enlightenment he spent few weeks under the *Bodhi* tree. The third week he spent in walking to and fro. (Fig. 65.1, middle panel) Perhaps this was the period he was intensely engrossed with the future of his newly acquired spiritual knowledge. Thereafter, he had perhaps opted to attract largely the business community to whom he gave sermon on his doctrines that effectively influenced them to accept and to follow his doctrines. For he knew fully well that the business community was the only section of the society which could carry the spiritual message he imparted to them to the length and breadth of the country and beyond as well. His first two disciples were Tapussa and Bhallika two merchants of modem Orissa. Traders in Janapada time and even after were regarded as the backbone of the State. They were honoured as *Rajapujito Nagara Janapadapujito.*

Even in the subsequent period Kautilya in his *Arthasastra* has opined *artha* stands for all the natural resources and is the main powerful force for the human society. It is the supreme source of human behaviour.

The *Jātaka* stories: a Tactical Approach

The *Jataka* stories, though slightly of later period, are depicting the previous lives of Buddha. They are more than 500 in numbers. The master had narrated in all forms of life, highlighting his values and virtues and his loves for others. The *Babbu jataka, Asompdana jataka, Chullakasresthi jataka, Valahassa jataka, jarudapana jataka, Sankha jataka, Silanisamsa jataka, Mamsa jataka, Gumbiya jataka* and so many others. Besides, the *Vinayapitaka Anguttara Nikaya, Samyukta Nikaya, Milind Panho* prominently refere to the business community. More than 20% of *Jataka* stories deals with the kings, princes and merchants etc., clearly indicating the hold they had over the society and suggest a tactical move of Buddhist thinkers to propagate the Buddha's doctrines.

Economic strength in ancient India was revolving around the *Vaisya* community. This class is referred to as gahaptis *(grihapatis)* in the Buddhist literature, and as *gahavaisyas* in the Jaina Canons. The *vaisyas* provided the economic support to the elaborate structure of the society. As a class they amassed huge fortunes, acquired mostly in trade by sea and by caravan. As citizens, the *vaisyas* were undoubtedly the most powerful and influential section. They had important say in the deliberations of the local bodies and representative assemblies. Their lawful occupations were agriculture, trade, industry and cattle breeding. The merchants were so prominent that they got royal chair in the court of king.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The *gahapatis,* by whom trade had touched to a new height, efficiently controlled both the regulatory power and the religious *sangha.* The *setthi i.e.* the merchant class was the most important and aristocratic representative of the *gahapati.* The *Vinayapitaka* describes the king Bimbisara of Magadha as having been invited by a trader of Rajagrha to take his meal with Lord Buddha and his followers. So, it indicates a calculated move by the .master to select this section of the society who, were both socially and economically very powerful.

The trade both by land and sea had produced many multimillionaires in Taxila, Sravasti, Benares, Rajagrha, Vaisali, Kosambi, Campa, Bhadrauti, Mithila, Apana, Vidarbha, Andhra, Tamil kingdom and other trade centers of India, and it has been observed that Buddhism had a firm base at many of these above cities.

Followers, directly and indirectly for the spread of Buddhism

Apart from thousands of followers' irrespective caste, creed and section, many were having impressive impact upon the society. Their affection, liberality to any matter would mean that their followers would follow the same. Some of Buddha's followers were the most prominent like King Bimbisara of Magadha, king Shuddhodhana of Kapilvastu, Ananda and Devadatta (Buddha's cousins), king Ajatashatru of Magadha, king Prasannajit of Kosala, apart from the rich merchant community.

The East pillar of North Gateway: the spread of Buddhism.

Top panel – Purchase of *Jetavana* -The Diplomatic approach of Buddhist thinkers to depict such type of scene to allure the merchant class and rich community of the society.

Anathapindaka spent 54 *karoda* for the purchase of *Jetavana Mahavihara.*

Middle panel – Aerial Pomenede or Chankama- The third week after his enlightenment he spent by walking to and fro, perhaps intensely involved in thinking about the approach to be followed, to reach down to the common man.

Bottom panel – Royal procession– After the arrival of Buddha, the king along with his retinue visit him. A point indicating to the view that Buddha had a life of *Rajarisi.* Instead of the monk visiting the palace, here the king attending him.

Conclusion

The doctrines of Buddhism are unique. Its essence is balanced path *(Madhya marga)* for realizing the supreme goal in life peace and non violence. However, it is Buddha's regal back-ground that had determined the course. By virtue of the background, he had earned sympathy in the contemporary society and political domain. Almost everywhere kings, chieftains and merchants had received him with open heart. So, his monastic life had full royal support. Monasteries like *Venuvana, Jetavana* and many others can be cited as examples. Diplomacy had never left him. Even during his peak time he was living with it. The role played by Buddha during his stay at Vaisali for averting the conflict between the Sakyas and Koliyas over the water of Rohini is an appropriate example. Apart from it, though invited by the king Pradyota of Avanti, he declined to visit that country which would clearly suggest his calculated objectives. Even after his death the Mallas cremated his body with ceremony befitting of a universal King. On hearing the news Ajatasatru of Magadha, Lichchavis of Vaishali, Sakyas of Kapilvastu the Bulis of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Ramagrama, the Mallas of Pava, fought for the relics of Buddha. So, even after his death diplomacy was associated with him. By birth he was a king and by attainment he was a saint. It can be summed up that *"He was a Raja Rishi'.*

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Acknowledgements

I am thankful to Sri S.B. Ota, Shri K.K. Muhammed, Dr. S. S. Gupta and my friend Dr. Manuel Joseph for their valuable suggestions and encouragement. I am also thankful to Smt. Hemlata Okhle, Librarian for her immense help in getting books and references needed in the study...

References

1. Cowell, E.B., *The Jataka*, Luzac and Company LMT. London, 1957.
2. Mitra, D., *Buddhist Monuments*, Sahitya Samsad, Calcutta, 1980.
3. Marshall, J. and Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchi*, Swati pub. New Delhi,1982.
4. Mitra, D. *Sanchi*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 2001.
5. Prasad, Prakash Charan. *Foreign Trade and commerce in Ancient India*, Athena Pub, New Delhi, 1977.
6. Shamasastry, R., *Kautilya's Arthasastra*. Raghuveer press, Mysore, 1956.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

66

The Impact of Sri Chaitanya's Cult on the Society of Orissa : An Introspection

R.C. Misro & R.P. Tripathy

Sri Chaitanya, the pioneer of a great social and religious movement which began in India a little less than five hundred years ago, and which has directly and indirectly influenced the subsequent course of religious and philosophical thinking not only in India but in the recent west as well,[1] was born on 27th February 1486 CE., on the bank of river Bhagirathi,[2] in Nadia (or Navadweep), West Bengal, as the son of Jagannath Misra and Sachi Devi. Chaitanya is the religious name of Viswambhara Misra, the Indian Vaishnava revivalist and mystic, revered by many Hindus as an embodiment of the divine Krishna and Radha.[3]

Jagannath Misra, father of Viswambhara, though was not a rich man but was a reputed Sanskrit scholar and belonged to a lower middle class orthodox Brahmin family. Viswambhara, after completing his elementary education, studied Sanskrit under the guidance of Sudarsana Pandit, and subsequently was sent to the *tol* of Ganga Das Pandit to learn grammar. Viswambhara very soon became a great Sanskrit scholar under Ganga Das Pandit.[4] At the age of nine, in the year 1494 CE. he had his *Upanayana*. After his *Upanayana* he had a mild attack of epilepsy.[5] While quite a youth Viswambhara realised that divinity could be attained more easily by devotion and love than by learning and logic.[6]

In 1496 CE. when Viswambhara reached at the age of eleven, his father died and their financial condition went from bad to worse. Viswambhara completed his studies at the age of 16 in 1501 CE., and took up the profession of teaching. After becoming a teacher Viswambhara married Lakshmi, daughter of Vallava Acharya, a poor Brahmin of Navadweep. He lived with Lakshmi for two years from 1501 CE. to 1503 CE. as a very happy and carefree householder. But after two years of marriage his wife Lakshmi died by snake bite, which was a rude shock to the young husband. Lakshmi's death created a permanent void in his heart, which his second wife Vishnupriya, to whom he married in 1505 CE., could not cure. This was a vital reason that Viswambhara in future tried to get solace to *Sannyasa*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Viswambhara's pilgrimage to Gaya in October 1508 CE. at the age of 22, was a turning point in his life. He offered oblation to his deceased father. There Viswambhara met a recluse named Isvarapuri and prayed for initiation (*mantra dikshya*).[7] He received from him ten syllable Gopala *mantras.*[8]

When Viswambhara returned in 1509 CE. he was completely a changed man, extremely meek and sober[9]. He was always found brooding over Krishna. His companions and others were astonished to see his overpowering ecstasy. This is how the life of Viswambhara was changed from a humble life of a teacher in a Sanskrit school to the highest state of a Saint deified during his lifetime, in course of time.[10] The conversion news spread like a wild fire to all the local Vaishnavas. It was the beginning of the future Vaishnava movement at Navadweep. After returning from Gaya for four months he continued his *tol* and teaching profession. In May, 1509 CE. he closed down his *tol* and gave up his teaching profession, because he was overwhelmed with the love for Krishna.

In 1509 CE. another event took place in the life of Sri Chaitanya when Nityananda joined him as a good companion. Born in the village of Ekachakra in the district of Birbhum, Nityananda left his home at the age of 12 to become a *Sanyasi.* He went round all the *Tirthas* in India and was initiated by Madhavendra's disciple Sankarsanapuri. Nityananda was the only trained *Sanyasi* among the companions of Chaitanya. However, on account of his fervent devotion, services and sacrifices Nityananda was deified with Chaitanya and who in a pair came to be known as Gour-Nitai.[11] Now began the famous association of Chaitanya and Nityananda amidst scenes of indescribable spiritual splendour. The meeting of the two personalities took place in 1509 CE., on the day before the *Vyasapuja.* Undoubtedly, the advent of Nityananda to Navadweep in 1509 CE. was a great event in the life of Viswambhara and in the history of neo-Vaishnavism. The followers of Nityananda started the theory that Nityananda was the incarnation of Balarama himself, and that Krishna had appeared at Navadweep as Chaitanya.[12] Due to the request of his followers Viswambhara accepted the leadership of the Vaishnava group which later came to be called as *Gaudiya* Vaishnavas or Chaitanya *Sampradaya.*[13]

From the very beginning Viswambhara was liberal against the caste system and he had a deep sympathy for the downtrodden. Let even the untouchable *chandala* dance with joy with Viswambhara's name on his lips, Viswambhara gladly consented.[14] He was determined to establish the right of humanity against the medieval barbarism of the Muslim ruler and the hostility of the non-Vaishnavas, the *Pasandis* and the Brahmins. This anticaste socio-religious movement he started first at Navadweep and, to establish the right of the humanity he made *Sankirtana* the medium of his propagation.

Viswambhara was initiated as a *Sanyasin* (ascetic) by Kesava Bharati in 1510 CE., and adopted the name "Sri Krishna Chaitanya" (or God Consciousness), abbreviated into Chaitanya[15]. Then Viswambhara put on the red robe or *Aruna Varna* dress of a *Sanyasi.* After becoming a *Sannyasi* he was surrounded by a number of followers who accompanied him from place to place singing a new type of devotional songs surcharged with emotion, called *Kirtana* (singing in chorus) in tune with *Cymbals* and *Mrudangas.* The *Kirtana* became a regular feature of his religions life.[16] Before the advent of Chaitanya *Kirtana* was there among the Vaishnavas; but he made it very popular among the masses. The magic spell of *Sankirtana* and the *Mahamantra* touched the heart of everybody.[17] The *Mahamantra* of *Sankirtana* is:

"Hare Krishna Hare Krishna
Krishna Krishna Hare Hare
Hare Rama Hare Rama
Rama Rama Hare Hare."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It is the melodious *Kirtana* and the *Mahamantra* which made Chaitanyaism a widely popular religion of the common people of India.

After taking *Sannyasa* Chaitanya could not stay at Nadia (or Navadweep), partly because of the jealousy of his fellow scholars, but mainly because of the tyranny of Muslim rulers.[18] Luckily he was advised by his mother to settle in Nilachala (*i.e.* Puri) instead of Vrindavana[19], and therefore, as an obedient son Chaitanya left for Nilachala on 12th *Phalguna* (end of February) in 1510 CE. With the advent of Chaitanya Vaishnavism and the Radha-Krishna cult received new impetus in Orissa.[20]

After a short stay at Puri, Chaitanya resolved to start for a long and extensive pilgrimage to southern and western India, which took a little less than two years. He was in south from 3rd week of April 1510 CE. to middle of January 1512 CE. He visited many places like Sri Kurmam where he visited the Srikurma temple, Simhachalam where he worshipped the image of Narasimham, Rajamahendri where he met Raya Ramananda, Rameswaram where he worshipped Rameswaram Siva, Srirangam on the Kaveri river, Somanath, Dwaraka, Provasa, Cape Comorin, Travancore, Chandpur, Gurjari, Khandwa, Pandupur, Nasik, Panchabati, Daman and Surat. Chaitanya's meeting with Raya Ramananda, a great Vaishnava and the Kalinga Governor at Rajamahendri was an epoch making event in the history of Vaishnavism. The meeting happened at the bathing place on the river bank of Godavari and Chaitanya welcomed him with high reverence. Ramananda admitted the intensity and power of Chaitanya's devotion, and cordially joined the group of his faithful followers. From Surat he reached Baroda, Ahmedabad, Ghoga, Somanath, Junagarh, Dwaraka, and then returned to Vidyanagar (or Rajamahendri).[21] In this way after an extensive tour of southern and western part of India Chaitanya returned to Puri on the 3rd of *Magha* (or middle of January) in 1512 CE. Gajapati Prataparudra Deva welcomed Chaitanya to Puri. He was deeply impressed by Chaitanya and arranged accommodation for him in the Vakul *matha*.[22]

After his return from south India he made a similar tour to north India. In 1515 CE. he started for Vrindaban, and on the way visited many places like Varanasi, Allahabad, Mathura etc. He spent his days alternatively at Mathura and Vrindavan and thereafter, returned to Puri in 1516 CE. after an absence of about 10 months. Since then, he never left Puri. Chaitanya spent the last 18 years of his monastic life at Nilachala, the land of the Lord Jagannath. From Nilachala he directed his disciples to spread his neo-Vaishnavism in Bengal and in Vrindavan. Nityananda and Advaita were engaged in missionary activities in Bengal. Rupa Goswami and Sanatana Goswami established the mission at Vrindavan. In Kalinga Chaitanya himself was present and his missionary activities were carried on by a group of followers including the monarch himself and the *Panchasakhas* (namely Balaram Das, Jagannath Das, Yasovanta Das, Achyutananda Das and Ananta Das). The *Panchasakha* particularly played an important role in this matter and preached this new religion in such a way that every corner of Orissa was influenced by it, and the literature and social life of Orissa came completely under its spell[23]. When his followers were deeply engaged in missionary activities Sri Chaitanya spent most of his time in spiritual ecstasy. The last eighteen years of Chaitanya's manifest presence were spent in semi-seclusion near the famous Jagannath temple at Puri.

The authoritative biographies of Chaitanya are silent about his passing away. Lochana Das in his *Chaitanya Mangala* (Pub. By Ramnarayan Bidyaratna, Murshidabad, 1913) records that Sri Chaitanya merged into the image of Jagannath on Sunday, the 7th *tithi* of *Asadha* at *Trutiya prahara*. But it is generally believed that he died on 9th July, 1533 CE., at the age of 48 years.

The Philosophy of Chaitanya Cult

Sri Chaitanya's cult spread far and wide in eastern India, creating virtually a social revolution. Sri Chaitanya was never eager to formulate any doctrine for his faith in writing. Because of his

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

outstanding personality people around him were impressed and became his devotees. Consciously he never tried to establish any sect nor to deliver any lecture in the public gathering. In Chaitanya cult the feelings are more predominant than the teachings of Sri Chaitanya. Absorbed in devotional ecstasies he hardly ever sought to build up a cult or a sect. If such a cult or sect gathered itself around him, it was due to the charm of his personality and powerful appeal of his ardent devotion.[24] Chaitanya, due to his emotional absorption, had no time or willingness to found a sect.[25] He never wrote anything for his sect except the eight poems. But some times, he advised to Advaita to redeem the fallen mankind, the women, the untouchables and the illiterates. Though he was not aware of the fact that he had inaugurated a social movement, yet he acted just like a social reformer.[26] Chaitanya's devotion was broad-based and liberal. He was above the sectarian spirit of exclusiveness. The master declared that a person even if he be a *sudra* is a true Vaishnava, if he recites the name of Krishna.[27] He advised his followers to have enough of self control over the worldly desires. Chaitanya's advice to Sanatan Goswami at Benaras is known as *Sanatan Sikshya.* To Sanatan he first declared his theory of *Achintya Vedaved.* He said Krishna is sun and *Jiva* is the sun's ray.[28] To know the teachings of Chaitanya, we are to depend mainly on the literary works of the *Sad Goswamis*, specially Rupa Goswami, Sanatan Goswami, Jiva Goswami, Gopala Bhatta, Raghunath Das Goswami and last but not the least *Chaitanya Charitamrita* of Krishnadas Kaviraj.

His teachings had been divided into ten separate principles by Sri Sundarananda Vidya Vinod, as fundamental advice of Chaitanya to his followers,[29] *viz;*

1. *Srimad Bhagavata* is the cream of the *Vedas* and he told to Prakashnanda that *Srimad Bhagavata Purana* is the connotation of the *Vedantas.*
2. Krishna is the ultimate reality.
3. He is all powerful.
4. He is the source of all the *Rasas* or Divine sentiments.
5. *Jiva* is the atomic part of Krishna.
6. *Jiva* is the *tatastha sakti* of Krishna so he is susceptible to be influenced by *maya* or illusion.
7. But by the chanting of the name of Hari one can be free from *Maya.*
8. *Jiva* and *Jada*, the entire universe is both separate and again same with Hari. *Jiva* is *veda* as well as *aveda* from Hari.
9. Unalloyed devotion is the only path or *Sadhana* for the *Jiva.*
10. Devotion to Hari or Krishna is the only *Sadhana* to *Jiva* or mankind.

These are the ten fundamental principles of Chaitanya, as his advice to Sanatan. He also advised to Sanatan not to have large number of followers, to avoid pomp and ceremony, to be liberal to other's religion, not to hurt anybody's sentiment etc.[30] In the *Visnu Purana* Vyasa has said that chanting of divine name is the simplest and surest way to salvation in the *Kali Yuga.* But Chaitanya's *Kirtan* is something more than chanting of the name. It is mass chanting with music in which there is no distinction of caste and other social distinctions.[31]

Sri Chaitanya introduced *Kirtan* as the means for developing love and devotion for Krishna which is unique in Hindu religion. The Hindus had no system of common mass prayer or worship as Muslims and Christians have. Hindu worship was all along individual whatever be its method. But the mass chanting or *Kirtan* introduced by Sri Chaitanya is one type of common mass prayer, like that of Muslims. This system has minimised caste conflict in Orissa as *Kirtan* keeps intact the rural society. Social reformers have adopted the method of *Kirtan* in the tribal areas to bring them to the path of Hinduism[32]. The greatest contribution of Chaitanya was the introduction of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Nagarakirtana in group consisting of people from all castes and creed. The *Nagarakirtana* centering round Chaitanya attracted people in large numbers. Through this method he reached the masses to the extent no other saint could.[33]

According to Radha Govinda Nath, the eight *slokas* which are known as the '*Sikshyastaka slokas*' had been written personally by Chaitanya in Sanskrit. These are the only written *slokas* of Chaitanya. Most of his *slokas* are based on simple unalloyed devotion to Krishna. *Bhakti* or absolute unalloyed devotion to God is both the means and the end. The great end of his system, as of all Indian forms of worship, is the liberation of the soul. He held that such liberation does not merely mean the annihilation of separate existence. Chaitanya formulated the stages through which the human spirit must pass towards a perfect communion with God. They are:[34]

1. The first religious stage is indifference to the world.
2. The second is active service to God.
3. The third is a personal friendship for the deity.
4. The fourth is a tender affection for Him, as the attachment between parent and child.
5. The fifth is a passionate love, such as the forest nymphs felt for their divine lover.

So devotion to Krishna, the ultimate reality, is the essence of his religion. Over this the vast superstructure of *Gaudiya Vaisnavism* was constructed by the immediate followers of Chaitanya. Chaitanya said that the love of Krishna as well as singing his name was the only way of salvation. Krishna is the highest God and Radha is His consort, whose eternal sport (*lila*) is going on in the *Golaka*. He advised to develop intense love to Krishna with Radha *bhava*, as Radha is His greatest devotee. He believed in *Sudhabhakti* or pure devotion.

To describe the nature of the ultimate reality, the relation between supreme God Krishna and His creation, the innumerable *Jivas* of the universe, *Gaudiya* Vaishnavism adopted a new doctrine of *Achintya-Vedaveda*. The relation is like the fire and the sparks of the fire, same and at the same time different. God and the *Jivas* are *Avinna* at the same time *Vinna*.[35] Thus, the religious contributions of *Gaudiya* Vaishnavism of Chaitanya are the doctrines of (i) *Achintya Vedaveda* or the doctrine of incomprehensible dualistic non-duality, (ii) the cult of Radha, and (iii) the development of the theory of *Rasa* (or Divine sentiment).[36]

The philosophy of Chaitanya taught three things; simple living with minimum possible items of things, disregard of caste rules and the spirit of toleration. Chaitanya made popular the conception of identity of Jagannath with Krishna. He gave an exalted position to Radha. Thus initiated the Radha-Krishna Bhakti movement.

Chaitanya and his neo-Vaishnavism had tremendous effect on the then socio-religious order of Orissa. The *Vedic Brahmanas* of this country failed to oppose this new Vaishnavism although they had at first no real sympathy for it. The interplay of different systems of Vaishnavism, then existing in this part of the country, actually transformed the cult of *Bhakti* into an eclectic form of Vaishnavism.

Impact of Sri chaitanya

The first visit of Sri Chaitanya to Orissa and subsequently his continuous stay for 18 years till his death has had a remarkable bearing upon the Hindu society in general and the Vaishnavas in particular.

Before the advent of Sri Chaitanya in Orissa there were a number of religious cults prevalent in the Hindu society in Orissa. These religious cults had a considerable impact upon the Hindu people, but in spite of the influence of these obscure cults, the Vaishnavism was flowering well.[37]

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The literary works produced before the arrival of Sri Chaitanya testify that the Krishna idea and Radha – *bhava* was known to Ramananda Rai and others. Some works of the period indicate that *Bhakti marga* was also prevalent and in popular tune among the Vaishnavas as well as other people. We find that Krishna idea was known to Ramananda Rai and others, but there were other different religious cults such as Saivism and various branches of Buddhism and Nathism, on which books were written by some scholars. In spite of these obscure religious influences various books were composed on Vaishnava tenets and ideas. From it we can presume that the influence of Sri Chaitanya was vigorously felt inside the Hindu society.[38]

With this background we can easily estimate the impact of Sri Chaitanya on the religion, society and polity, and can enumerate the contribution he had made towards the development of Vaishnava sect and Vaishnava literature in Orissa.

(I) Impact on Religion

The deepest and most important influence Chaitanya had in Orissa was in the field of religion. Chaitanya did not preach any faith in Orissa nor did he initiate any person.[39] The religious contributions of Chaitanyism are the doctrine of *Achintya Vedaveda* or the category of *Achintya Shakti*, the cult of Radha and the development of the theory of *Rasa*.[40] *Achintya Vedaveda*, which literally means incomprehensible dualistic monism, or an inscrutable relation of difference in non-difference. In the opinion of M.T. Kennedy, "neither monism nor dualism is acceptable to the Chaitanya thinker with the result that he takes refuge in an intermediate position, a compromise called *Achintya Vedaveda*. This is not understood but felt in the soul as an intuitive truth."[41] Sridhara Swami, defined this doctrine as "knowledge which is not susceptible to logical proof." Jiva Goswami in his *Bhagavata Sandarbha* has defined this doctrine as *Achintya*, as the power which can reconcile the impossible or in other words that power which can effect difference in identity. *Achintya* means unthinkable or inscrutable power which only the Supreme Reality is having.[42]

Before the advent of Chaitanya, Krishna did not occupy a high place in popular imagination. He was criticized by Sarala Dasa in the *Mahabharata* for immorality. Chaitanya Dasa vilified Krishna in the *Nirguna Samhita*, XVI. Chaitanya's teachings brought about a radical change in the conception, and the Radha-Krishna cult was exalted by the contemporary writers. The five comrades or *Panchasakha* wrote poems on *Rasa* or the sport of Krishna with Radha and the Gopis. Chaitanya made popular the conception of identity of Jagannath with Krishna.[43] Krishna of Vrindavan *lila* is the supreme God of Chaitanyaism. Krishna is the all powerful and all pervading God. He is *Sachhidananda*, the combination of *Sat*, *Chit* and *Ananda*. Krishna is the ultimate reality. The *Jivas* are the atomic parts of Him (or the minutest parts of Him). So the innumerable *Jivas* and the universe are therefore simultaneously and inconceivably distinct and non-distinct from God. The material universe is the perverse reflection of the *Chit* universe. The highest stage of which is called *Goloka*, the permanent abode of Krishna. Pure devotion or Bhakti is the only means to attain God Krishna. The supreme God Krishna is having three attributes, *Sat*, *Chit* and *Ananda* as well as He is having three *Shaktis*, such as *Swarupa Shakti*, *Jiva Shakti* and *Maya Shakti*. The *Jivas* are subject to be influenced by the *Maya Shakti* and are liable to be in bondage by the three *gunas*, with the resultant effect of perception of sorrows and sufferings. Thus there exists simultaneous difference and non-difference between God and *Jiva*, which is inconceivable to material sense.[44]

Before the advent of Chaitanya, Radha had little place in popular imagination.[45] But the cult of Radha or the new exalted position of Radha in the Vaishnava theology is the most prominent

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

contribution of *Gaudiya* Vaishnavism. The Krishna-Gopi legend was not at all in the *Mahabharata*. The Gopi legend developed in *Hari Vamsa* (by Achyutananda) and *Vishnu Purana*, developed further in *Padma Purana* and *Brahma Vaivarta Purana*. But it was in full bloom in *Srimad Bhagavata*. But the name of Radha was not mentioned in the *Srimad Bhagavata*, only the Gopis figured prominently in the *Bhagavata*. In the *Matsya Purana, Vayu Purana, Baraha Purana, Naradiya Purana, Adi Purana,* we get very scanty mentions of Radha in one or two *slokas*. So, it is not possible to give any comment on the development of *Radha-tattwa* from the above mentioned *Puranas*.[46] The conception of Radha as the *Shakti* of Krishna may be an influence of *tantric-shakti-tattwa*.[47] Rupa Goswami in his *Ujjvala Nilamani* declares that Radha is already established in the *Tantra* as the *Hladini Mahashakti* of Krishna. Radha is the highest manifestation of Krishna's *Chit Shakti*. Again Radha is the *Ananda* or the *Hladini* of Krishna. Krishna's delight is Radha. So, Radha is same as Krishna. Krishna, himself is the source of all divine bliss or *Ananda* and Radha is the personification of Krishna's *Ananda*. The essence of *Ananda* is called *Mahabhava*. So, Radha is the *Mahabhava* of Sri Krishna. Rupa Goswami, Jiva Goswami and later on Krishnadas Kaviraj explained Radha-*tattwa* in many ways.[48] From the 12th century CE., Radha was quite prominent in the philosophy and literature of south as well as of north. Rai Ramananda restored the worldly love of Radha and Krishna, which was depicted by Jayadeva, in his *Gita Govinda* to the platform of Divine intellectuality. And later on this Divine intellectuality was accepted and supported by the Vrindavana Goswamis and the followers of Sri Chaitanya. From the worldliness Radha was restored to the heaven of Divine scholasticism. This is the contribution of Sri Chaitanya.[49]

Like the development of Radha cult the *Rasa* theory is another significance of Chaitanyaism. Poems were written on '*Rasa*' (or amorous sports of Krishna) with Radha and the '*Gopis*'[50] or on *Madhurabhasa* and *Rasalila*.[51] The beauty of Chaitanyaism is devotion. It is based on the devotion of *Bhagavata* and is full of *Bhaktirasa*. The *Bhagavata* also described the five types of *Bhakti Rasa*. Chaitanya devoted his whole life to explain and to enjoy the *Bhakti-tattwa* of *Bhagavata*. Devotion to Krishna is the doctrine of Chaitanya for his followers. Sri Krishna, the ultimate reality of *Gaudiya Vaishnavism* is the *Rasaraja* or the source of all the *Rasas* of life. Achyutananda and associates wrote poems on '*Rasa*' or the sport of Krishna with Radha and the Gopis. The *Rasakrida* of Jagannatha Dasa, the *Nitya Rasa* of Achyutananda, the *Tula Sunya Rasa* of Ananta, may be cited in this connection.[52] The *Rasa* theory of the Vrindavana Goswami is nothing but the collaboration of the *Shikhastakas* of Chaitanya, that is Chaitanya's devotion to Krishna as Radha. The special feature of the *Goudiya Rasa* theory is the *Vipra-Lambha Rasa* or God-love-in separation.[53]

Rasa or love to God is the basic principle of *Gaudiya* Vaishnavas. So, Chaitanya formulated the states, through which the human spirit must pass towards a perfect communion with God. The first religious stage is indifference to the world; the second is active service to God; the third is a personal friendship for the deity; the fourth is a tender affection for Him, as the attachment between parents and child; and the fifth is a passionate love for the divine.[54]

Chaitanya made popular the conception of Jagannath's identity with Krishna. N. Samantaraya write in this connection: 'If the rites of Jagannath are analysed, it will be seen that, he has become to a great extent, a *Gaudiya Vaishnava*.[55]

Another contribution of Chaitanya was the *Nagara Kirtana*, in which all persons irrespective of their sectarian beliefs, can participate. The organisation of *Kirtan* as for eight (*asta*) *praharis* and twenty four *praharis* in the month of *Kartika, Magha* and *Baisakha* has been a very traditional religious festival in Orissa till now, in which the holy name of God is being chanted with music and dance.[56] To quote A. Majumdar: "Religious devotion saw its extreme limits of rapturous

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

expression, both physically and psychologically in Chaitanya, which is perhaps unparalleled in the history of the world."[57]

Referring to Chaitanya's influence upon the masses in Orissa, Mayadhar Mansingh writes, "To the masses of Orissa, he proved to be a veritable fountain-head of unprecedented spiritual–enthusiasm. Even today to the millions of Oriya's Chaitanya is the only God."[58]

While referring to Chaitanya's influence upon the masses in Orissa, we should not ignore the fact that the Chaitanya faith did not spread throughout Orissa. It is popular only in the undivided coastal districts of Ganjam, Puri, Cuttack, Balasore and in the undivided adjoining districts of Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Dhenkanal and Koraput. West Orissa was separated by dense forests from coastal Orissa, till the Maratha rule in Orissa. So, the Chiefs of West Orissa continued their allegiance to their tutelary goddesses. More than a century ago, Hunter wrote:

"The adoration of Chaitanya has become a sort of family worship throughout Orissa. The worship of Chaitanya extends throughout Orissa and I have a long list of landed families who worship him with daily rituals in the household chapels, dedicated to his name. At this moment, Chaitanya is the apostle of the common people in Orissa. The *Brahmanas*, unless they happen to enjoy grants of lands in his name ignore his work. In almost every *Brahmana* village, the communal shrine is dedicated to Siva, but in the villages of ordinary husbandmen, it is Vishnu (or Krishna) who is worshipped and Chaitanya is remembered as the great teacher of the proletarian faith."[59] This statement is still true to a considerable extent.

(II) Impact on Society

Chaitanya movement is not only a religious movement but it was also a socio-cultural movement as it deeply influenced the socio-cultural life of India. Chaitanyaism is a devotional religion which is based on humanism, socialism and religious liberalism. These aspects are nothing but the social contributions of Chaitanya.[60]

The theory of *Bhakti* that had its development till the time of Sri Chaitanya was applied in practice throughout his life. The thought that Lord Krishna resides in every being, was a firm conviction with Chaitanya. That is why even before his renunciation of the world, he was a beloved friend of the distressed, the poor, the downtrodden and the low-born untouchables.[61] Being distressed at the sorrow of mankind including the poor low-born untouchables, Chaitanya renounced the world and embraced asceticism.[62] We know that at the time of the arrival of Sri Chaitanya the cruelty of casteism was strong. *Sudras* were not allowed to take part in any sort of debate on religion. The reading of the *Vedas* and *Vedantas* were confined to the Brahmins. But Sri Chaitanya in his teachings emphasized on the abolition of the difference among the people.[63] So, the noblest achievement in Chaitanya's life was an extending of the right to the love of God to all including the backward section of the society. Even people of every sect including Muslims were allowed to join the *Sankirtan* party. He himself embraced Raya Ramananda, Sanatana and Yavan Haridasa without caring to consider their caste or Community.[64] Balarama Dasa, Yasovanta, Achyutananda and Ananta were non-*Brahmanas*, and Ramananda was a *Karana*. Other followers of Chaitanya like Syamananda was a cultivator by caste and Vidyabhushan was a *Khandait* (*i.e. Khandayat*).[65] Chaitanya never spoke against the *Varnasramadharma*, but in action he proved to be a great reformist as he struck at the root of untouchability. He was strongly of the view that even a *Chandala* is not be despised as a *Chandala* if he is attached with the name of Krishna, and that a Brahmin is not to be respected as a Brahmin, if he is dishonest. He said,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Chandala chandala nahe
Yadi Krishna bole
Vipra nahe Vipra
Yadi asat pathe chale."

The moral reformation of the upper and middle class has been the work of Vaishnavism. It uplifted the lower ranks of the society and the unlettered masses by carrying religion to their doors through the device of *nama samkirtan* or chanting processions which is certainly a unique contribution of Chaitanya to the spiritual life of the people. The movement, however, attempted to break down orthodox Brahminic domination over society and proclaimed the dignity of every man as possessing with in himself a particle of divine soul.[66] Of course, there were lesser number of women than men in the faith of Vaishnavism, but their cultural upliftment was promoted by allowing them to read *Sastras*.[67] Madhavi Dasi, Gouri the Pattamadhavi, a disciple of Jagannath Dasa, were devotees and disciples and gradually became renowned in the society. These disciples were advised to devote their life to the teachings of Sri Chaitanya.[68]

Another striking influence of Chaitanya's teaching and preaching is that people from lower classes became the *gurus* (preceptor) who initiated people of all classes, high and low, men and women and consequently formed a particular lineage. Among them were Shyamananda, Rasikananda, Haridayananda etc.[69] In the primary days of Chaitanyaism the Brahmins did not like the Chaitanya movement which was dominated by *Sudras*. However, in the long run, the Brahmins could not resist the overwhelming popularity of the Chaitanya faith and many of them took the *Vaishnava* surname 'Dasa'.[70]

The popularisation of the Oriya *Bhagabat* is another contribution of Chaitanya movement in Orissa. *Bhagabat* helped in spread of literacy and moral values among the inhabitants of Orissa. The epic *Bhagabat* was written on palm leaves, generally known as *Pothi*. The *Bhagabat pothi* was kept in a house located in the middle of the village. The house, popularly known as *Bhagabat Ghara*, was built and maintained by the villagers themselves. However, the house was used as a community hall by the villagers. The people assembled in the evening where the *Bhagabat* was read and discussed widely. The village folks got relaxation of the day's labour by listening to the stories and morals of the *Bhagabat*. Thus, it was a centre of attraction, and gradually became a centre of learning and education. This was also another reason of the wide spread of primary education in Orissa.[71] It is remarkable that in the census report of 1900 CE. the literacy rate of Orissa was adequately higher than that of any other state of India.[72]

Chaitanya's mission was to reconstruct an egalitarian society under the banner of the name *Hari*, where there would be no distinction between the ruler and the ruled, the learned and the illiterate, the rich and the poor, the *Brahmana* and the *Sudra*, the Hindu and the Muslim. Sri Chaitanya did throw up a challenge to the age-old traditional Hinduism that often indulged in lifeless rites and rituals, advising the people to devote themselves to the practice of uttering (*Japa*), remembering (*Smarana*) and singing (*Kirtana*) the name of Hari only. So, Chaitanya was determined to impart *Bhakti* to one and all through the preaching of the name of Krishna.[73]

Hunter's remark that in Orissa, "Chaitanya is remembered as the great teacher of the proletarian faith" is amply testified in the rural and tribal region of Orissa where Chaitanyaism was able to exert much influence because of its basic potentiality of getting accepted by the masses for its stress on the concepts of equality, compassion and non-formalism in regard to spiritual quest and also for its identity with the cult of Lord Jagannath, the state deity of Orissa with tribal affiliations. It should be remembered in this connection that historically before the advent of the Christian missionaries,

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

it was the *Vaishnava* preachers who alone cared for the tribes. They went to the tribal regions with their egalitarian social approach and doctrine of pure devotion and brought a renovation in the tribal cultures. Chaitanya went to Vrindavan several times through Jharkhand and other tribal regions. Now it is surprising to note that in all the tribal areas where the Lord spent night or stayed for sometime, the spots are regarded as sacred and the event of his stay is still now celebrated by festivals and rituals[74].

(III) Impact on Polity

The Hindu kingdom of Orissa was a vast powerful political entity through the various stages of the ancient and medieval Indian history. Orissa lost her independence to Sulaiman Karrani, the Muslim ruler of Bengal in 1568 CE. after much of India had succumbed to the Muslim hegemony. During the rule of Kapilendra Deva (1435 CE.-1466 CE.) the founder ruler of the famous Suryavamsi dynasty, the territory of the kingdom of Orissa stretched from the river Gangas in north upto Arcot in the south. Even during the comparatively feeble reign of Prataparudra Deva (1497 CE. – 1541 CE.) the third ruler of the said dynasty, the kingdom of Orissa extended from the Hughly and Medinipur district of Bengal to the Guntur district of Madras.[75]

During the reign of Prataparudra Deva the process of disintegration started. The disintegration can be attributed to both external as well as internal factors. Externally Prataparudra Deva found himself faced with formidable enemies in three quarters. In the south he had to contend with two powerful enemies Raja Krishnadeva Raya, the second and most illustrious ruler of the *Tulava* dynasty of Vijaynagar and Quli Qutub Shah, the ruler of Golconda. In the north, after a long period of chaos Bengal had come under the rule of a strong and aggressive Muslim ruler, Sultan Hussain-Shah (1493-1519 CE.). The powerful onrush of the Muslims, which no part of India could successfully withstand, may be regarded as the most primary factor responsible for the fall of the Hindu kingdom of Orissa. Internal weakness and dissension continued to mar the prospect of giving effective opposition to the external enemies.[76] According to some historians during this critical period the wave of neo-Vaishnavite religious movement chilled the spirit of the people and demoralised the whole governmental machinery. Thus write's R.D. Banerjee, that "suddenly from the beginning of the 16th century CE. a decline set in the power and prestige of Orissa with a corresponding decline in the military spirit of the people. This decline is intimately connected with the long residence of the Bengal Vaishnava saint Chaitanya in the country. If we accept only one tenth of what the Sanskrit and Bengali biographies of the saint state about his influence over Prataparudra and the people of the country, even then we must admit that Chaitanya was one of the principal causes of the political decline of the empire and the people of Orissa. Not only that, the acceptance of Vaishnavism rather neo-Vaishnavism was the real cause of the *Muslim* conquest of Orissa twenty eight years after the death of Prataparudra. The religion of equality and love preached by Chaitanya brought in its train a false faith in man and thereby destroyed the structure of society and government in Bengal and Orissa, because in reality no two men are born equal and government depends upon brute force especially in a country like India in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries CE. A wave of religious fervour passed over the country and during this reformation Orissa not only lost her empire but also her political prestige. In Orissa, on account of its acceptance by royalty; neo-Vaishnavism became fashionable, and powerful officers of Prataparudra Deva like Raya Ramananda and Gopinath Barajena were then most notable converts after the king himself."[77]

R.D. Banerjee points out that, according to Jayananda's *Chaitanya Mangal*, (Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta, 1907), Chaitanya dissuaded Prataparudra from invading Bengal because the war

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

would have a disastrous effect on his country.[78] Referring to *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, (By Krishnadas Kabiraj, Radharaman Press, Murshidabad, 1884), he further holds how an inefficient officer, Gopinath Barajena, the Governor of Medinipur was exempted from the order of execution and allowed to continue in the said office at the intercession of Chaitanya's disciples.[79]

A similar view is held by H.K. Mahatab: "the administration of the country was very loose during the reign of Prataparudra Deva and the state of political stagnation that marks his reign may easily be ascribed to the cult of love which was gradually spreading in Orissa and which reached its climax on the advent of Sri Chaitanya into Orissa. A doctrine that preaches inaction and sentimentalism is harmful to the ordinary man in his daily walk of life and it is simply fatal to an administrator who holds the destiny of millions. The attempt to make the *Bhakti* cult a mass religion and to influence the king and his officers by its sweet and pessimistic philosophy had no doubt been fatal to the social and political life of the country."[80]

However, such views are not acceptable to many scholars. Many historians like P. Mukherjee, substantially rejected such explanations. His views on the political decline of medieval Hindu kingdom seems to be more acceptable.

In the first place, he holds that the decline was gradual in process and can be detected even before the 16th century CE. because Purushottam Deva the predecessor of Prataparudra Deva lost more than one half of his ancestral dominion with in five or six years of his accession, and the Bahamani sultans annexed the Godavari Krishna Doab.[81]

Secondly, the military strength of the kingdom had been shaked by the frequent wars of aggression waged by Kapilendra Deva and Purushottam Deva.

Thirdly, the people of Orissa rolled in luxury with the wealth plundered from Kanchi to Triveni and neglected their martial duty.

Fourthly, the Chaitanya faith hardly made any substantial progress in Orissa during the life time of Chaitanya. The real cause of the fall of Orissa was not the acceptance of neo-Vaishnavism but the weakness of Prataparudra's successors and treachery of the officers. Prataparudra Deva died in 1540 CE. and within 28 years, no less than seven kings of three different dynasties occupied the throne. It is difficult to link the sinking boat of a dynasty with the Chaitanya faith in Orissa which taught mankind to be honest.[82]

H.K. Mahatab also remarks that, "the independence of Orissa was extinguished in the bloody depth of a fratricidal war rather than in a war of foreign invasion. Mukunda Deva had to fall a victim to the knife of a treacherous brother and not to the sword of an invader".[83]

P. Mukherjee holds that, "the Chaitanya movement can be hardly blamed for this sad decline in military spirit of the people". Finally, he concludes that "the Chaitanya movement was one of the many causes that precipitated the catastrophes but it was not the real cause nor even an important one".[84]

Conclusion

Thus, the coming of Sri Chaitanya had brought a great change in the consciousness of the people of Orissa, and inaugurated an era of Bhakti movement. However, Chaitanya movement is not only a religious movement but it was also a socio-cultural movement as it deeply influenced the socio-cultural life of India. The ideologies of the *Bhakti* movement such as religious toleration, non-violence, universal fraternity, social justice and unalloyed devotion to God were also spread by Sri Chaitanya in Orissa and other parts of India through his socio-religious movement. His teachings of universal love mingled with equality also spread to

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

various parts of India. Though Vaishnavism was gaining ground in Orissa even before Chaitanya's arrival, yet with the coming of Sri Chaitanya it started changing the religious thinking of people so much that even in his life time Sri Chaitanya was regarded as the incarnation of Krishna both in Orissa and other parts of India. After his death, his life and teachings became a perennial source of inspiration to many not only to produce literary works of different forms, but also to spread the neo-Vaishnavism, otherwise known as *Gaudiya* Vaishnavism, based on the cult of love in and outside Orissa.

The Impact of Sri Chaitanya's Cult on the Society of Orissa: An Introspection

A thundering monk and the greatest protagonist of neo- Vaishnavism Sri Chaitanya, ushered a new era in the field of socio-religious reforms in medieval India. In the caste dominated medieval Indian society he has emerged as a supreme social reformer, who sacrificed everything that was near and dear to him to improve the spiritual condition and social atmosphere of human civilisation. His movement greatly influenced the conservative society and changed the religious life of millions with in his lifetime. He was perhaps the only saint who could transform the face of India, in a socio-cultural and philosophical sense, by encouraging and converting the leading contemporary philosophers and social thinkers of his time. It was his reform movement and philosophy which has made him world famous, particularly in western land like countries in Europe and America.The spirit and strength of his thoughts were so powerful that even half a millennium after his demise people from the cross section of the globe are getting instant inspiration whenever the daring souls aspire to imbibe the energising philosophy in their personality.

Who was Sri Chaitanya and why his reform movement appeals to the heart of millions of people even in the 21st century irrespective of caste, creed, sex and nationality has been a subject of study for many scholars both in India and abroad. Hence, the main concern of this paper is not only to study the life and teachings of Sri Chaitanya but also to make a detailed analysis of the impact of Sri Chaitanya's cult on the society of Orissa.

Sri Chaitanya is the religious name of Viswambhara Mishra. Vishwambhara was born in February, 1486 CE,[85] during the reign of Sultan Jalal-ud-din Fatah Shah (or Hussain Shah, 1481-1488 CE.) on the bank of river Bhagirathi,[86] in Nadia (or Navadweep), West Bengal, as the son of Jagannath Mishra and Sachi Devi.Vishwambhara's father Jagannath Mishra was a reputed Sanskrit scholar of Navadweep. After his elementary education, Viswambhara studied Sanskrit under Sudarsana Pandit and subsequentely was sent to the *tol* of Ganga Das Pandit to learn Grammar. Under his guidance Viswambhara very soon became a great Sanskrit scholar[87]. At the age of nine, in the year 1494 CE. he had his *Upanayana*. While quite a youth Viswambhara realised that divinity could be attained more easily by devotion and love than by learning and logic[88]. Situation changed pathetically at the age of eleven in 1496 CE., when his father died. The financial condition of his family went from bad to worse at that time.

Viswambhara completed his study in 1501 CE. and took up the profession of teaching. After becoming a teacher Viswambhara married Lakshmi, daughter of Vallabha Acharya, a poor Brahmin of Navadweep. He lived with Lakshmi for two years from 1501 CE. to 1503 CE. as a very happy and carefree householder. But the sudden death of Lakshmi by snake bite, after two years of marriage, was a rude shock to the young husband. Lakshmi's death created a permanent void in his heart which his second wife Vishnupriya, could not cure, to whom he married in 1505 CE only to please the will of his mother Sachi Devi. This was the vital reason that Viswambhara in future tried to get solace to *Sannyasa*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Viswambhara's pilgrimage to Gaya to offer oblation to his deceased father in *Bhadra* (or October) 1508 CE.[89] was a turning point in his life. At Gaya, he met with a hermit Iswarapuri and begged *Mantra dikshya* (or initiation)from him and received the ten syllable Gopala *Mantras.*[90] When Viswambhara returned to Navadweep in 1509 CE. he was completely a changed man. He experienced a spiritual ecstasy and decided to surrender himself fully to the services of Krishna. After this incident the life of Viswambhara was changed from an humble life of a teacher in a Sanskrit school to the highest state of a saint deified during his life time, in course of time.[91] In January 1510 CE. he took initiation as a *Sanyasin* (or ascetic) from Kesava, a monk of the Bharati order of Sankara and was renamed "Krishna Chaitanya"[92] (or God Consciousness) abbreviated into Chaitanya. According to the '*Chaitanya Chandrodaya'* (Kabi Karnapura, Pub. Radharamana Press, Murshidabad, 1887), after putting on the robes of a monk, Chaitanya wanted to go to Brundabana,[93] but it was Chaitanya's mother, who advised him to go to Puri (in Orissa), so that she might get information about him from the pilgrims.[94] Chaitanya set out with four companions for 'Jagannath *Kshetra'* (Puri). After reaching Orissa, in the month of *Phalgoona* (or February) in 1510 CE.,[95] he expressed his eagerness to see the 'Lord of Nilachala'Sri Jagannath. When Chaitanya reached Puri and had his first *darsana* (sight) of the Jagannath temple, he was overwhelmed with emotion and shouted and danced with joy. In his ecstasy he rushed ahead of his companions and entered the temple by himself. The first visit of Sri Chaitanya to Jagannath as recorded in '*Chaitanya Bhagavata'* (by Brindavana Das, Pub. Haridas Sheth, Calcutta, *San*, 1293), demonstrates his ecstatic vision. The frenzy of Chaitanya knew no bounds at the first sight of Lord Jagannath. He rushed to embrace the Lord, but he was obstructed by the attendants, surcharged with emotion he fell unconscious. Vasudeva Sarbabhauma, the great Vedantic scholar, came to his rescue at this stage. Next when he visited the temple, the priests received him respectfully. They had heard that Chaitanya had defeated Sarvabhauma in a theological disputation. They offered him *prasada*, which he received with great reverence. After his first experience he decided that in future he would never enter the Sanctum Sanatorium and from the *Garuda Stamva* he would have the *darsan* of Jagannath, because he could not control his emotion when he came before the image of Jagannath. Before Chaitanya went to the south, he visited the Jagannath temple. The priests offered him the garland of the deity as a token of god-speed.[96] This first sight of Jagannath had a lasting effect on Chaitanya. He discovered his true self for the first time and realised his inseparable bond with Jagannath.[97] He realised that Jagannath is none but the Krishna of Dwaraka. Jagannath, who was Buddha-Jagannath and the *Sabari Narayana* (the deity of the *sabaras* or tribals) gradually was identified with Purushottama Sri Krishna and very closely with Narasimha.

After a short stay at Puri, Chaitanya resolved to start for a long and extensive pilgrimage to southern and western India which took little less than two years *i.e.*, from April 1510 CE. to January 1512 CE. On the 7th *Vaisakha* (April) he started for south India along the east-coast and halted at Alarnath. From Alarnath he went to Sri Kurmam through the district of Ganjam, the heart of ancient empire of Kalinga and worshipped the image of Sri Kurmam. On his way to Rajamahendri he visited Simhachalam, where he worshipped the image of Narasimha. Chaitanya met the learned scholar *Rai* Ramananda at Rajamahendri on the bank of the river Godavari, who was described as the 'bee to the lotus feet of Krishna'.[98] It is clear from '*Vaishnava Lilamruta'* that Rai Ramananda had popularised the eternal love of Radha and Krishna by staging '*Radhakrishna lila'*. Long before the arrival of Sri Chaitanya, he was conferred the Royal title of 'Rai' for his splendid work, '*Sri Jagannath Ballava Natakam'*. He was the acknowledged exponent of *Achintya Veda Veda* philosophy and Sri Chaitanya held him in high esteem.[99] They had long discussions in which Ramananda disclosed the various stages of *Bhakti* philosophy at the command of the master. The meeting of these two exponents of neo-Vaishnavism has been nicely narrated by Krishnadas Kaviraj in his

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

famous Bengali Book '*Chaitanya Charitamrita*' in the following manner; 'Passionately did the Master embrace him and both humbled down on the ground in excess of devotion, senseless with love, inert or perspiring, weeping, trembling with their hair standing on end, pale of hus and lisping Krishna.'[100] The discussion as recorded in the '*Chaitanya Charitamrita*' and '*Chaitanya Bhagabata*' is a valuable treatise in the history of Vaishnavism.[101] After that meeting Ramananda admitted the intencity and power of Chaitanya's devotion, and joined the group of his faithful followers.

Thereafter Chaitanya proceeded to deep south as far as Rameswaram and worshipped Rameswaram Siva. He then visited Srirangam, Somanath, Dwaraka, Pravasa, Capecomorin, Travancore, Chandpur, Khandwa, Pandupur, Nasik, Panchabati, Surat, Junagarh, then returned to Rajmahendri.[102] In the south, Chaitanya by his divine behaviour and personality reformed several sinners. In this way after an extensive tour of southern and western India Sri Chaitanya returned to Puri, on 3rd *Magha* (or middle of January), 1512 CE. The king Gajapati Prataparudra Deva welcomed the great saint Sri Chaitanya to Puri. From the very first sight he was deeply impressed by the divine behaviour and personality of Chaitanya and arranged accommodation for him in the Vakula *matha*.[103] But this time after his return from the south-western Indian visit he could not see the Lord, as the temple was closed on the occasion of *Snana-Purnima*, so Chaitanya went to Alarnath out of grief, where he derived consolation by worshipping the image of Narayana.[104] Krishnadasa Kaviraja (in his *Sri Chaitanya Charitamrita*) has vividly described the chariot festival in 1512 CE. which Chaitanya attended for the first time at Puri. He and his followers cleaned the Gundicha temple (the destination of chariots), by pouring out hundreds of buckets of water. He saw with ecstatic joy the *pahandi* ceremony and followed the deities during their ceremonial procession to respective chariots. During this period his devotional favour was manifested by various psychological symptoms. He danced in frenzied delight and often he fainted on the ground.

After a short stay at Puri, Chaitanya desired to visit north India and particularly Brundabana. The monarch Prataparudra Deva made all arrangements for his journey. Chaitanya left Puri in the month of October in 1515 CE. On the fixed day he started for Brundabana and on the way visited many places like Varanasi,Allahabad, Mathura etc.After a short stay at Varanasi Chaitanya left for Mathura. His handsome appearance and the devotional fervour attracted many people of Mathura. He spent his days alternatively at Mathura and Brundabana.The people of Brundabana and Mathura were highly influenced and realised the great miraculous power of Chaitanya and thronged in large number for initiation. At Brundabana Chaitanya's intense of emotion was many times more than what it was at Puri.So his companions suggested that the master should leave Brundabana quickly, failing which his life might be in danger because of his frequent trances. After a brief stay at Brundabana he reluctantly left it. On his way back to Puri he spent some days at Kumbha *mela* and Prayaga.[105] He arrived thereafter in Puri after an absence of about 10 months in 1516 CE. Having passed six years in pilgrimage in various parts of India until about 1516 CE. Chaitanya decided to live permanently at Puri. He was then 30 years old. The remaining 18 years of his life was comparatively uneventful and passed in worship and daily adoration of Jagannath. The authoritative biographies of Chaitanya are silent about his passing away. Lochana Dasa in his *Chaitanya Mangala* (Pub. Ramnarayana Bidyaratna, Murshibad, 1913) records that Sri Chaitanya merged into the image of Jagannath on Sunday, the 7th *tithi* of *Asadha* at *Trutiya prahara*.But it is generally believed that he died on 9th July 1533 CE., at the age of 48 years[106].

The Philosophy of Sri Chaitanya

In Chaitanya's cult the feelings are more predominant than the teachings of Chaitanya.Absorbed in devotional ecstasies he hardly ever sought to build up a cult or a sect. If such a cult or sect gathered itself round him it was due to the charm of his personality and powerful appeal of his

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ardent devotion. He never wrote any thing for his sect except the eight Sanskrit poems,which are known as the '*Sikshastaka Slokas'*. Most of his *Slokas* are based on simple unalloyed devotion to Krishna.The philosophy and the theology of Chaitanya sect is based on the *Upanisadas, Brahmasutras* and *Srimad Bhagavata.* The teachings of Chaitanya are identical with those of the *Bhagabata* but it is based on pure devotion to Krishna.It created a peculiar theory and practice of intensely personal and passionate *Bhakti* which is different from the speculative *Bhakti* of *Bhagavat Gita.*[107] Chaitanya's system is a type of idealistic monism which reconciles all contradictions in a superlogical unity in a whole that surpasses strictly logical comprehensions. *Gaudiya* Vaishnavism is a well-integrated synthesis of all the previous Vaishnava doctrines, which have shown the clear distinction or duality in the fundamental conception of the relation between the supreme reality, the individuals and the universe. All the Vaishnava schools are nothing but a protest against Sankara's monism. In the similar way *Gaudiya* Vaishnavism is also a protest agianst absolute monism with a new doctrine that is the doctrine of *Achintya Vedaveda.*[108] *Achintya Vedaveda* is a new doctrine developed by Chaitanya to describe the nature of the ultimate reality, the reality between supreme God Krishna and his creation, the innumerable *Jivas* (creatures) of the universe. The relation is like the fire and the sparks of the fire, same and at the same time different. God and the *Jivas* are *Avinna* and at the same time *Vinna* (different).

The main subject of worship in the *Gaudiya* Vaishnavism is Lord Krishna, who is regarded as *Paramatma* (supreme God). The chief feature of this sect is the identity of Krishna, and the main religious and moral code of this faith is *Bhakti*, which signifies implicit faith with an incessant devotion to Krishna in body, mind and soul. The followers of this sect spend time in meditation with repetition of the name of Krishna, a practice which is believed to be sufficient for salvation.[109]

Chaitanya's philosophy has been divided into ten separate principles as fundamental advice of Chaitanya to his followers.[110] That are, *Srimad Bhagavata* is the cream of the *Vedas* and *Srimad Bhagavata Purana* is the connotations of the *Vedantas.* Krishna is all powerful and He is the ultimate reality. He is the source of all the *Rasas* or divine sentiments. *Jiva* is the atomic part of Krishna. *Jiva* is the *Tatastha Shakti* of Krishna, so he is susceptible to be influenced by *Maya* (illusion). But by chanting the names of Hari one can be free from *Maya.* The entire universe is both separate and again same with Hari. *Jiva* is *Veda* as well as *Aveda* from Hari. Unalloyed devotion is the only path of salvation for the *Jiva.* Devotion to Hari or Krishna is the only *Sadhana* to *Jiva* (or mankind).

Chaitanya at times expressed his philosophy as his advice to Sanatana. These ten fundamental principles are the extracts of his advice to guide the whole *Gaudiya* Vaishnava community. Chaitanya also advised Sanatana not to have large number of followers, to avoid pump and ceremony, to be liberal to others' religion, not to hurt anybody's sentiment and chanting Krishna's name for salvation. In the *Vishnu Purana,* Vyasa has said that chanting of divine name is the simplest and the surest way of salvation in the *Kali Yuga* (degenerate age). But Chaitanya's *kirtana* is something more than chanting of the name. It is mass chanting with music in which there is no discrimination of caste and other social distinctions. The *Kirtana* is a unique device introduced by Chaitanya to uplift the lower ranks of the society by carrying religion to their door steps.

Chaitanya also formulated some stages through which the human spirit must pass towards a perfect communion with God. They are indifference to world, active service to God, personal friendship for the deity, tender affection for him as the attachment between parent and child, and passionate love such as the forest nymphs felt for their divine lover.[111]

To accommodate the psychological and emotional needs of the common people and to provide them with direct access to Hindu deities without the strict Brahminical precepts concerning purity,[112] Chaitanya has given some solutions for them such as:

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1. To keep company with the devotees of Krishna, discuss about Krishna and his *Lilas* and thus creating an inspiring atmosphere of devotion.
2. To chant the name of Krishna.
3. To hear the narration of Krishna's past times.
4. To reside at Brundabana, the place of Krishna's manifest *Lilas*, mentally if not physically.
5. To worship his image firmly believing that it is He Himself made His faith acceptable to people of all caste, faith and creed. He attached great importance to chanting of Krishna's name, which alone may uplift one to the highest level of spirituality and for this reason that the scriptures of *Bhakti* cult admit no difference between Him and His name.

So devotion to Krishna, the ultimate reality is the essence of his religion. Over this the vast superstructure of *Gaudiya* Vaishnavism was constructed by the immediate followers of Chaitanya. The religion of Chaitanya has two sides, one is the practical philosophical side and the other is the imaginative side. On the philosophical side, he was dead against scepticism. On his imaginative side, he was a faithful worshipper of Krishna.

The essence of his philosophy was that, the love of Krishna as well as singing His name was the only way of salvation. Krishna is the highest God and Radha is His consort. He advised to develop intense love to Krishna with Radha *bhava*, as Radha is His greatest devotee. He believed in *Sudhabhakti* (or pure devotion). His philosophy also taught us three things; simple living with minimum possible items of things, disregard of caste rules and the spirit of toleration. Chaitanya made popular the conception of identity of Jagannath with Krishna and gave an exalted position to Radha.

With the *Bhakti* movement of Chaitanya the Radha- Krishna cult received new impetus, and its popularity reached a new high under his influence.[113] Chaitanya for his philosophy and the *Bhakti* movement, was very popular and had a remarkable effect on the then socio-religious order of India in general and Orissa in particular. The newly introduced device *Kirtana* (or *Sankirtana*) further enhanced its popularity and has carried Chaitanya's cult to the nook and corners and to the door steps of every common people of Orissa. The followers of Chaitanya played an important role in this matter and preached this new message of their *Mahaprabhu* in such a way that each and every part of Orissa was influenced by it and the contemporary literature and social life came completely under its spell.

Impact of Chaitanya's Cult on Society

Chaitanya's cult spread far and wide in eastern India, creating virtually a social revolution. It had tremendous lasting effect on the society which saved the lowborn Hindu people from the clutches of Brahmanical orthodoxy and the onslaught of Islamic rule. Chaitanyaism is a devotional religion, which is based on humanism, socialism and religious liberalism. These aspects have deeply influenced the socio-cultural life of the people and are nothing but the social contributions of Chaitanya. Consciously he never tried to establish any sect taking the lowborn, untouchables and other weaker sections of the society as his followers or to deliver any lecture in the public gathering, denouncing or praising any community or caste. If such a cult or sect gathered itself round him it was due to the charm of his personality and powerful appeal of his ardent devotion. Chaitanya, due to his emotional absorption, had no time or willingness to found a sect. Even he never wrote anything for his sect except the eight poems in Sanskrit. However, sometimes, he advised his followers on very many subjects. For example, he advised to Advaita to redeem the fallen mankind, the women, the untouchables and the illiterates. Though he was not aware of the fact that he had inaugurated a social movement, yet he acted just like a social reformer.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

From the very beginning Chaitanya was liberal and against the caste system. He had deep sympathy for the lowborn people. So from his young days he started the anti-caste socio-religious movement first at Nadia- Navadweep, his birth place and the citadel of medieval Brahmanical orthodoxy and Muslim ruthlessness. Later he had given up his profession as a teacher and also his family life for the need of the society, for the suffering humanity, to redeem the fallen ones, to remove misery of the mankind and to bring social reforms in the caste dominated orthodox medieval Indian society. So, common men from different walks of life joined with him and this popularity helped him to become a leader of the common men of Navadweep. His spiritual activities and devotional work for the upliftment of the downtrodden paved the path for future socio-religious revolution against the established Hindu society and Muslim ruthlessness.

Caste System and Chaitanya

A born leader, Chaitanya accepted the leadership of the Vaishnava group, after an *Avisheka* ceremony, who were later on came to be called as *Gaudiya* Vaishnavas. In that *Avisheka* ceremony of Viswambhara (Chaitanya) Advaita requested Viswambhara to give him the words that he would distribute *bhakti* irrespective of sex, caste and education. Even the untouchable *chandala* would dance with joy with him taking the name of God in his lips. Chaitanya gladly consented[117] and this promise made him determined to establish the right of humanity against the medieval barbarism of Muslim rulers and the hostility of the *pasandis* and the *Brahmins*. As per his promise Chaitanya first defeated the *kazi* of Navadweep. It is worth mentioning that the *kazi* (*i.e., Qazi*) was an orthodox man and intolerant towards the reformative activities of Viswambhara. So he had given the order to stop performing *Sankirtana* and other activities at Navadweep. Viswambhara became furious hearing *Kazi's* (*Qazi's*) order. So to give him a lesson, he led a *Sankirtana* party in the evening. A large number of common people in Navadweep joined with him. He attacked the *Kazi's* house. There is no doubt that Chaitanya clashed with the *kazi*. The *kazi* was defeated and withdrew his order.[118] This was the first victory of Chaitanya against the Muslim autocracy. With this victory he established the right of humanity in his birth place Navadweep. After the *kazi's* incident Viswambhara decided to totally change his mode of life.

The theory of *Bhakti* that had its development till the time of Sri Chaitanya was applied in practice throughout his life. The thought that Krishna resides in every being was a firm conviction with Chaitanya. That is why, from the very beginning of his childhood he was a beloved friend of the humankind, the poor, the downtrodden and the lowborn untouchables. Being distressed at the sorrow of mankind, Chaitanya embraced asceticism.[119]

We know that at the time of the arrival of Chaitanya to Orissa in 1510 CE., the cruelty of casteism was strong. *Sudras* were not allowed to take part in any sort of debate on religion. The reading of the *Vedas* and *Vedantas* was confined to the *Brahmanas*. So, he emphasized in his teachings on the abolition of the differences among the people.[120] So the noblest achievement in Chaitanya's life was an extending of the right to the love of God to all including the backward sections of the society.

Chaitanya propounded an ideology which was far above such small matters as caste, creed, geographical boundary, popular beliefs and similar other things. To a question as "who am I", he gave a very simple answer thus,

"I am not a *Brahmana*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaisya* or *Sudra*, I belong to no caste. I am not a *Brahmachari* nor a family man, nor a *Sanyasi*, nor a mendicant, in fact I am a servitor's servitor of lord Sri Krishna, who is ocean of all bliss".[121]

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Chaitanya never spoke against the *varnasrama dharma*, but in action he proved to be a great reformist as he struck at the root of untouchability. He was strongly of the view that even a *chandala* is not to be despised as a *chandala* (low born untouchable people) if he is attached with the name of Krishna and that a *Brahmana* is not to be respected as a *Brahmana*, if he is dishonest. So he said,

"Chandala Chandala nahe yadi Krishna bole
Vipra nahe Vipra yadi asat pathe chale".

In the then orthodox medieval Orissan society even without caring to consider the caste and community Chaitanya embraced *Raya* Ramananda, Sanatana, Yavan Haridasa[122], Balaram Dasa, Yasovanta, Achyutananda, Ananta and thousands of other people from different cross-sections of the society. In fact it is worth mentioning that Balaram Dasa, Yasovanta, Achyutananda were non-*Brahmanas*, and Ramananda was a *karana*. Among other followers of Chaitanya, Syamananda was a cultivator by caste and Vidyabhushan was a *Khandayat.*[123]

Chaitanya said that no caste and no race were beyond the pale of salvation. The Mohammedans shared his labours, and profited by his preaching as well as the Hindus. He held that all men are alike capable of faith, and that all castes by faith become equally pure. Implicit belief and incessant devotion were his watchwords. Contemplation rather than ritual was his pathway to salvation. He said, " Humility, tolerance and respectfulness to others even if he may be a *Chandala* are the things necessary for the efficacy of chanting Hari's name. In order that he may attain love for Krishna a devotee must feel that he is humbler than a piece of straw, he must be as tolerant as a tree that gives shelter, fruits etc. even to those who cut it off, and without expecting any return. Likewise a man must respect every person, he may be a *Brahmana* or *Chandala*, believing that Krishna lies in him. He must not speak ill of any person, must not hanker after gain, respect, rank or esteem and must refrain from jealousy. He must try to live a life of restraint. Honesty, simplicity, sincerity and straight forwardness, contentment and reliance on God, should be the mottoes of his life. He should always try to increase his devotion and resign himself to the will of God,[124] then only one can get the grace of Almighty and salvation. A dishonest *Brahmana* cannot get what an honest untouchable can, if he follows this path".

The philosophy of Chaitanya regarding the caste system influenced the entire medieval orthodox Orissan society and established the right of humanity, particularly of the lowborn untouchables against the barbarism of caste rules and hostility of the higher caste people. This philosophy reduced the differences between different castes in his lifetime. So people from the cross sections of society came together and fearlessly danced with joy taking the name of 'Hari' on their lips with him, and *sankirtana* provided the required platform.

The instant impact was so strong that even after 500 years, the harmony between different castes is still continuing and which is clearly evident (visible) even in the present Orissan society. It is a fact to mention that over the years people from all sections of society (from *Chandala* to *Brahmana*) have been getting equal importance and opportunity in Jagannath temple (Puri), without any dejection or discrimination, itself attests to the influence of the philosophy of Chaitanya on the social system of Orissa.

Impact of *Kirtana*

The moral reformation of the upper and lower classes has been the work of neo-Vaishnavism. It uplifted the lower ranks of the society and the unlettered masses by carrying religion to their doors through the device of *Nama Sankirtana* (or *kirtana*). Chanting processions is certainly a unique contribution of Chaitanya to uplift the spiritual life of the common people.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Before the advent of Chaitanya *kirtana* (or *Sankirtana*) was there among the Vaishnavas, but Chaitanya made it very popular among the masses. He made *Sankirtana* the medium of his propagation. The *Mahamantra* of *Sankirtana* is,

"Hare Krishna Hare Krishna
Krishna Krishna Hare Hare
Hare Rama Hare Rama
Rama Rama Hare Hare."

This magical spell of *Sankirtana* touched the heart of every body. It is the melodious *kirtana* and the *Mahamantra* which made Chaitanyaism a widely popular religion of the common people of India.[125]

Chaitanya introduced *Sankirtana* as the means for developing love and devotion for Krishna which is unique in Hindu religion. Before that the Hindus had no system of common mass prayer or worship as Muslims and Christians have. Hindu worship was all along individual whatever be its method. But the *Sankirtana* or the mass chanting of a devotional *mahamantra* surcharged with emotion, in tune with *cymbals* and *mrudangas,* itself is one type of common mass prayer like that of Muslims. This system has minimised caste conflicts in Orissa. The introduction of *Nagarakirtana* (chanting procession along the streets) was the greatest contribution of Chaitanya to the society. It is a chanting procession in groups consisting of people from all castes and creed. Even people from every sect including Muslims were allowed to join the *Sankirtana* party. The *Nagarakirtana* centring round Chaitanya attracted people in large numbers. Through this method he kept intact the rural society and reached the masses to the extent, which no other saint could.[126] So Chaitanya was successful in bringing about the unity of community through the *Sankirtana* movement.

The introduction of *Kirtana* or *Nagarakirtana* made pragmatic contribution to the Indian society in general and Orissan society in particular. It reunited the Hindus and minimised the caste conflicts in Orissa. The movement however attempted to breakdown orthodox higher caste domination over the society and proclaimed the dignity of everyman as possessing within himself a particle of divine soul. The organisation of *Kirtana* for *Asta* (eight) *praharas* and *chabisi* (twenty-four) *praharas* in the month of *Kartika*, *Magha* and *Baisakha* has been a very traditional religious festival in Orissa till now, where all persons irrespective of their sectarian believes participate[127] and the holy name of God is being chanted with music and dance. Referring to the *Kirtana's* impact and Chaitanya's influence upon the masses in Orissa, Mayadhar Mansingh wrote, "to the masses of Orissa, he proved to be a veritable fountain head of unprecedented spiritual enthusiasm. Even today to the millions of Oriyas' Chaitanya is the only God".[128]

Chaitanya's devotional cult and his *Sankirtana* movement touched the very corner of the heart of the rural and tribal masses. He disregarded all distinctions of caste and creed so far as the religious institutions like his *Kirtana* or *Sankirtana* parties were concerned. So, he was successful in bringing about the unity of people through the *Sankirtana* movement.

Impact on lower class people

Another striking influence of Chaitanya's teaching and preaching is that people from lower classes got important position and became *Gurus* (preceptors) who initiated people of all classes, high and low, men and women and, consequently formed a particular lineage. People like *Raya* Ramananda, Sanatana, Yavan Hari Dasa, Balaram Dasa, Yashovanta, Achyutananda and Ananta (all were non-brahmins) got high positions in Chaitanya's neo-Vaishnavism. Others like Syamananda, Rashikananda and Haridayananda[129] got such importance in Chaitanya's cult that later on they

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

became *Gurus* (preceptors). So, in the primary days of Chaitanyaism the *Brahmanas* did not like the Chaitanya movement which was dominated by *Sudras* (or lower class people). However, in the longrun, the *Brahmanas* could not resist the overwhelming popularity of Chaitanya faith and many of them took the Vaishnava surname 'Dasa'.[130] Hunter wrote : "the adoration of Chaitanya has become a sort of family worship throughout Orissa. The worship extends throughout Orissa and I have a long list of landed families who worship Him with daily rituals in the household chapels, dedicated to His name. At this moment, Chaitanya is the apostle of the common people in Orissa. The *Brahmanas* unless they happen to enjoy grants of lands in his name ignore his work. In almost every *Brahmana* village, the communal shrine is dedicated to Siva, but in the villages of ordinary husbandmen, it is Vishnu (Krishna) who is worshipped and Chaitanya is remembered as the great teacher of the proletarian faith".[131]

Impact on Women

Chaitanya had a deep sympathy and was very much concerned for the upliftment of women. So he had advised several times to his followers and particularly Advaita to redeem the fallen mankind and the women. The condition of women was deplorable at the time of his arrival. So, he himself and his followers had tried their best to liberate the womenfolk from the clutches of superstition and orthodox social domination over them and proclaimed the dignity of every women as possessing within herself a particle of the divine soul. Of course, after all efforts there were lesser number of women than men in the faith of neo-Vaishnavism, but for the first time in the history of India their cultural upliftment was promoted by allowing them to read all separate *Sastras*[132] including the *Vedas*. Women like Madhuri Dasi, Gouri Pattamahadevi, a disciple of Jagannath Das were devotees and disciples of Chaitanya and gradually became renowned in the society. Later on these disciples and many others had devoted their life to the teachings of Sri Chaitanya and inaugurated a new era for them. There after women came out of their veil and participated directly in the *Sankirtana* party spreading the teachings of Chaitanya.

Impact on Tribals

In every age tribals in India were leading a secluded life and less attempts have been made by the non-tribal people to bring them to the main line of our national life. But for the first time, it was the Vaishnava preachers who alone cared for the aboriginal tribals and contributed enormously for their socio-cultural development. They went to the tribal dominated inaccessible regions with their doctrine of pure devotion and brought a renovation in the tribal cultures. Social reformers from the Chaitanya cult and other contemporary reformers have adopted the unique method of *kirtana* in the tribal region to introduce reforms in their socio-religious life and bring them to the main stream of Indian life. These changes under the spell of *Bhakti* (devotion) exposed the hitherto unexposed tribals to the non-tribal socio-religious structure. Hence Hunter has remarked, "Chaitanya is remembered as the great teacher of the proletarian faith, is amply testified in the rural and tribal region of Orissa where Chaitanyaism was able to exert much influence because of its basic potentiality of getting accepted by the masses for its stress on the concepts of equality, compassion and nonformalism in regard to spiritual quest and also for its identity with the cult of lord Jagannath, the state deity of Orissa with tribal affiliations. It should be remembered in this connection that historically before the advent of the Christian missionaries, it was the Vaishnava preachers who alone cared for the tribals. They went to the tribal regions with the egalitarian social approach and doctrine of pure devotion and brought a renovation in the tribal cultures. Chaitanya went to Brundabana several times through Jharkhand and other tribal regions. Now, it is surprising to note that in all the tribal areas where the lord spent night

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

or stayed for some time, these spots are regarded as sacred and the event of his stay is still now celebrated by festivals and rituals."[133]

Impact on the Unlettered Rural Masses

Chaitanya always supported the cause of millions of poor and illiterate masses. So, it is believed that the popularisation of the *Oriya Bhagabata* is the most important contribution of Chaitanya cult for the development of such people in Orissa. *Bhagabata* helped in the spread of literacy and moral values among the inhabitants of Orissa. The epic *Bhagabata* was written on palm leaves, generally known as *pothi*. The *Bhagabata pothi* was kept in the house located in the middle of the village. The house popularly known as *Bhagabata Ghara* or *Bhagabata Tungi* was built and maintained by the villagers themselves. However, the house was used as a community hall by the villagers. The people assembled in the evening where the *Bhagabata* was read and discussed widely. The village people got relaxation of the days labour by listening to the stories and morals of the *Bhagabata*. Thus, it was the centre of attraction and gradually became a centre of learning and education. This was also another reason of the wide spread of primary education in Orissa.[134] It is remarkable that in the census report of 1900 CE. the literacy rate of Orissa was adequately higher than that of any other state of India. But *Bhagabata Ghara* (or *Tungi*) greatly declined after 19th century due to huge migration of rural population to cities in search of jobs affecting severely the rural literacy rate of Orissa.

Chaitanya is the pioneer of a great social and religious movement which began in India a little less than five hundred years ago and which has directly and indirectly influenced the subsequent course of religious and philosophical thinking not only in India but in the recent west as well. Chaitanya is regarded as a figure of great historical significance, whose mission was to reconstruct an egalitarian society under the banner of the name Krishna, where there would be no distinction between the ruler and the ruled, the learned and the illiterate, rich and the poor, the *Brahmana* and the *Sudra*, the Hindu and the Muslim. To change the age old Hindu traditional rights and rituals, he advised the people to devote themselves to the practice of uttering (*Japa*), remembering (*smarana*) and singing (*Kirtana*), the name of Krishna or Hari only. These words of Chaitanya changed the religious thinking of the people so much that even in his life time he was regarded as the incarnation of Krishna both in Orissa and other parts of India. After his demise, his life and teachings became a perennial source of inspiration to many not only to produce literary works of different forms, but also to spread the new Vaishnavism based on the cult of love in and outside Orissa. Five centuries have passed by and several centuries will pass by, but the cult of love propagated by the great saint will continue to give solace to the troubled mind of millions of the war worn and science ridden society of the entire world.

References

1. S. Prabhupada, *Sri Chaitanya Charitamrta*, vol. IV, New York, 1993, p. iv.
2. S.K. Ghose, *Lord Gauranga*, Bombay, 1961, p. 15.
3. M. Eliade, *The Encyclopaedia of Religion,* New York, 1987, p. 3.
4. A. K. Deb, *The Bhakti Movement in Orissa*, Calcutta, 1984, p. 57.
5. A. Lahiri, *Chaitanya Movement in Eastern India,* Calcutta, 1993, p. 89.
6. H.K. Mahatab, *The History of Orissa*, vol. I, Cuttack, 1959, p. 327.
7. H.C. Das, "Miraculous Life of Sri Chaitanya and His Activities in Orissa", in: H.C. Das (ed.), *Sri Chaitanya in the Religious Life of India*, Calcutta, 1989, p.29.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

8. A. Lahiri, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
9. Ibid.
10. H.K. Mahatab, "Sri Chaitanya", in: H.C. Das (ed.) *op. cit.*, p. 10.
11. H.C. Das, "Miraculous Life of Sri Chaitanya and His Activities in Orissa", in: H.C. Das (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 33.
12. P. Mukherjee, "Evolution of the Krishna Cult in Orissa and Bengal", in: *The Orissa Historical Research Journal*, vol. XXIX, no. 1, 1983, p. 78.
13. A. Lahiri, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
14. A.K. Majumdar, *Chaitanya: His Life and Doctrine*, Bombay, 1969, p. 142.
15. A.K. Deb., *op. cit.*, p. 58.
16. S. Dei, *Vaisnavism in Orissa*, Calcutta, 1988, p. 162.
17. D.K. Mukherjee, *Chaitanya*, New Delhi, 1974, pp. 122-123.
18. N.K. Sahu *et. al.* (eds.), *History of Orissa*, Cuttack, 1980, p. 244.
19. H.K, Mahatab, "Sri Chaitanya", in: H.C. Das (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 10.
20. T.E. Donaldson, *The Iconography of Vaishnava Images in Orissa*, New Delhi, 2001, p. 219.
21. S.K. Ghose, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-184.
22. B.K. Mallik, *Medieval Orissa: Literature, Society, Economy*, Bhubaneswar, 1996, p. 50.
23. K.C. Misra, *The Cult of Jagannath*, Calcutta, 1971, p. 44.
24. A. Lahiri, "The Philosophy of Chaitanya Cult", in: A.C. Pradhan *et. al.* (eds.), *History, Culture and Economy*, Bhubaneswar, 2000, p. 94.
25. P. Mukherjee, *History of the Chaitanya Faith in Orissa*, New Delhi, 1979, p. 57.
26. G.S. Roy Choudhury, *Bengala Charit Grantha Sri Chaitanya* (in Bengali), Calcutta, 1949, p. 129.
27. P. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
28. S. Vidya Vinod, *Sri Chaitanya Dev*, Calcutta, 1951, pp. 314-315.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 395.
30. G.S. Roy Choudhury, *op. cit.*, p. 296.
31. H.K. Mahatab, "Sri Chaitanya", in: H.C. Das (ed.) *op. cit.*, p. 13.
32. *Ibid.*
33. H.C. Das, "Religious Movements in Southern Orissa", in: *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, vol. XXXV, nos. 3 & 4, 1989, p. 51.
34. W.W. Hunter *et. al.* (eds.), *A History of Orissa*, Calcutta, 1956, p. 21.
35. A. Mitra, *Vaishnaba Kabi O' Kabita* (in Oriya), Calcutta, 1966, pp. 4-5.
36. A.K. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 268.
37. A.K. Deb, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
38. *Ibid.*
39. P. Mukherjee, *History of the Chaitanya Faith in Orissa*, New Delhi, 1979, p. 84.
40. A.K. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 268.
41. M.T. Kennedy, *The Chaitanya Movement: A Study of Vaishnavism of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1925, p. 93.
42. A.K. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 270.
43. P. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.
44. A. Lahiri, *Chaitanya Movement in Eastern India*, Calcutta. 1993, pp. 131-133.
45. P. Mukherjee, "The Impact of Chaitanya on Religion and Society in Orissa", in: B.C. Ray (ed.), *Cultural Heritage of Orissa*, vol. II, Bhubaneswar, 2000, p. 5.
46. A. Lahiri, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

47. S.V. Das Gupta, *Sri Radha Kromovikas* (Bengali), Calcutta, 1381, p. 32.
48. A. Lahiri, *op. cit.* p. 138.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 138-139.
50. P. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
51. A.K. Deb, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
52. P. Mukherjee, "Chaitanya in Orissa", in: A Eschmann *et. al.* (eds.), *The Cult of Jagannath and the Regional Tradition of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1978, pp. 317-318.
53. A. Lahiri, *op. cit.*, p. 142.
54. W.W. Hunter, *A History of Orissa*, vol. 1. Calcutta, 1956, p. 21.
55. P. Mukherjee, "The Impact of Chaitanya on Religion and Society in Orissa", in: B.C. Ray (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 5.
56. S. Bal (Mahapatra), "Impact of Vaishnavism on Bhubaneswar", in: *The Orissa Historical Research Journal*, vol. XLII, nos. 1-4, Bhubaneswar, 1998, p. 80.
57. P. Mukherjee, "The impact of Chaitanya on Religion and Society in Orissa", in: B.C. Ray (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 5.
58. B. Sahoo, *Cultural History of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1997, p. 131.
59. P. Mukherjee, "The impact of Chaitanya on Religion and Society in Orissa", *op. cit.* p. 5.
60. A. Lahiri, *op. cit.*, p. 142.
61. B. Chatterjee, "Social Perspective of Chaitanyaism", in: H.C. Das (ed.), *op. cit.*, p.176.
62. *Ibid.*
63. A.K. Deb, *op cit.*, p. 62.
64. B. Chatterjee, "Social Perspective of Chaitanyaism", in: H.C. Das (ed.), *op. cit.*, p.177.
65. P. Mukherjee, "The impact of Chaitanya on Religion and Society in Orissa", in: B.C. Ray (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 6.
66. B.K. Mallick, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
67. *Ibid.*
68. A.K. Deb., *op. cit.*, p. 61.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
70. P. Mukherjee, "Chaitanya in Orissa", in: A Eschmann *et. al.* (eds.), *op. cit.*, p.317.
71. B.K. Mallick, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.
72. S.N. Das, "Ati badi Jagannath Dasa", in: B.M. Mohanty (ed.), *Orissa Sadhu Santha* (Oriya), vol. 1. Cuttack, 1982, p. 122.
73. B. Chatterjee, "Social Perspective of Chaitanyaism", in: H.C. Das (ed.), *op. cit.*, p.177.
74. S. Chakravarty, "Lord Chaitanya's Influence on the Tribes and Masses of Orissa", in: H.C. Das (ed.) *op. cit.*, pp. 164-165.
75. A.C. Pradhan, "Decline and Fall of Orissa's Medieval Hindu Kingdom", in: M.N. Das (ed.), *Sidelights on History and Culture of Orissa*, Cuttack, 1977, p.132.
76. *Ibid.*
77. P. Mukherjee, *The Gajapati Kings of Orissa and Their Successors*, Calcutta, 1958, p. 103; Also see A.C. Pradha, "Decline and Fall of Orissa's Medieval Hindu Kingdom", in: M.N. Das (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 132-133.
78. P. Mukherjee, *History of Chaitanya Faith in Orissa*, p. 82.
79. A.C. Pradhan, "Decline and Fall of Orissa's Medieval Hindu Kingdom", in: M.N. Das (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 133.
80. H.K. Mahatab, *The History of Orissa*, vol. I, Cuttack, 1959, p. 338.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

81. A. Pradhan, "Decline and Fall of Orissa's Medieval Hindu Kingdom", in: M.N. Das (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 133.
82. P. Mukherjee, *History of Chaitanya Faith in Orissa*, p. 81.
83. A.C. Pradhan, "Decline and Fall of Orissa's Medieval Hindu Kingdom", in: M.N. Das (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 136.
84. *Ibid.*, pp. 133-134.
85. It is to be noted that February 1486 A.D. corresponds to *Phalguna* of *Saka* 1407. See, A.K. Deb, *The Bhakti Movement in Orissa*, Calcutta, 1984, p. 57.
86. S.K. Ghosh, *Lord Gauranga*, Bombay, 1961, p.15.
87. A.K. Deb, *op. cit.*, p. 327.
88. H. K. Mahtab, *The History of Orissa*, vol. 1, Cuttack, 1959, p. 337.
89. S.K. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
90. A. Lahiri, *Chaitanya Movement in Eastern India*, Calcutta, 1993, p. 92.
91. H.K. Mahtab, "Sri Chaitanya", in : H.C. Das (ed.), *Sri Chaitanya in the Religious Life of India*, Calcutta, 1989, p. 10.
92. P. Mukherjee, "Chaitanya in Orissa," in : A. Eschmann *et. al.*(eds.), *The Cult of Jagannath and Regional Tradition of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1978, p.309.
93. P. Mukherjee, *History of the Chaitanya Faith in Orissa*, New Delhi, 1979, p.64.
94. P. Mukherjee, "Chaitanya in Orissa," in : A. Eschmann *et. al.*(eds.), *op. cit.*, p.309.
95. A. Lahiri, *op. cit.*, p.101.
96. B. Misra, *op. cit.*, pp.80-81.
97. P. Mukherje, *History of the Chaitanya Faith in Orissa*, p. 46.
98. P. Mukherje, "Chaitanya in Orissa," in : A. Eschmann *et. al.*(eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 310.
99. P.K. Patra, "Sri Jagannath and Sri Chaitanya", in : H.C. Das (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 128.
100. P. Mohapatra, "Purushottam Sri Jagannath," in : *Orissa Review*, vol. L, no.12, July, 1997, p. 10.
101. H.C. Das, *Cultural Development in Orissa*, Calcutta, 1985, p. 318.
102. H.C. Das (ed.), "Miraculous Life of Sri Chaitanya and His Activities in Orissa," in: H.C. Das (ed.), *op. cit*, pp. 48-49.
103. S.K. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-184.
104. P. Mukherjee, "Chaitanya in Orissa," in : A. Eschmann *et. al.*(eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 311.
105. A.K. Deb. *op. cit.*, p. 59.
106. H.K. Mahtab, "Sri Chaitanya", in : H.C. Das (ed.), *Sri Chaitanya in the Religious Life of India*, Calcutta, 1989, p. 13.
107. S.K. Dei, *Early History of the Vaishnabha Faith and Movement in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1961, pp. 6-7.
108. A. Mitra, *Vaishnava Kabi O Kabita* (in Oriya), Calcutta, 1966, pp. 4-5.
109. N. Patnaik, *Sacred Complex of Orissa*, New Delhi, 2000, p. 149.
110. S. Vidya Vinod, *Sri Chaitanya Dev*, Calcutta, 1951, p. 395.
111. W.W. Hunter *et. al.* (eds.), A History of Orissa, Calcutta, 1956, p. 21.
112. B. Schnepel, *The Jungle Kings, Ethnohistorical Aspects of Politics and Rituals in Orissa*, New Delhi, 2002, p. 166.
113. T.E. Donaldson, *The Iconography of Vaishnava Images in Orissa*, New Delhi, 2001, p. 219.
114. A. Lahiri, "The Philosophy of Chaitanya Cult," in: A.C. Pradhan *et.al.*(eds.), *History, Culture and Economy*, Bhubaneswar, 2000 p. 94.
115. P. Mukherjee, *History of the Chaitanya faith in Orissa*, New Delhi, 1979, p. 57.
116. G.S. Roy Choudhury, *Bengala Charit Grantha Sri Chaitanya* (in Bengali),Calcutta, 1949, p. 129.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

117. A.K. Majumdar, Chaitanya His Life and Doctrine, Bombay, 1969, p. 142.
118. G.S. Roy Choudhury, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
119. B. Chatterjee, 'Social Perspective of Chaitanyaism' in: H.C. Das (ed.), *Sri Chaitanya in the Religious Life of India*, Calcutta, 1989, p. 176.
120. A.K. Deb, *Bhakti Movement in Orissa*, Calcutta, 1984, p. 62
121. F.M. Das, 'Foot Prints of Sri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu in Jajpur', in: H.C. Das (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 367-368.
122. B. Chatterjee, Social Perspective of Chaitanyaism' in: H.C. Das (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 177.
123. P. Mukherjee, "The Impact of Chaitanya on Religion and Society in Orissa", in: B.C. Ray (ed.), *Cultural Heritage of Orissa*, vol. II, Bhubaneswar, 2000, p. 96.
124. H.C.Das (ed.), '*Sri Chaitanya in the Religious Life of India*', Calcutta, 1989, p. X.
125. H.C. Das (ed.), "Miraculous Life of Sri Chaitanya and His Activities in Orissa", in : H.C. Das (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 37.
126. H.C. Das ."Religious Movements in Southern Orissa", in: *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, vol. XXXV, no. 3 & 4, 1989, p. 51.
127. S. Bal (Mahapatra), "Impact of Vaishnavism on Bhubaneswar," in : *The Orissa Historical Research Journal*, vol. XLII, nos.1-4, Bhubaneswar, 1998, p.80.
128. B. Sahoo, *Cultural History of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1997, p. 131.
129. A.K. Deb, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
130. P. Mukherjee, "*Chaitanya in Orissa*", in: A. Eschmann *et. al.* (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 317.
131. P. Mukherjee, "The impact of Chaitanya on Religion and Society in Orissa" in : B.C. Ray (ed.), *Cultural Heritage of Orissa*, vol. II, Bhubaneswar, 2000, p. 5.
132. B.K. Mallick, *Medieval Orissa: Literature, Society, Economy*, Bhubaneswar, 1996, p. 58..K. Mallick, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.
133. S. Chakravarty, "Lord Chaitanya's Influence on the Tribes of Masses of Orissa", in: H.C. Das (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 164-165.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

67

Role of Early Jaina Proselytisers in the Integration of the Nation: Some Observations

J. Manuel

Indroduction

The Jaina religious tradition claims a hoary antiquity with 23rd *tirthankaras* before *Tirthankara* Mahāvira, who reorganized the religion. He was born about 250 years after *Tirthankara* Pārshwanāth his immediate predecessor. Although, being farther back in time, the evidence regarding Pārshwanāth becomes hazy in the dark-age preceding the early historic period, yet most scholars (Sankalia 1975: p 1) are satisfied by the historic co- ordinates offered by tradition regarding the 23rd *Tirthankara.* On the other hand there are many other Jaina traditions and even hard- core archaeological remains that are not given sufficient credibility. Even if cognizance is afforded it is not without riders- in the name of objectivity, which in effect underestimates the full import of the archaeological evidence. Some tagged on comments, admittedly, stood for many decades for want of contrary evidence available then. However, even after large number of discoveries has been made since the circulation of such scholarly opinions, if new facts are not admitted into the mainstream then it points to some lacunae in the scholarly exhortations.

Where as, Agastya, whose name appears eight times in *Rig Veda* (Samanta 2005: p 45) is agreed at large to have been a pioneering Aryan missionary in south India (Majumdar 1977 reprint 1991: p. 210) the story of much later migration of Chandragupta Maurya along with Jaina saint Bhadrabāhu to south India, has been 'doubted' (Majumdar 1991: p. 170). Again the much later written (3735 years later) Aihole inscription (634-635 CE) and the Gajapati inscription (*I.A.R.* 1957-58: p. 55) giving the time period lapsed after the Mahabharatta war is acknowledged as authentic data by number of scholars but the inscription of Sravanbelgola mentioning Chandragupta's story which was inscribed as late as 650 CE (Deo 1974: p. 25), less than thousand years after the supposed event has to be dealt with circumspection. This dual standard in dealing with evidence in the name of objectivity is becoming all the more obvious over the years. However, in spite of the customary riders enjoined by most historians, several scholars have suggested the possibility of the spread of Jainism to south

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

India even in the 5th-4th century (Kashinathan 2001: p. 187), 4th century BCE' (Deo 1974: p. 25 and Jawaharlal (2001: p. 133)), 3rd-2nd century BCE (Padmanabhan 2001: pp. 202-207).

In this article on the basis of archaeological remains especially of south India, the painstaking missionary activities done by the Jaina monks several centuries before the migration of Brahmans to south India has been stressed implying on the initial mechanism for greater integration of the subcontinent. Whereas, there is no denying the fact that there were economic and political lines of communication the stress here is, it is the Jaina and Buddhist monks who introduced new thoughts and ways of life paving the path for yet other religious dispensations. The opening up of the society other than merely for trade or political hierarchy showed that there are other alternative ways of life in the world. This enabled the processes of Aryanization and cultural homogeneity easily, later. The pioneering role of the Jains and the Buddhist in this regard is not given due cognizance at the text book level even though ample material evidence exists. If these segments are not given their due credit it echoes attitude similar to the British historians who ascribed all credit to themselves for unifying the country without giving cognizance to earlier existing factors of unity.

Early Jaina Archaeological Remains

During the time of Mahāvira the spread of Jainism was restricted to parts of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and West Bengal (Deo 1974: p. 24). This contiguous area is termed as core area for the purpose of this article and spread farther away is termed as spread in non-core areas including from peripheral to farthest corners of the country. Early spread of Jainism in the extra peninsular region are known from such sites like: Ayodhya, 4th 3rd cent BCE (Lal 1989: p. 32); two stone torsos with Mauryan polish from Lohanipur (Patna), 3rd – 1st century BCE (Mitra 1974: p. 71); Kankali Tila Stupa (Mathura) 2nd 1st cent BCE (Mitra 1974: pp. 49-68); Udaigiri and Khandgiri 2nd –1st cent BCE (Mitra 1974: pp. 73-84)); Bronze Parshwanatha from west India dated earlier than 100 BCE (Shah 1974: pp. 87, 88); Pala, (Maharashtra) 2nd –1st century BCE (Sankalia 1975: pp. 1-9); Junagadh caves near Girnar dated at least to 2nd century CE (Shah 1974 pp. 89-91) etc. Scholars have also been informing on Jaina remains from deep south India which are comparable and in many cases even earlier than the dates in north India. The rapid spread of Jainism from the core areas to the peripheral areas and farthest corners of south India not only shows the pioneering endeavours by the Jaina monks but also the presence of common aspects in widely segregated peoples, which enabled the movements and the discourses. For instance, the possibility of the Moriyas in parts of Karnataka as the megalithic builders and their connection with the eastern Indian Moriyas on the one hand and with the establishment of the Mauryan rule in these parts, has been mooted by Sundara (2001: pp. 102, 103). Similarly, there could be several combinations of common aspects in widely segregated people, which helped the Jainas to reach out to the farthest corners of South India earlier and farther south than the Mauryan Empire. This may (tentatively said) also include at least in some areas up to the southern most regions, practice of some principles and traditions of Jainism as a way of life as part of religious beliefs, which were till then uninfluenced by Jainism after Mahāvira. Due to these universal commonalities and perhaps due to common elements of stocks of people besides rudimentary similarities of language, Jainism and Buddhism struck root in south India, very early.

In line with the theme of this article evidence regarding early Jainism only is being enumerated herein. Kashinathan (2001: p. 187) is of the opinion that "as far as Tamil Nadu is concerned, the spread of Jainism appears to have taken place from 5th- 4th century BCE as a considerable number of ancient Tamil inscription mentioning about the donation of rock beds to the Jain monks are found engraved either on the rock beds or at its surroundings of the natural caverns of the mountains lying in the various districts of Tamil Nadu,". Jawaharlal (2001: p. 133) suggests that

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the "extant literary and archaeological evidence suggests that Andhra was one of the earliest recipients of Jainism, even before the establishment of the Mauryan Empire in 4th century BCE" Even though the above surmises are not exactly corroborated from archaeological finds the acceptance of evidence regarding remains dated back up to 3rd-2nd century BCE (Padmanabhan 2001: pp. 202-207) and 2nd-1st century BCE (Champalakshmi 1974: pp. 96-103) hints that the Jainas may have been around in these regions quite some time before they started to engage in structural activities.

Among the earliest structural activities noticed in Andhra region is the cave now known as Parvatiguha at Malkonda near Kandukur in Prakasam district wherein the floor was slightly smoothened, drip ledge made and stone beds hewn out of the rock (Jawaharlal 2001: p. 134) Jawaharlal mentions the presence of an inscription in the Brahmi characters dated to 3rd century BCE. Even though nothing specifically Jaina has been reported from the site, he takes it to be of Jaina origin as similar ones have been specifically identified with the Jainas. Yet another site reported by him is the site known as Munulagutta (hill of ascetics) caves. This cave has four rock cut beds but no inscriptions. Jawaharlal quotes that P.V.P. Shastri on the basis of Satvahana coins has ascribed it to 2nd-1st BCE. Again according to the former (Jawaharlal 2001: p. 135) the Jilakaragudem rock cut monasteries in district West Godavari, dated to 2nd century BCE, "popularly known as Guntupalli caves were originally occupied by Jains and not by the Buddhist as hitherto believed." Other sites in Andhra Pradesh with rock beds – known as Panch Pandava beds now - and that is bereft of any inscriptions are at Kannikapuram and Nagari in Chitoor District (Champalaksmi 1974: p. 103) in Andhra Pradesh. Vaddamunu in Guntur district earlier thought of as a Buddhist site has now been accepted as an early Jaina site. Parabrahma Sastri (2001: p. 208) asserts that it was a Jaina site of the pre-Christian era. On the basis of inscriptional evidence the antiquity of the site could be put to at least as early as the late Mauryan Period (*I.A.R.* 1981-82: pp. 1, 2).

In Tamil Nadu also the prevalence of Jainism is surmised from as early as 3rd century BCE (Padmanabhan 2001: p. 202). Champalakshmi (1974: pp. 96-101) has mentioned many Jaina sites in the various districts of Tamilnadu which are dated to 2nd -1st centuries BCE besides several others nearly 2000 years old or somewhat later. Most of the earliest Jaina Caves are having rock cut beds and inscriptions datable to 2nd 1st centuries BCE. The earliest sites in Tamil Nadu are: Arittapatti, Mankulam, Tirupparankunram, Varichchiyur, Alagarmalai all in Madurai District ; Marukaltalai, Virasikhamami in Tirunelveli District and Sittannavasal in Tiruchirapalli District. Later sites of 1st –2nd centuries CE are Anaimalai, Muttuppatti in Madurai District. There are several other sites reported that are of 3rd – 4th centuries CE and several others which could not be specifically dated for want of any inscriptional evidence but that on stylistic similarities with rock cut beds would be placed in the earlier segment of Jaina activity. Significantly, several caves with inscriptions and other remains including Jaina sculptures as late as 8th-9th centuries CE came to be associated with the Pandavas, obviously after the abandonment of these sites by the Jaina. On the other hand there are other sites, which in spite of the abandonment by Jainas retain the earlier names indicating to the presence of Jaina ascetics. Perhaps in the latter case the continuity of neighbouring settlements was there which enabled the passing of the factual traditional knowledge.

It is interesting to note that rock shelters with rock cut beds are known from north India also like at Pabhosa in District Allahabad and Bhimbetka in District Raisen (M.P.). The one at Pabhosa has rock beds with pillows and is dated to 2nd century BCE (Ray 1989: p. 301). The world famous painted rock shelters of Bhimbetka also has several *stupas* in the neihbourhood and a rock shelter almost inaccessible without a ladder or rope hanging down has on its floor four rock cut beds

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(fig 67.1) and an inscription of the 3rd /2nd century BCE. Although there is nothing that specifically alludes the inscription with Jainism but on the basis of evidence elsewhere, it is definitely a rock shelter in use by the Jainas during the Mauryan/late Mauryan period. Although not as many as in South India yet it shows a continuous route of the Jaina monks from the core zone. In fact even those known from north India don't have anything to show that it was earlier than those of south India, which could have shown the slow dispersion across time from north to south. On the present available evidence it appears that the spread of Jainism was very fast even to deeper south India wherein it was not much dependent on its popularity in the north. In fact one is tempted to suggest that the development of Jainism outside the core area, was almost simultaneous even up to Tamil Nadu.

Discussion

The strange paucity of mention regarding early Jainism in deep south India and the said pioneering influence of the north due to the migration of Brahmans, does not convey the scenario appropriately. Full cognizance to Jain monks in starting the process of communication and therefore integration of the nation has not been given as yet. Mindset has not changed much since Majumdar (1991: p. 210) wrote in the later half of the 20th century that "the process of conquest – of south India – cannot be traced in detail, but it appears that the Aryan missionaries paved the way for the military conquest of many of these provinces". Thapar (1966 reprint 1990 p. 180-184) writes of a penetration of northern culture largely alluding it to the pioneering efforts of Brahmans. Even though, the latter acknowledges the control of Jainas and Buddhist in the educational system during the Pallava period and the gradual domination of the Brahmans in the field later, the real pioneers (Jainas and Buddhists) are bracketed along with much late entrants. Even between Jainism and Buddhism scholars first think of Buddhism even though both are at par in antiquity in south India. Sankalia (1975: p. 9), for instance compares "These instances, though so few are sufficient to wornout its conclusion that like Buddhism, Jainism had also spread to Andhra, Maharashtra and Gujarat." This comparision vis-ā-vis Buddhism is in fact due to the early yielding of evidence of Buddhism in larger numbers that most scholars invariably look at archaeological remains from possibility of finding a Buddhist site. Similarly, the lack of Jaina archaeological remains supporting Jaina traditions have by and large been overcome but the persistence of earlier exhortations continue because none have really cared to update the scenario perhaps due to ignorance about the quantum of finds or inertia against changing the self satisfying picture of history. However, there are many scholars who are pointedly pressing on the early Jaina finds Padmanabhan (2001: p. 207), for instance, asserts that "if the history of Kanyakumari district is approached with an unbiased outlook certainly Jainism will occupy an important place in its religious aspect" Kashinathan (2001: p. 190) suggests that "at some vulnerable places they had to employ security guards, not only to protect themselves but also their temples. Even in spite of the odd situation, Jaina Tirthankaras were worshipped even in remote corners of the Tamilnadu from the very beginning".

Conclusion

Majumdar (1977 reprint 1991: p. 210) quotes "Where missionaries go today, the gun boat follows tomorrow" and adds "the result was not merely a military but also a cultural conquest of South India" wherein "the language, literature, religion, manners and customs of the Aryans were adopted by the Dravidian people" Champalakshmi and Ghose (2005: p. 54) writes that "Ikshavakus who succeeded the Satavahanas in the Andhra region-the Krishna valley are known from archaeological, inscriptional and numismatic evidence as representing the transition towards a Brahamanical socio political order". Subbarayalu (2005 : p. 24) tells about "an increase in the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

migration of Brahmanical communities from north India thereby encouraging the percolation of Brahmanical ideology and culture to south India" around 6th – 8th centuries CE. Thapar (1990: p. 180) writes "Aryanisation is also evident in the evolution of educational institutions in the Pallava kingdom. In the early part of this period education was controlled by Jainas and Buddhists but gradually the Brahmans superseded them." These and similar writings either leave out the actual pioneers the Jainas and Buddhist from the scenario who were few centuries ahead, or else enumerate them after the Brahmans in the list. Due to this a clear picture does not emerge before any student of history.

It was presumably not easy for these early proselytizers, even surmising the rudimentary similarities in language, common aspects of prevailing religious beliefs and run of the mill daily life. While merchants on the trade routes were engaged in selling and exchange of materials, Jain and Buddhist monks were the earliest who were addressing audience to sell ideas regarding ways of life. The two religious dispensations criss crossed far and wide including deep south and addressed people on religious philosophies that were varyingly different to the local people across time and space. Centuries later on these very lines of travel and trade, the migration of Brahmans was a much more easier proposition. New peoples, merchandise, philosophies, ideologies, from the north were now, an accepted tradition. In spite of the obvious antecedents in the integration of the subcontinent – as mentioned above – the glaring omission in affording due cognition to the pioneers does not in any way help the cause of objectivity in writing of history, which every historian considers as a beacon of the profession.

Acknowledgements

I am thankful to Dr. Narayan Vyas, Superintending Archaeologist, Prehistory Branch, Arhaeological Survey of India, Nagpur, for drawing attention to the Bhimbetka rock cut beds as of Jaina affiliation and other information provided from time to time. I am also thankful to Dr. O.P. Mishra, Epighraphist, M.P. State Archaeology, Archives and Museum, for initiating and pursuing joint researches in Jainism for the national seminar at Hyderabad, in 1998, which spurred further researches in Jainology. Thanks are also due towards Smt. Hemlata Ukhale Librarian, Arhaeological Survey of India, Bhopal for providing all relevant information at the earliest.

References

1. Champalakshmi, R., *Monuments and sculpture 300 BCE to 300 CE: South India;* A. Ghosh (ed.). *Jaina Art and Architecture, Vol. I,* Bhartiya Jnanpitha, New Delhi, 1974, pp. 92-103. Champalakshmi, R. and Suchindra Ghose, Polities from 3rd century CE to 6th century CE in course material for M.A. History course conducted by I.G.N.O.U. Delhi, 2005, p. 54.
2. Deo, S.B., The expansion of Jainism, in A Ghoe (ed.). *Jaina Art and Architecture, Vol. I,* Bharatiya Jnanpitha, New Delhi, 1974, pp. 24, 25.
3. *Indian Archaeology 1957-58: A Review*, p. 55.
4. *Indian Archaeology 1981-82: A Review*, pp. 1-2.
5. Jawaharlal, G., 'Jain Caves of Andhra' in Haripriya Rangrajan *et. al.* (eds.) *Jainism : Art, Architecture, Literature & Philosophy*, Sharda Publishing House, Delhi. 2001, pp. 133-135.
6. Kashinathan, N., 'Recent discovery of Jain images, votive plaques and figurines in Tamilnadu,' in Haripriya Rangrajan *et. al.* (eds.) *Jainism : Art, Architecture, Literature and Philosophy*, Sharda Publishing House, Delhi, 2001, pp. 187-190.
7. Lal, B.B., Ayodhya in A. Ghoe (ed) *An Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology, Vol. II,* 1989, Delhi, p. 32.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

8. Majumdar, R.C., *Ancient India*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, reprint 1991 of eighth edition published in 1977, pp. 170, 210.
9. Mitra, D., *Monuments and Sculpture 300 BCE to 300 CE : Mathura*, in A. Ghosh (ed.). *Jaina Art and Architecture, Vol. I*, Bharatiya Jnanpitha, New Delhi, 1974, pp. 49-68.
10. Mitra, D., *Monuments and sculpture 300 BCE to 300 CE: East India*, in *ibid.*, pp. 69-84.
11. Padmanabhan, S. 'Ancient Jain centers in Kanyakumari in Haripriya Rangrajan *et. al.* (eds.) *Jainism : Art, Architecture, Literature and Philosophy*, Sharda Publishing House, Delhi, 2001, pp. 202-207.
12. Ray, H.P. Jaina. in A. Ghosh (ed) *An Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology, Vol. I,* Delhi, 1989, p. 301.
13. Samanta, M., The practice of Agastya Worship among the Shankari Caste of Bengal: an ethnoarchaeological investigation in Bishnupur and Kolmijod of West Bengal. *Man and Environment XXX(1)* Pune, 2005, p. 45.
14. Sankalia, H.D., Early epigraphical evidence of the prevalence of Jainism in Gujarat (Saurashtra), Western Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. *Prachya Pratibha Vol. III, no. 1* Bhopal, 1975, pp. 1-9.
15. Shah U.P. *Monuments and sculpture 300 BCE to 300 CE: West India, op. cit.*, pp. 85-91.
16. Sastri, P.V.P. Jain inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh in Haripriya Rangrajan *et. al.* (eds) *Jainism : Art, Architecture, Literature and Philosophy*, Sharda Publishing House, Delhi, 2001, p. 208.
17. Subbarayalu, Y., Early medieval polities in peninsular India: 6th to 8th centuries CE in course material for M.A. History course conducted by I.G.N.O.U. Delhi, 2005, p. 24.
18. Sundara, A., The traditional date of Asoka Maurya: Archaeological evidences – A consideration. *Puratattva no. 31*, 2001, Delhi, pp. 102, 103.
19. Thapar, R. *Ancient India Vol. I,* Penguin Books London, 1990, (reprint) pp. 180-184.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

68

Sacred Geography of Majjhimadesa in Early Buddhism : A Microscopic Appraisal

Anand Singh

Geography determines the lives and activities of people as well as their thought and literature. It shapes history. Man has been dependent on nature but he does not satisfy his urge to live under its limitations. So, he has always strive to break through the barrier placed by nature. The history of India is no exception to this rule. In India geography played pivotal role in evolution and development of civilization. India's varied seasons, mountains, rivers plains, and its isolation from rest of the world gave it a distinct outlook. It is separated from rest of Asia by its mountain walls on the north, north-east and north-west and the seas on the remaining sides. It comprises the great Himalayan wall, the great low land of Bharata and the great Deccan plateau. The Himalayas gives a formidable barrier to an invasion, though adventurers, missionaries and traders crossed it through its difficult routes. The mountains have made peaceful communication with the neighbours a difficult task. They have proved an almost insurmountable barrier against foreign invasion except through Khyber pass. The Himlayas have not only served as a great barrier against outside intruders but have also otherwise contributed to the welfare of India by protecting her against the cold dry winds from Tibet and serving as a great screen for the *mansoon* winds. They have increased the fertility and prosperity of the Indo-Gangetic plain. Within the Himalayan mountain walls and stretching from the Arabian sea to the Bay of Bengal, the plain of Bhrata is developed by the basin of the three great rivers, the Indus, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. These rivers play substantial role in the life of India. Their perennial supply of water and long lazy courses have not only made the land fertile but have provided splendid highways of communication. Because of it, various centres of culture, civilization and social movements have flourished from remote antiquity. Buddhism was one of such social movements. The origin and spread of Buddhism has been a landmark in the history of Indian subcontinent. Buddha was the inheritor of an ancient, rich and varied cultural tradition of a very high order. He ushered in a new movement out of it. It was theoretically enlightening and practically redeeming from the labyrinth of suffering, imperfection, impermanence and other vicissitude of life.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In the later vedic age, the authors of the Upaniśads questioned efficacy of sacrifices and said that it will not lead to eternal peace. Because of is the sixth century BCE saw fermentation and fervour of religious ideas. In this age ritualistic dogmatism was challenged by Kshatriyas by Upaniṣads. But when they failed to reform the Brahmanism from within. They left the Brahmanical fold and cultivated the idea of social equality. In this age, the world saw the birth of light of Asia, *i.e.* the Gautam Buddha. He was perfect embodiment of knowledge, serenity, courage, love and sacrifice. His heart overflowed with purest emotion on seeing with human misery and pain. He realized that a shallow optimism was rooted in a deep pessimism and behind the superficial momentary glow of sensual physical aspects, there lay the misery of old age, sickness and death. In his early age he showed an inclination to a contemplated life, which was strenuously resisted by his father Suddhodhan. At the age of twenty nine he renounced the material luxuries of Śākya kingdom and took *Mahābhiniskramana*. After six years of rigorous austerities and severest mortification he got triumph over temptations of Māra, the prince of evil. On one day, he decided to take food to sustain his body from the strain of extreme mental exertion and abandoned austerities to penetrate to the deepest insight (*bodhī*). To gain deliverance from miseries of existence and dispel dark cloud of ignorance he sat on the throne of knowledge under Pipal tree and attained dignity of Buddha (*Nirvāṇa*). The Englightenment which dawned upon the mortal Siddhartha transformed him into the immortal Buddha. He delivered his first sermon *Chraryasatya* (Four noble truths) in Rishipattana, Sarnatha. It is known as *Dharmachakrapravartana*. Later on he traveled all through eastern and central India. It was embraced by the rich and poor, the high and low, the intellectual and dull alike. It spread like wild fire far and wide from the lofty Himalayas to cape Camorin and later on ranged beyond the frontiers of its homeland to Srilanka, Mynamar, Siam, Malaya, Java, Sumatra, Tibet, Magnolia, Korea, China and Japan. It became world religion and a great cultural force. After triumphing over many obstacles at the age of 80 in 483 BCE he entered into *Mahaparinirvana* at Kusinaguar. No fire can burn his corpse, but it is consumed by the glow of his own piety and his bones were collected out of the ashes by his disciples as precious relics and were deposited in eight great *Stupas*.

Buddhism had its origin in eastern part of India which was initially outside the pale of the homeland of orthodox Vedic culture. It was based on repudiation of the Brahamanical view that the Vedas are infallible source of spiritual truth and the rituals of it are the sole means of emanicipation. Later on Buddhism engulfed all *Madhyadeśa* or Āryāvarta, the Majjhimadeśa or Āryāvarta is account for an area covering east of the region where the Sarasvati disappears to the west of Klakavan or Black forest near Prāyaga,[1] to the north Pripatra and to the south of the Himalayas[2]. According to another view Āryāvarta or Madhyadeśa is extending from the Himalayas in the north to Vindhyas in the south and from Vinasana in the west to Prāyaga in the east.[3] The *Kavyamīmāmsā* designate it Antarvedī.[4] It is assumed that Buddhism originated outside the pale of Madhyadeśa. Later on Buddhist literature extends the eastern boundary of Majjhimadeśa farther east to include pious land of Buddhism, *i.e.* Magadh and Kāśī The *Mahāvagga*[5] says that Majjhimadeśa was extended in the east to the town of Kajangala near the city Mahāsala, in the south east to the river Sarsāvati in the south of town of Salakannika and in the west to the city of Thūna, in the north to the Uirdhvaja mountain. Huein Tsang says Kajangala as *Ka-chi-wen-Ki-Lo*. It was situated at distance of about 400 *Li* east from Champā and 200 *Li* in circuit.[6] The *Divyāvadāna* identified Thūna and Sthūna as Sthānisvara in the modern Haryana[7] and Usiradhvaja may be identified as hills north of Hardwar (Kanchal).[8] Buddha dwelt in Veluvana and Mukulvana of Kajangala and preached.[9] It was a Brāhmangrama and Nāgsena was born here.[10]

The *Divyāvadna* extends the eastern boundary of Majjhimadeśa still farther to the east to include Pundravardhana and Varendra (N. Bengal).[11] The other boundaries given in it are identical

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

with in the *Mahāvagga*. The *Mahāthāhrata* linked with Paundrakas with the Vangas, Kiratas, Udras, Utkals, Kalingas and Andhras.[12] Huein Tsang says it *Pun-na-fa-tan-na*. Presently, it comprised of modern Santhal Pargana, Birbhum and Hajaribag districts. Huein Tsang noticed that both Hinayāyna and Mahayāna sects were flourishing in Pundravardhana. In the age of Buddha, sixteen Mahjanapadas were existing in India, in which as many as thirteen have been included in Majjhimadeśa. These are : (1) Kāśī, (2) Kosala, (3) Anga, (4) Magadha, (5) Vajji, (6) Malla, (7) Chedi, (8) Vatsa, (9) Pañchāla, (10) Kuru, (11) Matsya, (12) Surasena and (13) Avanti. The Majjhimadeśa was 300 *Yojanas* in length, 250 *Yojanas* in breadth and 9000 *Yojanas* in circuit.[13]

Kāśī Janapada presently in modern Uttar Pradesh, was bounded by rivers Varunā and Asi from north and south, respectively. These rivers gave rise to the name of its capital city Vārānasī. Jatakas describe various names of Vārānasī like, Surundhana, Sudarśana, Brahmavadhana, Pupphhavatī, Ramma, and Malinī, etc.[14] Before advent of Kosala Mahājanapada Kāśī was a great political power. Later on Mahkosala of Kosala annexed it. It was finally conquered and incorporated into Magadha empire by Ajātśatru after defeating Prasenjit of Kosala.[15] Vārānasī saw foundation of Buddhism. Soon after his *Nirvāna*. Buddha proceeded toward Vārānasī and delivered hist first sermon, *i.e. Dharmachakra Pravartana* at Rishipattana, Mrigadaya, Sārnātha to five Brāhmin ascetics.[16] With five Brahmins he went to Vārānasī and converted Yasa, a rich merchant's son and other like monk Punnaji and Gavompati.[17] Sārnātha received exalted placed in the Buddhism. Aśoka raised pillar to preach the policy of Dhamma and built many Stupas. Later on many rulers continued to patronize Sārnāth.

Kosala was bounded by the Sadanirā (Gandak) river in the east. Pañchāla on the west, Saripikā or Synandikā (Sai) river on the south and the Nepāl Hills on the north. The kingdom of Kosala was divided into north and south by river Sarayū. Śrāvastī was the capital of northern Kosala and Ayodhyā, the capital of southern Kosala. Besides important cities Śrāvasti, Sāketa and Ayodhyā, Kosala had some minor towns like Setavyā Ukkatthā and Kītāgiri.[18] The *Sanyukta Nikya* gives information about Kosala and its famous king Prasenjit. He was great admirer of Buddha. Prasenjit because of his admiration to Śakya class, asked for a daughter of Śakya's as his wife. But the Śakya were too proud of their lineage to enter into such an alliance. But they were too weak to refuse openly the request. Then the offsprings of a Śakya chief by a slave Vasavakhatiya was sent as legitimate daughter and married to Prasenjit. A son Vidudbha was born. When Vidudhabha paid visit to Śakya country. He came to know about his origin. On knowing this Prasenjit discarded both his queen and son. But on Buddh's advice Prasenjit restored both the queen and the prince to favour.[19] Vidkdhbha when succeeded Prasenjit, invaded Śakyas and massacred them. Some of them escaped and settled where Pipal trees and peacocks were in abundance. The full development of Buddhism took place in Kosala. In Śrāvastī Buddha spent his twenty one *varsavassa* (abode in rainy season), delivered the largest number of sermons and framed the greater part of the disciplinary code. Traditionally Śrāvastī is so-called because it was resided by sage Śrāvastī. But the *Papāncha-sūdani* says Śrāvastī because it has everything required by human being (sabbam + atthi).[20] Lord Buddha's famous resort in Śrāvastī was the Jetavana vihāra, which was purchased for him by Anāthpindaka at a fabulous price. In Jetavana Buddha spoken the subject of right monistic training. Presently, it is one mile to the south of Śrāvastī and is identified as modern Sahet-Mahet. Here another influential supporter was Viśakhā who built Pubbarāma Vihāra for him and who was especially interested in the welfare of the nuns. King Prasenjit became follower of Buddha while his queen Mallika and his two sisters Som and Sarkul became lay-devotees.[21] The Jtaka stories speak of the wealth and glory of Śrāvastī.[22] Because of Buddha's favourite place it contributed a good number of the *Bhikshus* and *Bhikkhunis* like Patāchara, Kisagotami, and Nanda, the son of Prajapāti Gotami.[23] Ayodhyā and Sāketa were other important towns of Kosala. Like Śrāvastī,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Ayodhyā and Sāketa also have been capitals of Kosala. Some had their capitals at Ayodhyā, others at Sāketa and the rest at Śrāvasti.[24] The *Ghata Jātaka* mentions Kālasena was the prince of Ayodhyā.[25] The *Nandiyamiga Jātaka*[26] says Kosalrājja reigning from Sāketa. Vanika, Mahākosala and other had their capital at Śrāvastī. Ayodhyā seems to be the earliest capital and Sāketa the next. The last capital was Śrāvastī. Ayodhyā had served to the level of an unimportant town in the Buddhist age. Anupiya was another famous town. It was famous for its Anupiya mangogrove. Here Buddha discussed about Elder Bhaddiya who joined the order with other young *Bhikshus* like Upali.[27] Buddha also travelled to different parts of Kosala. Once he reached to Sāla a brahmin village of Kosala. Buddha delivered a series of sermons and the Brahmin householders were converted to the Buddhism.[28] Buddha also converted the Brahmins of Nagarvinda, a brāhmin village of Kosala.[29] He visited the Mallas, Vajjis, Kāsis and Magadha from Kosala.[30] The *Sutta Nikāya* says that a teacher Bāvarī of Kosala went to *Dakshaninapatha.* In Asmaka Janapada, near a lake, he built a hermitage on the bank of river Godāvarī. Once Bāvarī and other Brahmins went to Buddha who was then in Kosala in order to have their dispute settled by the blessed one.[31]

The republic of Śakyas was under the influence of Kosala. It was located between Nepal and Gorakhpur-Bahraich district of Uttar Pradesh with its capital at Kapilvastu. The *Divyāvadāna*[32] relates Kapilvastu with the sage Kapila. The *Lalitvistāra*[33] calls it Kapilvastu, Kapilpura, Kapilhvayapura. It is most probably represented by the ruins of Piprahwa, where a vase containing the relics of Buddha has been found.[34] The Śakyas possessed a number of towns beside the capital. There were other Śākya towns: Chatuma, Smgma, Ulumpa, Sakkara, Sīlavati and Khomadusa.[35] The importance of the Śākya is due to birth of Buddha among them. Aśoka visited this area. He went to Lumbinī, the birth place of Buddha and Konākmuna stupa. He erected Nigalisagar Pillar inscription near the stupa of Buddha Konākmana. He also enlarged it. He visited it twice, first at 14th regnal year later on in his 20th year of coronation.[36] Huein Tsang says that he saw a Pillar at the site of Konākmana stupa, six miles from Kapilāvastu and the pillar had capital of a carved lion.[37] In this geographical zone Aśoka also raised Rummindei Pillar to commemorate the birth place of Buddha, the Lumbinī grove. Aśoka visited this place in his twentieth year of coronation and reduced *Bhaga* to 1/8 and exempted *Bali.*[38] According to Huein Tsang the Pillar had a horse capital which had been struck by lightening and the pillar itself had broken in the middle.[39] Buddha once dwelt in Sāmagrama of the republic of Śakyas on the bank of a tank.[40] Buddha also visited Kapilvastu and converted the member of his family including his son Rahula and aunt Prajapati Gotami. The Śakyas were not at first very well disposed towards Buddha, but after an exhibition of his knowledge and power they showed their respect and requested him to consecrate their newly built *Sānthagāra* (Assembly hall). When Vidudbha came to know the episode of his father's marriage with Vāsavakhatiya, one of the daughters of Śākya chief by a slave girl. He was enraged and invaded Śakyas. Majority of them were killed. Some of them fled to Himalayas and took shelter where Pipal trees and Peacocks were in abundance.[41] They were later on recognized as the Moriyas of Pippalivana. Pipallivana, the capital of the Moriya is apparently identical with the Nygradhavana or Banyan grove mentioned by Huein Tsang, where stood the famous Embers Tope.[42] Fahien says that the Tope lay four *yojanas* to the east of the river Anom and the twelve *yojanas* to the west of Kusinārā.[43]

The Koliyas of Ramagrāma were immediate neighbours of the Śakyas. They had two settlements, one at Ramagrāma and other at Devadaha.[44] Tradition says that origin of the Koliyas related to a sage Rāma, an ex king of Varānāsi. He left his kingdom and deserted by his wives and relatives, married the eldest of the five daughters Okkāka who had been farhaken by his family and exiled in forest. Later on he built a town in the forest removing a big Kola tree. The city henceforth came to be known as Kolanagar and the descendents of the king came to be known as the Koliyas.[45]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Koliyas were situated on the opposite site of Kapilvastu. The river Rohini separated them and helped to irrigate the field of both clans.[46] It was the kingdom of Suprabuddha or Añjanaraja whose two daughters May Devi and Prajapati Gotami were married to Suddhodana. It was also the Kingdom of Dandapani, the brother of Buddha's mother Mayadevi, whose daughter Yasódhara was married by Buddha. The republic of Koliya has been identified with a part of district Basti in Uttar Pradesh.[47]

Anga was one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas. It presently comprised of modern district of Bhagalpur and Monghyr and part of Purnea districts of Bihar. It was extended upto river Kosi or Kauśiki. Its capital Champa or Mālini stood on the right bank of Ganges near its junction with the river Champa and was at a distance of 60 *Yojana* from Mithilā, There still exits a large village named Champanagar and smaller one named Champapur, which suppose to be represented the real site of the ancient capital of Champā.[48] The *Vinaya Pitaka* says that there were 80,000 villages in the Kingdom of Anga.[49] The *Suman galvilāsini* says of a tank called Gaggarakokkhoranī dug by the queen Gaggari of Champā.[50] The *Sonanda suttanta* describes that Buddha with a large company of monks went to Champā in the Anga country and rested on the bank of Gaggara.[51] The *Majjhimā Nikāya* says that Buddha while dwelling in Assapura of Anga preached to monks.[52] Jātakas say that many of householders of Anga and Magadha followed the Buddha in the course of his journey from Rājagriha to Kapilvastu.[53] Champanagara was visited by Huein Tsang in the seventh century as Buddhist place of pilgrimage. It was the birth place of Biraja jina, the author of the Buddhist work *Lankavatāra sūktrā* and also that of Palkapya Muni the author of the *Hastyayurveda* (a treatise on the diseases of elephants).[54] Sonal Kolavisa, one of the contributors in the *Theragāthā* was resident of Champā.[55] It was great centre of trade and commerce and its merchants sailed to distant place like Suvarnabhumi. The Hindu emigrants to southern Annam and other south east region named their settlement after the famous city. Bhuddiya and Assapura were the other towns of the Anga kingdom.[56] The success of Anga did not last long. In the middle of the sixth century BCE Bimbasara, Śrenika killed Brahmadutta king of Anga. Bimbasara's son Kunika or Ajtsatru became viceroy of Champā.

Magadha roughly corresponds to present Patna and Gayā districts of Bihar. It was bounded on the north and the west by the river Gangā and the Śon, on the south by spurs of the Vindhyan range and on the east by the river Champā which emptied itself into the Gangā near the Anga capital.[57] Its earlier capital was Giribraja. The *Mahābhāratā* says it not only Girivraja but also Rājagriha, Bārhadratha pura and Magadhapura.[58] Buddhist literature says it Bimbasāra-pura.[59] Huein Tsang knew it as Kusāgrapura.[60] The *Rāmāyana* tells that the city was also known by Vasumatī.[61] Rājgriha was surrounded by five hills *i.e.*, Pāndava, Gijjhakutā, Vebhāra, Isigili and Vepulla.[62] Magadha's another capital was Pataliputra. It was built in 480 B.C. by Sunidha and Vasakara, the two ministers of Ajātaśatru, the King of Magadha, for repulsing the invasion of the Vajjis of Vaiśali. Udayan made it his capital.[63] After the *Mahābhiniśkramana Siddhārtha* first joined Alar Kalāma in Vaiśali but left him. Later on he became disciple of Rudraka Rāmputra of Rājgriha. It was on his way to this teacher that he met at the Pāndava hill, King Bimbāsra who tried to dissuade him from giving up his princely life. But he politely denied it. After the *Nirvna* the foundation of the Buddhism was laid in Magadha. From Vārānasī Buddha proceeded Rājgriha and spent second, third and fourth *Versavāssa.* He was succeeded in making a large number of converts, including few distinguished householders as *Upāsakas.*[64] The notable converts were Sāriputra and Maudgalāyana the former disciples of Sanjay. Belathiputra, the Brahmanical ascites Jatila, Upāli, and Abhaykumāra, Anāthpindaka, the rich merchant of Śrāvasti. Kings Bimbsāra, Ajātśatru and later King Munda.[65] Bimbasāra was great follower of Buddha. He constructed road for him from Rājgriha to the Gangā,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a distance of 5 leagues. He also erected rest house at the end of each league. The road was decorated with flags and garlands and the Lichchavis had to decorate the road from Gaṅgā to Vaiśāli.[66] Magadha possesses a good number of holy places related with Buddhism. The chief places are Buddhagaya, Kukkuta Pada, Rajagriha, Kusagrapura, Nalanda, Indra Silaguha and Kọpotiks.[67] During the early Buddhist age Magadha was important political and commercial centre and people from all parts of India flocked here in the wake of trade and religious pursuits. Bimbasāra maintained friendly relations not only with the northern neighbours but also with the western Mahājanapadas of Gandhara from whose king Puṣkarāsārina, he received an embassy. When king Prādyota of Avantī was suffering from jaundice, king Bimbasāra sent to his court physician Jīvaka to treat him.

Bodhagayā is situated between the Ramśila hill on the north and the Brahmayoni hill on the south, on the bank of the river Phalgu. The area corresponds to modern town of Shahebganj on the northern side and and the ancient town of Gayā on the southern side.[68] It was famous for it possession of the holy Pipal tree under which Śakya muni sat in mental abstraction, until he obtained *Nirvāna*. After attainment of it Buddha dwelt at Uruvelā on the bank of river Niranjanā. It is modern river Phalgu, described in Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacharita*. It has two branches the Nilājanā and the Mohānā. These united streams are called Phālgu. Bodhgaya is placed to the west of the Nilājanā and Niranjanā which has its sources near Seamaria in the district of Hazaribag.[69] To the south-west of the two, stood the mountain of Gaya, known as Brahma-yoni and it also occupied the side of Aśoka stupa. To the south-east of the hill three stupas of three Kasyapas are situated. To the east of them, across the river Phālgu there was a hill named Prāgbodhi, which Buddha ascended for the purpose of dwelling in silent solitude upon its summit. He spent six years in silent abstraction but having afterwards renounced his abstraction, he accepted some rice and milk offered by Sujata. After it ascended it for resuming his penances, but he was disturbed by the trembling caused by the fright of the God of the mountain. Then he descended and reached the famous Pipal tree at Bodh-Gaya. Midway in the descent there was a cave in which Buddha rested and sat in *Padmāsana* posture. Fa-Hien describes this cave which he place at half a *yojana* to the north-east of Bodhi tree.[70] Gayā also encompassed Apara-Gayā. It is said Buddha desirous of preaching. *Panchavaggya Bhikkhu* (five monks) who was then in Vārānasi, setout from Uruyela and reached Gayā. From Gayā, reached Apara-Gayā, where he was welcomed by Sudarsana, the king of snakes.[71] Huein Tsang says that after corssing river Niranjanā a *stūpa Gandhahasti* or the 'Sented Elephant' is situated and near it there was a tank and a stone Pillar.[72] After crossing the river Mohana he entered into a large forest, where he saw another stone pillar. Then proceeding to north-east far 17 miles he reached the mountains of *Kukkutapada* or 'Cock's' foot. Cunnigham mentions this Buddhist place is *Kuruk-vihāra* or a contracted form of *Kukkutapada Vihāra* or 'Cock's foot monastery.[73]

Nālandā came into prominence in the age of Buddha. Buddha traveled from Rājagriha to Nālandā.[74] It is situated in modern Baragaon of Bihar near Rajgir. Baragaon is a corruption of Vihāragrma. Cunningham excavated the great monastery of Nālandā. The *Majjhima Nikāya* says that once Buddha resided in the Pāurikambavan at Nālandā.[75] The *Sumaṅgalvilāsinī* tells that distance from Rājagriha to Nālandā was one *yojana*.[76] Since Gupta age onwards Nālandā acquired prominence as most important seat of Buddhist learning and culture. It was birthplace of Sāriputa and he also died at Nālandā. Sānkara and Mudagragaman two brothers built the celebrated monastery on the birth place of Sāriputra. Huein Tsang says that monastery was built of Śakārdityā. Nāgarujna the founder of Śūnyavāda lived at the monastery of Nālanda. Many Chinese pilgrims, including Huien Tsang studied at Nālandā.[77]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Vajjis were known as *Astakulas* or eight confederation. These were the Vajjis, the Videhas, the Lichchāvi, the Janātrikas, the Ugras, the Bhogas, the Ikshvakus and the Kauravas. The Vajjis is mentioned by Pāninī and Kautilya.[78] Their territory lay north of the Ganges and extended as far as the Nepal hills. On the west river Gandak separated it from the Mallas and the Kosalas. Eastwards it reached up to the forests that skirted the river Kośi and the Mahānandā.[79] In time of Buddha Vajjis was flourishring state. He visited Lichchavis and found that Vaiśālī was prosperous town. It was ruled by 7,707 families and it had 7,707 building, 7,707 pleasure grounds and 7,707 lotus ponds.[80] Buddha spent his fifth *Versavassa* at Vaiśālī. Amrapāli, the famous courtesan became a convert and offered her mangogrove located at the outskirt of city.[81] While staying at Vaiśālī Buddha gave his consent to the formation of an order of nuns at the instance of Ānanda and Prajāpati Gotami. A number of Śākyas came to receive ordination from Kapilvastu in the fullness of grief at the demise of King Śuddodhana. Buddha was residing in Kūtāgārasāla in the Mahāvana of Vaiśālī, the great forest stretching up to Himalayas.[82] Buddhist literature preserved the names of eminent Lichchavis who were followers of Buddha. Prince Abhaya, Mahali, Siha, Ajita, Dummukh and Sunakkhattas were few of them.[83] Buddha once said that Lichchavis were strenuous, delight, zealous and active. He further warned that if they would be given to luxury and indolence, they were sure to be conquered by the Ajātśatru.[84] The Second Buddhist council was convened in 383 BCE at Vaiśālī. A sharp discussion took place between two groups of *Bhikshus* described as eastern and western. The former lived mostly at Vaiśālī. and Pataliputra and the later at Kausambi, Pātheya and Avanti. Here Buddhism was divided first time into two sects Theravāda and Mahāsanghlikas.[85] Hathigrāma was another important village Vaiśālī. in and Buddha in his journey from Rājgriha to Kusinārā passed and rested in this village.[86]

The Mallas territory, ancient Malla raṣtra, Malla-rattha has been mentioned in *Anguttaranikāya* as one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas. The Kingdom has two parts having capitals Kusāvatī or Kuśinārā and Pāvā identical with Kasia and Padrauna of Uttar Pradesh respectively. The river Kakutthā, identified with Kuku probably formed the dividing line between two.[87] The *Mahāparinirvāna Sutta* says that capital city of the Malla was Kuśavati. When the monarchial form of government was replaced by a republican constitution, the name of the city was changed as Kusinārā. Beside Kusinr, the Mallas had other important cities like Bhoganagara and Uruvela Kappa.[88] Buddha took his last meal at Pāvā and got *Mahāparinirvāna* in Kusinārā. In Pāvā Buddha visited in the home of Chunda and ate *Sukarmaddava.* He fell ill and proceeded towards Kusinārā.[89] After reaching Kusinārā Buddha crossed Kakuthha river. Having crossed the river, he arrived Amravana and then proceeded to the Sālāvana of the Mallas. Kakuthha is identified as a small stream Barhi which fell into Choti Gandak eight miles below Kasia.[90] The Sālāvana of the Malla of Kusinārā was on the bank of river Hirnāvāti.[91] This river is identified as little Gandak. It is also known as Ajitavatī. It flows through the district Gorakhpur about eight miles west of the Great Gandak and falls into the Ghāghara. Ānand requested Buddha not to attain *Mahāparinirvāna* in a small town like Kuśināra. He advised the name of Champā, Rājgriha, Śrāvastī, Sāketa, Kośāmbī and Vārānasī. But Buddha selected Kusinārā and silenced Ānanda by narrating the glories of Kuśavatī. It had seven ramparts, four gates. It was 12 *yojanas* in length from east to west and 7 *yojanas* in width.

The Majjahimadeśa also include Janapada of Chedi. It encircled the Kurus and lay near the Yamuna.[92] It was connected with the Matsyas beyond the Chambal, the Kāśis of Vārānasī.[93] It roughly covered the eastern part of modern Bundelkhand and some adjoining region.[94] The *Chetiyajātaka*[95] says its capital as Sotthivatinagara or Suktimatī. Sahajsāti was another important town of Chedis.[96] The *Digha Nikāya* mentions that Buddha went to Chedi janapada for discourses.[97] The *Anguttar Nikāya*[98] describes that Mahchuveda while dwelling in the town of Sahajgāti delivered sermons.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Vatsa was one of the Māhjanpadas in *Anguttara Nikāya*. Its capital was Kośāmbī identified as modern Kosam.[99] The *Digha Nikāya* suggests that Kośāmbī was one of the great cities where Buddha should attain *Mahāparinirvāna*.[100] Pindol Bhārdvaja dwelt at Ghosita Ram Vihāra at Kośambī. He was son of the Chaplin to the King Udayana. He was initiated in Buddhist order in Rājgriha.[101] According the *Samyukta Nikāya*[102] a religious conversation took place between King Udayan of Kośāmbī and Pindola. Buddha spent ninth *Versavassa* at Kośāmbī. Samavati, the wife of king Udayana became a devotee of Buddha. In the age of Buddha Kośāmbī had four distinct establishments of his order like Badrika, Kukkuta, Ghosita Vihāra and the Amravana of Pāvāriya.[103] The Bhagga of Sumsumāragiri 'crocodile hill' was under the influence of the Vatsas. Buddha visited this place and prince Bodhi son of Udayana lived in Sumsumargiri.[104] It lies between the Yamunā and the lower valley of the Śon.

The Kuru Japada was ruled by the family of Yudhisthira. Its capital was Indraprastha near modern Delhi. It extended over seven leagues.[105] The Jātakas mention the Kura Kings and princes like Dhananjay, Koravya and Sutasoma.[106] It became a republican confederation in the age of Buddha and many people of this region became disciples of Śākya Muni. Similarly, the Panchala corresponds to modern Rohilkhand and a part of Ganges Doab. The *Divyavadāna*[107] refers to the division of this Janpada into two parts in Uttara Panchala and Dakshina Panchala. The Ganges formed the dividing line between them.[108] Northern Panchala had its capital at Ahichatra or Chhatravati, the modern Ramnagar near Aounla in the Bareilly while southern Panchla had its capital Kampilya and stretched from the Ganges to the Chambal.[109] The *Samyukta Nikāya* says that great Buddhist monk Viśākhā belonged to Panchāla. He was related to royal family of Panchāla. But he left his royal abode to join the order.[110] After Buddha performed the 'double miracle' and had made stay in heaven, he descended at the city of Sānkasya on the day of the great Pavran festival.[111] Sānkasya is situated on the north bank of river Ikkhumati; now called Kālinadi between Atranji and Kannauj. It is 23 miles west of Fatehgarh in Etah district of U.P. and 45 miles north-west of Kannauj.

The Śurasena Janapada had its capital at Mathura on the Yamunā. Avantipura, king of Śurasena, was first among the chief disciples of Buddha through whose help Buddhism gained ground in Mathura region. Mahakachchayana had great influence in Mathura.[112] Veranji in Mathura was western most country where Buddha visited. Here Buddha spent his twelfth *Versavssa*. The *Anguttara Nikāya* says that Buddha converted many people in his order in Mathura.[113]

Avantī comprises modern Ujjain region, together with a part of the Narmadā valley from Māndhāta to Maheswar and Nimar districts. This janapada was divided into two parts by the Vindhyas. The Northern part divided by Śiprā and other streams had its capital at Ujjain and the southern part washed by the Narmadā had it centre at Māhismatī usually identified with the rock island of Māndhata.[114] Kuraghara, Makkarakata and Sudarsanpura, etc. were other important cities of Avantī.[115] Once Buddha was invited by the King Pradyota of Avanti, but he declined to go because of his old age and deputed Mahā Kachchāyana, a native of Avanti to impart his teachings. Mahā Kachchāyana made few converts in Avanti.[116] Sañchi was the great centre of Buddhists in this region. Initially, it was known as Kākanadabota, Archaeological sources indicates that *stūpas* built in age of Aśoka and was enlarged in the Śunga period.[117]

The Indian subcontinent since dim past has been the home of many people. Throughout the ages this movement of peoples presented a changing panorama. The impact of these people on the soil of India and their efforts to adjuset themselves to the opportunities which the geographical environment gives provide the background of Majjhimadeśa. The Majjhimadeśa occurring in the Buddhist and other literature stands for a vast area comprising numerous janpadas, rivers, mountains, etc. It is not possible to construct a precise geographical outline of Majjhimadeśa because the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

boundaries are not clearly defined. But some major Janapadas like Kāsī, Kosala, Magadha, Vajjis, Mallas, etc. Mountains like Himālayas, Vindhya, rivers like Ganges, Saryū, Gandak, Śon, etc. are named. In the Majjhimadeśa Buddha visualized and reached the *Summum bonnun* of his life. He wandered from one place to another in Majjhimadeśa along with his disciples conversing with the people in the language and idioms familiar to them. Buddha marked the art of discussion and spread the radiance of his enlightened wisdom and conduct without taking any rest out of loving mercy and compassion for the suffering humanity. He reconstructed an old path, *i.e. Madhyamamārga* (Middle path) which avoided all extremes. In his idea, doctrines and practices the proto-vedic ideas of reality and way of life blossomed forth in a fresh and invigorating form which attracted the elite and the masses alike.

References

1. Cunningham, A. *Ancient Geography of India*, p. XLI, London, 1871.
2. *Boudhāyan Dharmasūtra*, I, 1,2,3, *Vaśistha Dharmasūtra*, I, 8.
3. Law, B.C., *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 1, Delhi, 1973.
4. *Kavyamīmaṁsā*, p.93.
5. *Mahāvagga*, V, pp. 12-13
6. Watters, T. *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Ed. by T.W. Rhys, Davids and S.W. Burbell, II, p. 102, London, 1904, 195.
7. Cunningham, *op. cit*, p. XLIII, f.n. 2.
8. *Indian Antiquary*, p. 179, 1905.
9. *Anguttara Nikāya*, V, p. 54, *Majjhima Nikāya*, III, p. 298.
10. *Milinda Panho*, p. 10.
11. *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 21-22.
12. *Mahābhārata* Bhisma Parva, IX, pp. 365-66.
13. *J.R.A.S.*, p. 86, 1904, 'Huein Tsang says that 1 *Yojana* was about 40 Chinese *Li* but Cunningham says it is only 30 *Li*, Huein Tsang further says the *Yojana* as 8 *Kosas*. 50 *Yojana* should be 4½ miles. But Cunningham says that it should be about 9 miles.
14. *Jātaka* IV, pp. 15, 119, 120.
15. *Saṁyukta Nikāya*, pp. 182-185, *Jātaka* III, p. 115.
16. *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, pp. 170 ff, *Saṁyukta Nikāya*, p. 420, *Kathāvastu*, pp. 97, 559.
17. *Anguttara Nikāya*, I, pp. 279-80; III, pp. 320-22.
18. Majumdar, R.C. *(Ed.), The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 4, Bombay 1988.
19. *Saṁyukta Nikāya*, pp. 70-100.
20. *Papanchasudanī*, I, p. 59.
21. Majumdar, R.C. (Ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 368.
22. *Jātakas*, VI, p. 68, 144, 236.
23. *Dhammapada Commentary*, II, pp. 260, 270.
24. Raichaudhari, H.C., *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 94, Calcutta, 1972.
25. *Jatāka*, No. 454.
26. *Ibid.*, No. 385.
27. *Ibid.*, I, p. 140.
28. *Majjhima Nikāya*, p. 285.
29. *Ibid.*, III, p. 290.
30. *Sanyukta Nikāya*, V, p. 349.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

31. Law, B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 4.
32. *Divyāvādana*, p. 548.
33. *Lalitāvistāra*, pp. 28, 243, *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 11.
34. *JRAS*, p. 180, 1906, Cunningham, A, *op. cit.*, pp. 711-12.
35. *Cambridge History of India*, pp. 175, 176.
36. Block, J, *Les Inscripton d' Aśoka*, p. 138, Paris, 1950.
37. Watters, T., II, p. 6-7.
38. Thapar, R. *Aśoka and Decline of the Mauryas*, pp. 5, 66-67, Delhi, 2000.
39. Watter, T., *op. cit.*, II, p. 11.
40. *Majjihma Nikāya*, II, p. 243, *Anguttara Nikāya*, III, p. 309.
41. *Mahāvamsa Tika*, pp. 119-121.
42. Watters, T., *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.
43. Cunningham, A, *op. cit.*, p. 491, Watters, T., *op. cit.*, p. 141 (The Moriyas seems to have been close neighbours of the Koliyas of Ramgrāma beyond the river Anomā and the Mallas of Anuipiyā).
44. Mallashikhara, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* (DPPN), I, 689.
45. *Sumangalavilāsinī*, pp. 260-62.
46. Raichaudhary, H.C., *op. cit.*, p. 170.
41. Dey, N.L., *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval History*, p. 102, Delhi.
48. Cunningham, A., *op. cit.*, pp. 402-403; *JASB*, 1897, p. 95.
49. *Vinayā Pitak*, I, p. 179.
50. *Sumangalavilāsini*, p. 279.
51. Law, B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 8.
52. *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, p. 281.
53. *Jātaka*, I, p.87.
54. Dey, N.L., *op. cit.*, p. 114.
55. *Mahāvagga*, V, p. 1.
56. *Jātaka*, VI, p. 34, No. 539.
57. *Mahābhārata*, II, pp. 20, 29, *DPPN*, I, p. 331.
58. *Mahābhārata*, I, 113.27, 204.17, II, 21.34, III 84.104.
59. Law, B.C., *Buddhaghosa*, p. 87.
60. Watters, T., *op. cit.*, p. 113, Pargitar, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 149, Delhi.
61. *Rāmāyaṇa*, I. 32.7.
62. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1939, pp. 163-64.
63. Dey, N.L. *op. cit.*, p. 151.
64. *Kathāvastu*, I, p. 89.
65. Majumdar, R.C. (Ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 368.
66. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 253 ff.
67. Cunningham, A., *op. cit.*, p. 383.
68. Dey, N.L., *op. cit.*, p. 64
69. Law, B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 39.
70. Cunningham, A., *op. cit.*, pp. 385-387.
71. *Mahāvastu*, pp. 156-157.
72. Julien's *Huien Tsang*, III. 1.
73. Cunningham, A., *op. cit.*, p. 388.
74. *Digha Nikāya*, I, pp. 1.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

75. *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, p. 371.
76. *Sumaṅgalvilāsinī*, I, p. 35.
77. Dey, N.L., *op. cit.*, p. 136.
78. *Astādhyāyi*, IV, 2.131; *Arthasāstra*, p. 378, Watter, T, II, p. 81.
79. Raichaudhary, H.C., *op. cit.*, pp. 105-106.
80. *Jātaka*, No. 149, 301, *Vinaya Text*, SBI, III, p. 171, *Lalitavistāra*, III, p. 21.
81. Majumdar, R.C. (Ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 528.
82. *Vinaya Text*, III, p. 321.
83. *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, pp. 234, 68; *Mahāvaggā*, p. 108.
84. *Anguttara Nikāya*, III, p. 74,
85. *Saṁyukta Nikāya*, IV, p. 109.
86. *Digha Nikāya*, II, p. 123, *Saṁyukta Nikāya*, IV. p. 109.
87. Cunningham, A., *op. cit.*, p. 714.
88. *Anguttara Nikāya*, IV, p. 438.
89. *Digha Nikāya*, II, pp. 72-168.
90. Law, B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 37.
91. *Digha Nikāya*, II, pp. 146-147.
92. *JASB*, p. 254, 1895, *Mahābhārata*, I.6.
93. *Mahābhārata*, V.22, 25, VI 47.4, 54.8.
94. *JASB*, p. 254, 1895; Pargiter accepts that Chedi covered the south bank of the Yamunā, from the Chambal on the north-west as far as Karvi on the south east. Its limit southward extended upto plateau of Malwa and the hills of Bundelkhand.
95. *Chitiya Jatāka*, No. 422, *Mahābhārata* III, 20.50, XIV, 83.2.
96. *Anguttara Nikāya* III, p. 385, Rhys David says that it lays on the trade route along the river Ganges (*Buddhist India*, p. 103).
97. *Digha Nikāya*, II, pp. 200-203.
98. *Anguttara Nikāya*, III, pp. 355-356; V, p. 41, 157-161.
99. *Rāmāyana*, II 52.101.
100. *Digha Nikya*, II, pp. 146, 169.
101. Law, B.C., *op. cit.*, 17.
102. *Saṁyuta Nikāya*, IV, pp. 110-112.
103. *Vinaya Pitaka* IV, p. 16, *Sumangalavilāsinī*, p. 319.
104. *Jātaka*, No. 353.
105. *Ibid.*, No. 413, 495, 537, 545.
106. *Ibid.*, No. 276, 413, 515, 545.
107. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 435.
108. *Mahābhārata*, I, 138.70.
109. *Ibid.*, 13.8, 73.74.
110. *Saṁyukta Nikāya*, II, p. 190.
111. *Kanha Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 193.
112. *DPPN*, II, p. 438.
113. *Anguttara Nikāya*, II, p. 57-58.
114. Raichaudhary, H.C., *op. cit.*, p. 130.
115. Law, B.C., *Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, p. 188, Calcutta, 1924.
116. *Dhammapada Commentary*, V, p. 101.
117. Thapar, R., *op. cit.*, p. 235.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Terracotta Art: Breaking the Myth

Suniti Pandey

Clay has been used to create objects of decoration, toys for the children or gods and goddesses. Clay is a popular medium of expression to fulfill man's creative urge from ancient times till today due to easy and abundant availability. Terracottas or baked clay figurines were produced in abundance with variegated contents. Due to its cheapness and easy production terracotta art is termed as "folk art". The art of terracotta narrated the faith of the masses.

Shilpa has three names: – Shilpam, Kala, Vigyanam.[1] This Shilpa Kala later on became folk art. Folk life is represented in ancient Indian art. The meaning of the word folk is defined as Lok or common man or related to folk. Generally, folk is synonymous of village. Folk art is described as ideas and thoughts of common man or village people. Nagrak is defined as clever, polite, cultured person living in a town.'[2] The commendable aspect of city life was truly represented by 'Nagrakas' who according to *Kāmasutra*[3] were possessed of worthy qualities in them, well bred, educated, expert in several languages, dexterous in several crafts, fine conservationist, proficient in funs. and merriments and man of sharp intellect.

In terracotta folk art has originated with such simple expression that even skilful artists praise it. Respected by society and protected by religion, folk art is a in source of happiness in a man's life. With the passing of time, many elements, *i.e.* symbols, images, beliefs are included in the folk art of a country and later on become parts of main art. It was easier to produce terracottas with the help of hands or moulds in comparison of stone or metal. With the invention of mould, terracotta art was made in large quantity but in producing stone or metal sculptures a lot of labour, time and money are needed.

The above inspiring aspects of nature played a dominant role in a man's life and tree, water, serpent, mother goddess were worshipped by common man. From the pre-Harappan times there was the tradition of worship of mother-goddess. The fertility and procreative powers of women started the worship of mother-goddess. Mother goddess terracotta figurines were produced in large number and special emphasis was given towards showing the femine quality of these figurines. Mother goddess with prominent breasts, thin waist and broad hips have been found from Kausambi,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Rajghat, Pataliputra, Buxar and Ahichhatra.[4] These figurines symbolize revitalization of forces of nature, vegetation and soil. In Indian religion, earth in named as mother. Fertility in soil helps in prospering of vegetation and agriculture. Apart from India, all ancient civilizations of the world worshipped mother goddesses, *i.e.* Innana in Sumaria, Athena in Greece and Ambika, Aditi in India. Some female figurines have been shown with bejewelled elaborate headdresses, transparent, dresses and ornaments. In these figurines head-dresses have symbols, *i.e. ankusha, trishula, bana,* axe are pinned on the left side roll with five curved long leaves on the right rolled of the headdress. Sinivali – the goddess was probably associated with vegetation and crop.

In ancient folk religion, Yaksha, Yakshini worship was very popular[6]. According to Coomaraswamy,[7] Yaksha cult was popular among common man before coming into contact with the elitist. The terracotta figurines of Yaksha have an important place in ancient art for their strength and monstrous, grotesque forms. They are represented with birds, fan, trident in their hands. In some examples a jar is kept in between the legs of the Yaksha.[8] Perhaps the jar symbolizes with the pot full of money. Yakshas are non-Aryan deities with beneficent powers of wealth and fertility. Like Yakshas, naga and serpent worship was also popular in folk religion. Many terracotta figurines[9] of the reptiles have been found from different sites of India. Mansa, the folk goddess of the reptiles world have been represented in natural and their anthropomorphic forms from different sites, project the totemistic predilections of earth bound life. Serpents are the guardians of life giving powers in Indian religions. Serpent worship is prevalent even in modern times on Nagpanchami day. Later on, Yakshas, serpents and nagas were assimilated in Buddhism and Jainism.

Desire of bounty and immortality motivated man to worship Kuber, the chief of Yakshas. Kuber is god of power and productivity worshipped specially for treasure (as Dhanada). The consort of Panchika (Kuber) – Hariti was a popular deity signifying abundance and prosperity.[10] Hariti who had the notoriety of stealing and devouring children as a hated ogress, projected the dreaded concern of the folk mind for infant mortality. Later she became a popular deity worshipped as a protectress of children by anxious parents for the well being of their progenies.

Naigamesha, India's commander in Chief who both in Brahmanical and Jaina mythology is connected with the procreation of children, folk deity Naigamesha and Naigameshi terracotta figurines have goat's face with human shaped body. Long and dangling ears, hooked nose, slit mouth, projecting hair – crest on the head with a suspension hole and naigameshi with a child are the main features of these figures. Naigameshi with child, also known as Shashthi, is worshipped as a patron and bestower of children, and gained popularity as a propitious deity of folk life.[11]

Apart from part rayal of folk deities, the popularity of terracotta among common man fermed it as folk art. Due to its flexibility and easy availability clay is popular medium to satisfy the creative urge of village people. After analysing terracotta art it can be proved that though terracotta is associated with village folks also represents royal families and rich class of the society. The refined, sophisticated taste of dresses ornaments and coiffers of terracotta figurines represent urban people. Different types of clothes, *i.e.* Kanchuka, tunic, gown, skirt, coat, pant were popular from Mauryan to Saka Kushan tribes is clearly visible on these dresses with urban touch. Gajalakshmi, Hariti, Sinivali from Kaushambi, Ganga, Yamuna from Ahichhatra, dancing girl and charming head of laughing body and girl from Pataliputra have a special place in the terracotta art.[13] The subject matter of these terracottas is also varied. Folk gods-goddesses and toys were produced on large scale as well as amorous scenes, recreational plaques and prominent gods-goddesses have been represents from Mauryan to Gupta period.[14]

With the invention of moulds, terracotta figurines were produced in abundance. Probably the demand of terracottas was an essential stimulus for its production in large quantity. Religious, social

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and decorative kinds of terracotta figurines are popular in the society. In *dampati* (couple) and amorous plaques a hole on the upper side proves that they were hanged on wall for decorative purpose. These erotic plaques could not be the part of folk culture, urban upper class people might have used them for decoration in their houses.

Art is the mirror of society. Some male and female terracottas depict foreign facial features, clothes and headdress. Due to gradual increase in foreign contacts, inter-national trade the taste and preference of potter artists changed and they produced terracottas of urban elite. If terracotta art was folk art then the artists would not be able to transform skillfully foreign features or dress into art. During the period of Panini art was termed as "Shilpa." Panini has described *gram shilpa* (5.4.95) and Raj shilpa (6.2.63) in Ashtadhyayi. Skilled artists were included in Rajshilpi's group. Perhaps these Raj shilpies were the creators of the refined and sophisticated terracotta figurines elite and richer class of the society. Production of such a large terracotta figurines required huge amount of money which was impossible without patronage.

There are references to terracotta art in Indian literature where it is related to the royal class. On the occasion of the marriage of Rajyashri, sister of famous king Harsha Vardhan various terracotta toys were produced for decoration.[15] This example shows the patronage of terracotta art from royal families. These terracottas decorated not only cottages of common man but also the palaces of the kings, queens and nobles. The title of the drama 'Mrichchakatika'[16] is named after the clay bullock cart. In this drama, the main character Charudatta's son Rohsena desired to play with clay toycart. All these examples depict the popularity and importance of terracotta art.

Though people try to lower the importance of terracotta art by naming it as folk art but it is an urban art irrespective of its medium. It is no less important than its contemporary stone sculptures. These terracotta figurines were the basis of stone sculptures because they were produced from earliest times. According to Kamasutra, a nagaraka should be skilled in sixty four arts. Among them dance, music, hunting, picnic, animal fight, domestication of animals and birds have been portrayed in terracotta art skillfully.

Thus, we can conclude that in terracotta art elements of both folk and elite art are depicted artistically. In modern times also terracotta art is equally popular in villages as well as in cities. After worshipping clay images of gods and goddesses on Diwali and Teej, they are immersed in the rivers. This proves that terracotta art was people's art but not only elite art also.

References

1. *Abhidhanchintamani* of Hemachandra chapter 3, 563-64, Harigovind Shastri (Ed.), Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series, Office Varanasi.
2. Monier Munseur Williams – 1976, Sanskrit English Dictionary, page 534, Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi.
   Suman, Ramnath (Ed.) 1973, Loka Sanskriti – Sammelan Patrika, Volume 39, No. 2-3, Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag.
3. *Kamasutram* of Vatsyayan I.4.4-14. Commentary by Shri Devadutta Shastri, Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1964.
4. Agrawal, V.S., *Mathura terracottas*, pl. II, Fig. 6, 7, 8 and Pl. III, Fig. 9. an article in the Journal of *U.P. Historical Society*, Vol. IX, Pt. II.
   Agrawal, P.K. and Narayan A.K., *Rajghat Excavation*, 1957-58, 1960-65, Pl. IV, 2, Pl. I, 1; Pl. II. 2; Banaras Hindu University.
   Kala, S.C. 1950. *Terracotta figurines from Kaushambi*, No. 259, 456, p. 14.
   Buxer 6290, 6303, Patna Museum, 8862, 6056, 8706, Patna Museum.
   Kaushambi, 7722, 7862, Patna Museum; Kaushambi 5214, 3894, 4865, Allahabad Museum.
5. Kaushambi, 5158, 2537, 517, 2540, 5519, Allahabad Museum.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Agrawal, V.S., Mathura terracottas, Plate V, Fig. 14; Plate VIII, Fig. 26, an article in the *Journal of U.P. Historical Society*, Vol. IX, Pt. II, p. 6-38.

Deva, Krishna and Mishra, V.K., 1961. *Vaishali Excavations* 1950, Plate XII, C.7, Vaishali Sangh, Vaishali, Bihar.

Agrawal, P.K. and Narayan, A.K., *Rajghat Excavation* 1957-58, 1960-65, Plate XXVI, Banaras Hindu University.

6. Kaushambi 1794, 3246, 5319, 3454, 5431, 3608, 3362, 5344, Allahabad Museum; Vaishali 1810, Patna Museum; Buxar, 5433, Allahabad Museum; Kaushambi, 439, 3699, 772 Allahabad Museum; Rajghat, 20434, 1634, 22262, Bharat Kala Bhawan; Kaushambi 22273, 22088, Bharat Kala Bhawan.

   Kala S.C., 1950. *Terracotta figurines from Kaushambi*, No. 705, 499, 779, 772, p. 31.
7. Coomarswamy, A.K. 1971, Yaksas, Pt. I, p. 2-3, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi.
8. Kala, S.C. 1950, *Ibid.*, No. 499, 705, p. 31-32.
9. Patna 6063, 8929, 9562, 7507, 8853, Patna Museum; Bulandibagh, 4171, 4175, 4176, Patna Museum.

   Agrawal, P.K. and Narayan A.K., *Rajghat Excavation* 1957-58, 1960-65, No. 466, Pl. I, 8.

   Kaushambi, 3393, 3091, 974, 370, 4952, 4647, 15, 5203, Allahabad Museum.

   Sinha, B.P. and Roy, S.R. 1969, *Vaishali Excavations* 1958-62, Plate LX, 3550/C, 3739/V, 3762/V, 830/G, 3677/C, 579/G, p. 169, published by Directorate of Archaeology and Museums Bihar, Patna.

   Altekar, A.S. and Mishra, 1959, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations*, 1951-55, Pl. XLV, A 1 and 2.
10. Sharma, G.R., 1980. History to Prehistory, published by Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Allahabad, pg. 48.

    Kumrahar 4380, Patna Museum; Kaushambi, 7718, 7719, Patna Museum.
11. Altekar, A.S. and Mishra, V.K. 1959. Report on *Kumrahar Excavation*, 1951-55.

    K.P. Jaiswal, Research Institute, Patna, No. 106, 16, 566, 11, 678, 141, 77, 151, 661, 107, 348, 1201, 1184, pg. 110-111.

    Deva Krishna and Mishra, V.K., 1961. *Vaishali Excavation* 1950, Pl. XII, C, 7; Kaushambi, D/24, KS III, XII, Allahabad University Museum.

    Sharma, G.R. 1949-50, *Excavations at Kaushambi*, Pl. XXXVI, B 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

    Agrawal, V.S. *Terracotta figurines of Ahichchhatra*, No. 8500, Fig. 126, No.602, Fig. 127, No. 8835, Fig. 130, Ancient India No. 4, 1948.
12. Bulandibagh, 4177, 4179, 4180, 4200, 4202, Patna Museum, 6067, 8570, 8859, Patna Museum; Kuamabi, 3264, 5429, 5267, Allahabad Museum.

    Sharma, G.R., *Excavation at Kaushambi*, 1949-50, Pl. XXXVI, A1, 2, 3; Pl. XXX, B1, Pl. XXXIII, B, 1, Pl. XXXI, 2, Pl. XXXIVA, 2, B.

    Kaushambi, D/248, D/17, KS III, SA I, V, D/214, Allahabad University Museum.

    Rajghat, 1699, Bharat Kala Bhawan; Kaushambi, 7881, 7882, Patna Museum; Kaushambi, 1794, 3454, 5431, 5327, 5328, Allahabad Museum.

    Kaushambi, 3269, 16, 543, 2367, Allahabad Museum; Kaushambi, 8102, Patna Museum; Bulandibagh, 4296, 8552, 4293, Patna Museum; Kaushambi, 22274 Bharat Kala Bhawan.

    Agrawal and Narayan, Rajghat, Excavation, Ibid. No. 652, Pl. LI, 5; No. 250. Pl. XLII 5; No. 226, Pl. XLIII, 1, 2; No. 364, Pl. XLV, 1, 6.
13. Agrawal, V.S., 1977. *Gupta Art*, p. 49; Bulandibagh, 4226, Patna Museum.
14. Kala, S.C., 1950. *Terracotta figurines from Kaushambi*, Pl. XV –A, p. 62, Pl. XVII –A, p. 63; Pl. XXXVI-B, p. 28.

    Agrawal, P.K. and Narayan, A.K., 1978. *Excavation at Rajghat, Ibid.* Pt. IV, Pl. XXIX.

    Srivastava, S.K., Chhavi: Golden Jubilee Volume, p. 37, Fig. 576.
15. Agrawal, V.S. 1964. *Harshacharita: A Cultural Study*, Bihar, Rashtrabhasha Parishad, Patna, pg. 72.
16. *Mrichchhakatika of Sudraka Act* VI, Verses 120. Translated in English by M.R. Kale, 1982, Motilal Banasidas, New Delhi.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

70

An Fine Image of Sun God from Pūrvānchal region

Shashi Bala Srivastava

The eastern district of U.P. commonly known as Purvanchal contains fine facets of Indian Art. This area displays a continuous and uninterrupted tradition of art activities which is known world wide. This sacred region has yielded great religious leaders of Brahman, Buddhist and Jain cults. The holy land of Gorakha and Kabir has its own uniqueness. In continuation to this marvellous tradition some novel archaeological sites have been found during my survey work. One of them is Adharangi village. This village is situated at a distance of 10 Kms. from the holy place of Dugdheswar Mahaadeo Temple of Rudrapur in Oeoria of estern U.P. In this village there was a brick Temple of Gupta period. Now only the basement (Ad his than) and the original Sivaling are existing. Now the villagers have made new constructions a garbhagrha with a veranda. In this veranda the great Sun Image is fixed. This image was found in a field by a peasant while he was ploughing.

This image is made of slate stone of Gaharawal period. The image measurers about 10 feet in height including Pithiki. The deity like other sun images is shown on chariot of seven horses in *Sthanaka Sambhanga* posture. The pedestal of the image has been decorated by three bands of lotus petals, Unfortunately both arms of the deity are broken, which were repaired later on. Two big lotus stems originated from the main lotus flower on both sides of the deity, and the full bloomed lotus flower is shown parellel to his shoulders. The carving of full bloomed lotus flower is traditional but inspite of showing the stem in the hand of deity it is originating from the same lotus pedestal. This style of carving the stems resembles the carving of Nisha-Parvati images of Bhuvaneswer temples which shows the thinking of sculptor of this area. On the right side of the Sun God, pot bellied bearded (Sakoorch) Pingal is shown carrying inkpot and pen in tribhang posture. Similarly on the left side Dandi is positioned. His right hand is shown in *Abhaya Mudra* resting on chest, and left hand resting on high. He is adorned with circular kundal an Mukut. In the Parikar of image decorative motifs like Gaj-Sardula and Mahidhari Vidyadhara have been depicted. The face of image is calm whereas the image of Konarka is shown in *Smita Mudra.* The figure of horses are mutilated only two are there. Sun God is adorned with beautiful girdle. Avayang may be seen in his waist and long boots (Upanaha) in legs.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Scuptor has fully decorated each part of his body attractively. A pearl neckles is shown around his neck. He is wearing the sacred thread. Big circular ear-ring and highly decorated Kirita Mukuta is shown on his head. This sculpture is the creation of the hightest digree of plastic art.

Though this image of Sun God followed its iconographical rules laid down in North Indian texts like *Agni Purana, Matsya Puran, Rupa Mandan,* etc. Yet the description of *Brihat Samhita* fully talliet with the image. It says this area not only witnessed the Śaiva cult, but Sun worship was also prevalent in masses. Sun Images of Turka-Patti Mahuvawa, Bhingari[5] Pipiganj[6], having Dashavatar patta in its Parikar are the famous examples. They how the popularity of Saur cult, Most probably the Sun image of Adharangi village may be the main deity of the Sanctum of a big Sun temple like Konarka.

References

1. *Brihat Samhita* the north Indian text lays down the rule of making Sun Images in uddichya Vesa. Br. Ch. 57 Verses 46-47.
2. In lingraj and other temples the style of carving the lotus holding in the hands of Nisha Parvati are the same-See P. 269 *Bharatiya Mandir avam Deva Murtiyam* Vol II, Dr. Shashi Bala Srivastava.
3. *Br. Samhita* ch. 57, Verses 46-47.
4. A village situated in Dist. Kushinagar,
5. A village situated on the distance of 10 km. from Bhatparrani Tehsil- Deoria.
6. A place situated on the distance of 30 k.m. North from Gorakhpur.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Varadaraja Temples at Tekal and Kāñchi: Seeking Comparisons

Vanamala Parthasarathy

Tekal, a small town between the two hills Kurmādri and Hemadri located about sixty-five kilometers from Bangalore on Malur-Bangarpet road in Karnataka has many shrines of which Varadarāja temple is of significance. It is because of this that the place is also known as Te Kāñchi (Ten Kāñchi =Southern Kāñchi). Kāñchi in Tamil Nadu is one of the seven sacred ancient cities of India has a number of temples[2] It has Śaivite as well Vaiṣṇavite of which Varadarāja temple occupies an important place. It is about ninety kilometers south-west of Chennai on Chengelput Arakonam route. It is one of the well-known Tondainättu Divyadeśas. As Tekal is known as Te Kāñchi I was prompted to study the two temples and seek comparisons

For devotees who are not in a position to undertake long journeys the local temple enshrining the deity bearing the same name come to occupy an important place in their religious life. Over a period, the deity assumes a note-worthy status. It seems the case with Tekal.It will not be out of place to refer to Chikka Tirupati near Bangalore, which has a temple of Śrīnivāsa (Veṅkateśa) and has probably acquired the name after Śrīnivāsa at Tirumalai Tirupati. As per one tradition, the eleven Vaiṣṇavite shrines in Tirunāngūr of Cholanāttu Divyadeśas correspond to Vaiṣṇavite shrines elsewhere in the country. For instance, the Vardarāja at Tirmanikoodam of Tirunāngūr corresponds to Varadarāja at Kāñchi. At times even legends connect one temple with the other. For instance, the legendary background associated with Garueḍa at Bindiganavile in Mandya district in Karnataka has the motif of Kāñchi. The main deity Lakṣmī Varadarāja at Tekal is unique in the sense the image has a *gulaganji* seed on the thumb which is explained as signifying the fact that He is superior to Varadaraja of Kāñchi. This paper proposes to seek some comparisons between the two temples from different angles such as architecture, iconography of the main deity and other aspects if any.

The paper carries three sections besides the introduction. The first consists of descriptions of the temple at Kāñchi, its special features at the same time drawing comparisons with Tekal. The second section would refer to some select inscriptions of relevance from Kāñchi and Tekal temples. The last section would contain necessary observations perceived during the course of the study.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Introduction

The Vijayanagar Empire had extended as far as Salem, North Arcot and South Arcot and Tekal was the headquarters of a large part of the empire. Goparāja the ruler of the Saluva dynasty developed the town and actually rebuilt the two-tiered fort around the town *(EC,* vol. X, *Malur Taluq*-no.l*).* At the height of its glory Tekal it had about hundred temples and many wells and a large tank which was built by Goparāja and it was called Gopasāgar (Ibid., 4). Most of these are in ruins today. The inscriptions refer to the place as Tekal. As far as the antiquity of the temple is concerned besides the legend which will be referred to later there are Tamil inscriptions available from 1310 CE onwards though there is one which is dated 1300 CE which is fragmentary with just a line *(Ibid., no.* 31) complete. The temple has both Chola and Vijayanagar style features pointing to its antiquity.

The ancient name of the place where the temple of Kāñchi Varadarāja temple is located was Attiyūr or Tiruvattiyūr as attested by Chola records. The literary evidences point out to the fact that the temple could have existed around the 7th century as a simple structure at the time of Bhudattālvār. He makes a reference to the deity as *'Attiyūrān'* (deity belonging to Attiyūr) in his work *Iraṇḍām Tiruvantati* (96) in *Nalayira Divyaprabandha* (collection of Alvars' or Vaiṣṇava saints' four thousand hymns).[3] However, no evidential support is there on structural or inscriptional grounds.

According to K.V. Raman (1975, pp. 7t) the origins of the name probably can be traced to the fact that the nucleus of the temple and the village might have had *Atti (Atti=Udumbara=Fig/Ficus Glomerata*) trees, Another reason is that the original image of the deity was of *Atti* wood. It had to be replaced off and on, as wood tends to deteriorate. It was finally replaced by the present stone image sometime in the late 15th century[4]. The last wooden image that was in the *garbhagrha* has been preserved in a small *maṇḍala* built inside the tank (*Anantasaras*) within the outermost *prakara.* Once in forty years it is taken out and *maṇḍala ārādanai* is performed. The temple may belong to Pallava period (9th century CE) as Kachi was the seat of Pallavas and they had engaged in temple building activity (M.S. Ramesh, 1992, p.36). During 16th century CE the area became Viṣṇu Kāñchi only when it increased in size K.V.Raman further points out that Attiyūr became Hastipura/ Hastigiri (elephant hill) a Sanskritized version. Sanskrit works adopted it, as one of the meanings for the term *atti,* is also elephant. (1975, pp. 5f) The central raised enclosure where the main sanctum is situated looks like a hillock and named as Hastigiri (elephant hill).

The temple complex as it stands today has evolved over the years projecting different styles of architecture which makes an interesting study. It is massive in proportions and very impressive occupying a rectangular plot of land about 378 metres long and 212 metres broad one of the largest temple complexes to be seen in South India having many shrines. A high boundary wall with two massive gateways with towering *gopuras,* the western and the eastern enclose it, the former is the main entrance. The architectural details would follow.

Architecture

There are certain features at Tekal which show that the architectural tradition at Kāñchi has been followed thus maintaining the *lineage Adhiṣṭāna* is exactly like the Kāñchi temple, with *upāna, tripaṭṭakumuda, gala paṭṭika, urdhvapadma* and *vedi.* At Kāñchi the pilasters are plain and simple and square.They. are devoid any ornamentation. At Tekal pilasters are *brahmakantha* (four-sided). The bevel-tenon *potika* seen in Kāñchi characterizes the Tekal temple exhibiting the typical features of Chola style The *bhitti* is constructed in the same way as you see in the Kariamāṇikka Perumāḷ shrine (*circa* 1129 CE) with three pilasters on either side of the niche. The niches are all empty. The *kapota* and *prastara* have Chola features seen in Kāñchi.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The *garbhagṛha* is rectangular and differs from Kāñchi which is squareshaped. At Tekal the *vimāna* which is a reconstructed one is *ekatala* pyramidal, tiered, *śikhara* and is of *brahmachanda* type (four sided) with *kūṭas* in the comer. The unique feature in Kāñchi is it is a *dvitala vimiāna* of the *śāla* type *śikhara. It* has a rectangular base super-posed over a square sanctum named as *puṇyakōṭivimāna.*

At Tekal and Kāñchi the stages of development of architecture can be noticed as in all temples. At both places the main shrines face west. At Tekal and Kāñchi we have the *garbhagṛha, antarāla and rangamaṇḍapa* and *mahāmaṇḍapa-s. At* Tekal there are no *puṣpapotikas* on the pilasters attached to the doorjambs of the *antarāla-garbhagrha* unit. At the *rangamaṇḍapa* they appear showing the development. The *adhiṣṭhāna* mouldings in the *garbhagriha antarāla* and the two *mukhāmaṇḍapas* at Kāñchi are also devoid of ornamentation with massive pilasters and heavy tenon-corbel types pointing to an earlier date (about the middle of eleventh century AD (K.V.Raman, 1975, p.149). The *adhiṣṭhāna* of the *garbhagṛha* at Tekal is the *pādabandha* type exactly like Kāñchi.

At Tekal at the pillared *rangamaṇḍapa* there is the *bhānuchanda* design (square) on the ceiling of the roof. The *rangamaṇḍapa* has four pillars and nine *aṅkaṇas.* There are *dvtārapālakas* on either side of the entrance to the shrine as in Kāñchi A beautiful Ranganātha lying on a hooded Ādiśeṣa with only Śrīdevī is carved on the lintel of the *antarāla.* On the wall of the *garbhagriha* we find empty niches at regular intervals with three pilasters on either sides which is similar to what we see in Kāñchi. The features like *uttara, ūrdhvapadma, kapota* decorated with *kūḍus* at regular intervals characterize the Tekal temple a lot simılar to what we see in Kāñchi. The *kūḍus* at Tekal are beautifully carved with *gaṇas, makara-mukhas,* floral arrangements, human and divine figures at regular intervals. From the side-view of the *garbhagṛha* wall the *kūḍus* are very clear and above the *kapotas yālis* are carved. On the side wall of the *bhitti* of the *garbhagṛha* Garuḍa, Hanumān, monkey, elephant are carved. There is a carving of Sudarśana on the western corner of the *bhitti* of the main shrine.

The architecture of the goddess's shrine is excellent though it cannot compare with the goddess Perundevi's shrine at Kāñchi. Interestingly just as in Kāñchi it faces east. The pilasters shown on the *bhitti* of the shrine are almost like pillars, parts of the *adhiṣṭhāna* very crisply done and decorated but is in a dilapidated condition. It has a *rudrachanda* (round) *sikhara. The galapāda-s* are beautifully carved, the intervals are neatly carved with sculptures of lions, *yālis* and lotus-petal floral designs. On the pilasters below the *dalapadma* carvings are very neat. The *adopadmas* with lotus buds are beautiful. There is the *vīrakaṇṭha* between the *iḍal* and the *kumbha. The garbhagṛha* and *antartāa* of the goddess's shrine are architecturally very simple with *adhiṣṭhāna* of the *garbhagrha.* There is a *pradakṣiṇāpatha* around the *garbhagṛha* which seems to be a later addition. However, there is no *pradakṣiṇāpatha* around the *garbhagṛha* of the main shrine unlike in Kāñchi. At Kāñchi the architectural features of the *vimāna* of goddess's shrine cannot be made out as it is covered with copper sheet. A significant feature noticed at Tekal is we do not come across *padmabandha* or *kumbhapanjaras* on the pilasters as seen in Kafichi goddess's temple.

Apart from these structures there are *yajñaśāla, sahasrakālmaṇḍapa* which has only fortypillars. The *mahāmaṇḍapa* is uncovered but has *ādharastambhas. The mahādvara* is devoid of *gopuras* unlike in Kafichi It belongs to Vijayanagar period and is on an elevated plane with seven steps leading to the entrance. The *mahāudvāra* doorjamb is decorated with floral designs. To increase the height above the *upapātha (kapotabandha)* they have added *pādabandha adhiṣṭhāna* and the structure is of Vijayanagar period. There is only one *prākāra* as opposed to Kāñchi, which has four (five).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Interestingly we find the Lizard motif carved in the north-eastern part of the *bhitti* just below the *prastara*. At Kāñchi too we have the lizards motifs carved in the *prākāra* and there is a legend which says that in the past the son of the ruler of Ayodhya Sagara, Asamanjan and his wife became lizards because of a curse and when they had the *darśana* of Varadaraja they got back their human forms. Varadaraja ordered that their lizard bodies would remain in the temple and those who receive His darśana and touch the lizards would be relieved of their illnesses. The lizards are gold-plated and even today people observe the tradition.

Ālvārs and Ācāryas do not have independent shrines as we see in Kāñchi. For that matter the icons of Viṣvaksena, Rāmānuja, Nammalvar and Anjaneya and Bhairava (perhaps brought form the siva temple nearby?) are placed in the *rangamaṇḍapa*. Another feature observed in Tekal is the absence of cloistered verandahs.

Interestingly we come across a Valampuri Ganeśa figure carved in Tekal at the entrance of the *prākāra* on the right as you enter. At Kāñchi, there is a separate shrine for Valampuri Ganeśa too with his trunk turned to right in the south-west corner of the second *prakara*. The image seems to be a product of later Chola times.

At Tekal there is no independent shrine for Garuda. On the other hand there is the monolithic relief of Garuda and Hanumān shown in a bisectional manner in standing positions as if waiting for the Lord. There are *padas* carved on a stone which are called *Garuḍiapāda* and *Hanumān pāda* (probably as they do not have the symbols of Viṣṇu. At Kāñchi the images of Garuḍa are placed not only in the shrine but also in the corners of *maṇḍapas* and *prākāra* walls. At Tekal, there are no images of Garuda placed at the corners of *maṇḍapas* and *prākāra* walls.

Taking up the layout of the temple, Kāñchi Varadarāja temple complex is huge as compared to Tekal. The central nucleus is the Hastigiri hill on which the main sanctum is built. There are four courtyards though the local Śrīvaiṣṇavas would add the main streets (*māḍavīthis*) around the temple as the fifth one. The closed and narrow passage around the sanctum sanctorum known as *Tiruvuṇṇāligai* is excluded from the reckoning of the *prākāras*. The first enclosure on the hill is named *Vayyamāligai, the* second *Senaiyarkōntirumurram, the* third *Yamunaituraivar-tirumurram* and the fourth as *Ālvār-pradakshiṇam*. The first has *garbhagrha, antarāla (vestibule)* and two "axial *maṇḍapas* and a pillared *mahāmaṇḍapa*. There are *dvārapālakas* at the entrance to the unit of *garbhagṛha. The mahāmaṇḍapa* is eight-pillared. The entrance leads to the first *pradakshiṇāpatha* around the shrine. The roof of the courtyard is supported by pillars of Vijayanagar style. There are no inscriptions or literary reference to fix the date to the *garbhagṛha* and the two *ardhamaṇḍapas*. However the architectural features clearly show they belong to the Chola times (probably to II th centuryā. To the south-east corner of the hill is a flight of steps which lead to the second *prākāira*. It is an open courtyard which goes around the hill there is a shrine for Sēnaiyarkōn/Viṣvatasena (Commander-in-chief of the Lord) on the northern wing. This is enclosed by a double-storeyed verandah with colonnades of pillars which has the typical Chola corbel belonging to beveled variety. There is also a shrine for Narasimha and he faces the Garuda shrine. This seems unique in the sense Garuda is not placed on the same level as the main deity. The *garbhagriha* and *antarāla* are all inone. The pillars of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* exhibit typical early and middle Chola styles. In front of the shrine there is a sixteen-pillared *mukhamaṇḍapa* which belongs to Vijayanagar period. The cloistered verandah has four shrines along the periphery of the enclosure for Dhanvantari, Ganeśa, Āṇḍāl and Malayala Nāchiyār. The third *prākāra* has the kitchen. Infront of the *gopura* that leads to this *prākāra* is the shrine for Garuda. There are shrines for Anantalvar, Karumāṇikka Perumāl, thousand pillared *maṇḍapa, abhiṣeka maṇḍapa* and a shrine for goddess Perundevī.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The latter faces east and it is built on an elevated plinth. Apart from the *garbhagrha* there is *mukhamaṇḍapa* and *mahāmaṇḍapa.* Its presence is confirmed in an inscription dated 1236 CE (K.V. Raman, 1975, p.153).!t is said that the original Tayar shrine was subsequently replaced by the present one sometime around about 1487CE *(Ibid.)...The vimāna* over the sanctum is called *Kalyanakati vimana* (17th century). The *antarāla* complex is very ornate belonging to Vijayanagar period and is said to resemble the Amman shrine in the Hazara Rama temple at *Hampi (Ibid.).* The niches are ornate with ornamental *kapota, and* there are *kumbhapañjaras* as well which we do not see in Tekal. The *puspapotika* is very prominent. There is also a *ūnjal marṇḍapa* in this *prākāra.* The fourth *prākāra* is the largest one which consists of the shrines for Ālvārs and Ācāryas.They being for Tirumalisai, Nammalvar,Tirumangai. Mudal Alvars, Ramanuja,.Vedanta Desika Manavalamamuni and Lakṣhmi kumara Tatacharya, the latter managed the temple affairs during the times of Vijayanagara king VenkataI. There are *vāhanamaṇḍapa, Tulābhāra-maṇḍapa,* the *Stable-maṇḍiapa,* the sacred tank Anantasaras, shrines for Kṛṣṇa,Varāha, Ranganatha, Sudarśana, *Porrāmarai tank,* and *Dorai Thottam (garden), and* the *kalyāṇamaṇḍapa.* The latter is known for its ornate features where the shafts of the pillars which carry the characteristic Vijayanagar motifs of warriors, hunters on rearing horses and the *'rampantyāli'.* The beautiful balustrade steps leading in to the pavilion and the remarkable hanging chains of stone rings at the four comers make up for the exquisite splendour. The entire courtyard is enclosed by a high boundary wall.

K.V.Raman has traced the genesis and development ofthe temple. He has roughly put it in four stages as it conforms with epigraphical evidence. The first stage was when the temple was of modest beginnings during the time of Bhūdattalvār about 7th century CE. But there are no "structural or inscriptional vestiges of this period".The second stage was reconstruction of the temple around 11th century CE during the time of Rājādhirāja I and his successor Kulottunga I which can be attested by inscriptions. The third stage various structures came to be built within the *prākāras* in the 12th and 13th centuries. The eastern *gopura* had not been[5] built during this time. The fourth stage was by the end of the 13th century CE when festivals increased and hence many *maṇḍapas* came to be constructed, and separate shrines for Ālvārs and Ācāryas under the patronage of Vijayanagar kings.

At Kāñchi the main shrine is located on the Hastigiri hill. At Kāñchi from the south-east comer of Hastigiri hill there is a flight of twenty-four steps which go down to the second *prākāra* the steps are identified with twenty-four letters of Gāyatrī

Interestingly, we learn that a shrine for Varadaraja temple at Tekal was on a hill and one can see it as well. The present one is on an elevated plinth.

The main shrine of Kāñchi is supposed to be on a hill. However K.V. Raman does not think so and feels it could be a raised basement to represent *uttaravedi* concept. (1975. pp 158ff). The theory of K.V. Raman that Hastigiri is an artificial mound has been questioned by R.Varada Tatacharya who feels it is a natural hill (R.Varada Tatacharya (1978, pp. 46&55).

Iconography of the Deities

The main deity Varadarāja at Tekal faces west, is in standing position *(samabhaṅga)* with four arms. It is about four feet in height.The upper two arms carry *sankha* and *cakra* and the lower left hand holds *gada* while the right hand is in *abhaya mudrā. The* image is unique because the deity holds a *gulaganji* seed in his thumb unlike in Kāñchi.

All the other characteristic attributes of Viṣṇu are to be seen at Kāñchi such as *kirita-makuṭta* (big-crown), *makarakuṇṇdala* in the ears, *haras* (necklaces), *keyūra* (armlets), *kankanas* (wristlets),

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

udarabandha (waistband) *katibandha* around the hip, *yajñopavitra* (sacred thread) and Laksmi on His right chest. Just as in Tekal the *mūlabera* is shown without consorts. The *utsavabera* is shown with Śrī and Bhū at Kāñchi that are bronze and considered the oldest perhaps belong to earlier half of 11th century.

In both temples, there are independent shrines for the goddesses. At Kanchi the goddess is called Perundevī or Periapiratti. She is Śrī or Laksmī but called by different names in local Tamil at different places. For instance She is called Alarmelmangai at Tirupati. No special name has been mentioned for the goddess at Tekal. The iconographic representation is more or less the same. She is seated on the *padmāsana* with four arms, the rear ones carry lotus buds, the lower ones are in *abhaya* and *varada mudrās*. The *utsavabera* of the goddess at Kāñchi have been roughly assigned to later Chola period about the first half of the 12th century CE when the Tayar shrine came to be built.

At Tekal there are only two shrines unlike Kāñchi which has some of the finest pieces of stone and metal icons belonging to Chola and Vijayanagar traditions. Some of them are of Ranganatha, Narasimha, Valampuri Ganesa, andal and Malayala Nachiyar or Serakulavalli Nachiyar.The unique feature in the case of the latter is while at Śrīrangam she is seated, here she is shown as standing. Both are assigned to 14th century. Besides there is the shrine for Ananta who is shown in human form with the hood above his head, datable to 13th century. There is the shrine for Garuḍa. There are shrineṣ for Sudarśana, Dhanvantari. In addition to the above there are icons for the Ālvārs and Ācāryas.

The image of Rāmānuja at Tekal is seated with *anjali mudrā*. Usually, he is shown with hands in *anjalimudrā* as we see in Tekal. At Tirumalai and Kāñchi he is shown with the right hand in *vyākhyana-mudrā* (pose of exposition). Installed in 1191 CE, is one of the earliest. portrayals (K.V. Raman, p.167).

The sculptural representations in the *maṇḍapas* are breath-taking. The *kalyāṇamaṇḍapa* especially has about eight-hundred bas reliefs depicting scenes from Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, bear specimens of Vijayanagar art of 16th century CE. Even the *Sthalapuraṇa* legend of the appearance of Varadarāja is shown. Some secular themes also find place such as love scenes, jesters folk dances and acrobatic scenes. There are portrait sculptures also.

Other aspects

Varadaraja at Kāñchi is mentioned as *Varamtarumperumāl* a Tamil equivalent of Varadarāja. He is also known as Devarāja. In the later inscriptions the Tamil eqivalents used are Devapperumal or Tepperurnaḷ. Another name is Aruḷālaperumāl. The Kannada inscription of Hoysalas the deity is mentioned as Allalanatha, Kannada form of Arulalanatha. Interestigly an inscription in Tamil from Tekal dated 1336CE refers to the deity at Tekal as Aruḷālanāthan *(EC-vol. X-Malur Taluq-no.14)*.

As always the hoary past of temples are developed by the legends that grow around it and they are ingenuously woven. At times they trace their origins to Purāṇas.

I have not been able to trace any well-documented *Sthalapurāṇa* for Tekal. However, one of the legends mentioned about Tekal is that sage Bhṛgu lived on the adjacent hill. He used to visit the temple to worship the deity every night. And in the mornings garlands of fresh flowers would be found at the door-step of the shrine and that he was the one who consecrated the Lord here. There is a small stone in front of the main deity, which they call *Bhrīguśilā*, which symbolizes the prevailing legend. At Hemadri there is a cavern called Bheemana Garadi where Bhīma is supposed to have practiced wrestling. While it is not possible to trace a well-documented

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sthalapurāṇa as in the case of Kāñchi nevertheless an attempt is there to give it a hoary past and sage Bhṛgu figures.

In the case of Attiyūr the *Sthalapurāṇa, Padma Purāṇa and Kūrma Purāṇa* are cited (A. Etirajan, 1997, p. 273). The *Sthalapurnaa* of the place is known as *Hastigiri - mahātmiyam.* It is in the form of a dialogue between two sages Bhrugu and Narada. As per the legend this place was chosen by Brahma to perform the *yajña* and out of the sacrificial fire Viṣṇu emerged in this form as 'giver of boons'. And that the place got its name Kāñchi because *Kā* (*Brahmā*) worshipped Viṣṇu here (añjitam). Brahmā requested the Lord to remain: there to bless the devotees for all times to come. And that Iravata, Devendra's elephant took the form of a hillock and bore the Lord and hence the place was known as Attigiri. And because the hillock was white in colour it became Svetagiri (*Ibid.*, p. 275). The legend also relates the temple with Gajendramokṣa story.

The Ālvārs such as Bhūdam, Pey, Tirumangai have glorified Kanchi temple There are many legends .about the grace of the Lord at Kāñchi. One among them is about Tirumangai. (M.S.Ramesh, 1992, pp. 40ff). Ramanuja lived here and performed *'tīrthkainkaryam'* bringing water from the well. Another devotee who was associated with Varadarāja temple was Tirukaccinambi who brought flowers for the Lord from his garden and performed the fanning for *Lord (ālavaṭṭakainkaryam).* And it is said that he was privileged to talk to the deity directly. He even verified the correctness and validity of the plans of Ramanuja for the spread of Vaiṣṇavism. And Lord is supposed to have revealed the main tenets through Tirukaccinambi and he passed them on to Ramanuja. Kāñchi was one of the primary centres where Vaiṣṇavism developed and Ācāryas of the *ubayavedānta* tradition flourished. Vedānta Deśika, Maṇavāḷamāmuni, and Doḍacharya were all associated with Kāñchi.

Tekal does not figure in *Ālvārs' pāsurams.* To the extent Kāñchi figures in the lives of the well-known Ācāryas, Takal does not seem to be so as there is a paucity of documentation available to us.

The legends have inspired sculptors at Kāñchi to represent them. They have been responsible for many festivals and rituals as well.

Regarding festivals, at Tekal, the *Vaiśākha Śuddha Pūrṇimā* car festival and Saturdays of *Śrāvan* attract a big gathering of devotees. (B.V.Prakash, *Reliving the golden days of Tekal,* p.2)

At Kāñchi Varadaraja *Garuda-sevai,* when the deity goes in procession on Garuḍa is very popular. It takes place in the month of *Vaiśākha* during Brahmotsava.According to one legend Robert Clive was impressed with the procession. Therefore, he donated a necklace of the Lord. It is called *Clive makarakanthi.* The Lord is adorned with it on *Garuḍa-sevai* day. Saint Tyagaraja even composed a song about the *Garuḍa-sevai.* (M.S.Ramesh, 1992, p.54)[6].

The *utsavaberas* of Varadaraja at Kāñchi and Śridevi, Bhūidevi and are very old can be assigned to earlier half of 11th century CE. Many scars are to be found on the *utsavabera,* and they say that these are the wounds caused in the battle (M. Radhakrishana Pillai, 1990, p.15).

It will not be out of place to mention that Kāñchi became a hot bed of sectarian differences (between. Tenkalais and Vaḍakalais) pertaining to the temple traditions, control of the temple affairs induding the sectarian marks. These led to many legal cases in the nineteenth centpry. An important area to cover for the study, is the inscriptions that afford evidences for the date of structures and other facts.

Inscriptions

Apart from the structural styles that characterize the periods, the dated inscriptional records help to know the antiquity. Not many published ones pertain to Tekal Varadaraja temple available in the *Epigarphia Carnatica* volume.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

There are about three hundred and fifty inscriptions at Kāñchi temple. As far as Tekal goes the earliest inscription available is fragmentary is in Tamil belongs to 1300CE. It mentions the *pujari* of the temple but the name is incomplete *(EC.X Malur Tq, no,* 31). However, the one dated dated 1310CE *(Ibid.,-9)* is in Tamil and clear. It talks about Śokkapperumāl dasar who was the manager at the temple of Varadaraja at Tekal gave a śāsana to the pūjāris (six) to the effect that on their behalf two of them should conduct the affairs of the temple and each of the six should receive daily allowance and cooked rice. Therefore, from this it can be made out that the temple must have existed earlier to this and perhaps enjoyed good financial status as well. Three inscriptions in Tamil dated 1328 CE all in Tamil describe the grants made to the temple *(Ibid.,* ll,12,13*)*. The rdcord in Tamildated 1336CE refers to the Lord as Arulalanadan. The number of increased in 1343 CE as the Tamil record of the year mentions eight *(Ibid.,-16).*

There are many inscriptions on the inner faces of the walls of the Narasimha shrine in the second *prāktāra* conceived in the cave form. The earliest belongs to 1053 CE, which means the shrine must have existed at that time if not earlier. The architecture of Chola style (K.V. Raman, 1975, p. 45). A number of inscriptions are there on the plinth portions of the gateway of the second *prakara* which belongs to third year of Kulottunga I (*i.e. 1073* CE*)(Ibid).* The kitchen in the third *prākāra* also seems to have been built in the 11th century CE. It was built by Naralokavira the famous general of Kulottunga. The shrine of Kariamāṇikkam Perumāl came up in 1129 CE, Anatālvār in 1212 CE and the *abhiṣekamandapa* in 1236AD.The earliest reference to Tayar shrine is a record dated 1236 CE belonging to RajaRaja. III (Ibid., p.48).

As far as the recitation of *Divyaprabandhas* at Tekal there is a record in Tamil dated 1355CE which mentions a person who received grant as Tiruvaymolidasar (EC. X. *Malur Tq,no:17)* who probably recited *Tiruviymoli.* Another record in Tamil mentions the granting of lands to certain persons for reciting *Tiruppallāṇḍu* and keeping of the evening lamps before *God. (Ibid – 19).*

As far as *devadāsis* of the temple were concerned at Tekal two records in Tamil indicate the existence of *devadāsis.* One is dated 1336CE mentions the grant and privileges to one of the dancing girls *(devadasi)* of the *temple (EC. X. Malur Tq,no:24).* Another record in Tamil dated 1356CE mentions granted to one of them in the temple of Arulalanadan and to her sister in the temple *(Ibid.,-21).* Two facts emerge namely the temple was financially well-provided and secondly the Tāyār shrine must have existed prior to 1356CE.

As far as Kāñchi goes, a record dated 1242CE mentions a group of fifty-eight Brahmins reciting *Tiruvaymoli* (K.V. Raman, 198Ī, p.283). It is also mentioned in another record dated 1359CE that king Ballala III listened to the recitation of *Tiruvaymoli* at *abhiṣekamaṇḍapa (Ibid.).* There is a record dated 1556 CE from Kāñchi where it is mentioned that *prasadam* was given to *devadasi* (K.V. Raman, 1975, p.136)

As far as Tekal goes, endowments are there for offerings daily and in a general sense expenses incurred for festival days. The inscriptions at Kāñchi make a mention of endowments for various festivals. To mention some: one dated *Śaka* 1443 (1521CE) mentions four *tirunals* and *pushpayagacsirappu (a special* offering for a ritual which is a part of Brahmotsava *(SITI* vol:I-346). Another one dated Śaka 1459 (1537 CE) mentions that *Tiruter (*car festival) took place on four occasions and even the months are mentioned *(Ibid-354).* Endowments are made for *Tirupavitra tirunal (*Pavitrotsavam*)* for *neyamudu* and *kariyamudu (Ibid.,* - 346). An inscription belonging to 1533 CE mentions Tituvadhyayana trunāḷ at Kāñchi *(Ibid.,* - 406). An inscription belonging to Śaka 1517 (1595 CE) mentions about the offerings made to the Lord on *Cittiraivasantam tōppu tirunāl* before he proceeded to Viṣvapanḍita tōppu. As early as *Śaka* 1431 (1509) a mention is made of *Tiruppaḷḷioḍam tirunāḷ (floating festival). (Ibid-411*). An inscription dated *Śaka 1438 (1517* CE*)*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

mentions that *uriadli* took place at the entrance of Sannidhi Hanuman temple (during *Kṛṣṇajayanti* festival*) (Ibid.,* -372). Inscriptions belonging to sixteeenth century make a mentions of the celebration of *Dipavali and Yugadi.*

Apart from this we get information from the record that one Tatacharya (Laksmī kumara Tatacharya) who performed the coronation ceremony of the Vijayanagar king Venkata (16th century) weighed himself against gold and used the wealth for the service of Varadarāja in erecting the *Kalyanakoṭtivimana* (of Goddess's shrine) (368 of 1919 *(SITI-* vol. III, pt 2- p.1358).One inscription (undated) even mentions the sacred places for Srivaiṣṇavas at Kaāñchi and Attiyūr heads the list *(Ibid-1295).*

It will not be out of place to mention a record found in a slab in front of goddess's shrine which talks about Aurngazeb's expedition to South in 1688CE against Maharattas. He was planning to conquer Kāñchipuram and it is popularly believed that the temple authorities shifted the images to jungles of Uḍaiyarpalayam. Later when the chieftain of the place was asked to return, he refused and through the influence of AttanJryar and his disciple Todarmal the images were restored in 1710 CE (M.S. Ramesh, 1992, pp.39f).

From an inscription dated about 1435CE from Tekal, it is known that Gopa-Raja–Vodeyar was ruling Tekal: Singarāja had built *marṇḍapas* before and behind the temple, had the pond constructed called it Gopasamudra. The palace was constructed close to the temple and from his threshold he could look at the spire of the temple and come to offer *naivedya* and *tambula* to God *(EC,* vol: vol. X Malur tq, no: 4).

Observations

Tekal temple as it stands today needs better preservation. The very fact that one of the traditions calls Tekal as 'Te Kāñchi shows that an attempt was made to give it a special place by associating it with the older temple of Kāñchi There is a sharp contrast between the two in terms of size and maintenance. Kāñchi temple brims with activity most part of the year.

During the course of the study comparisons were sought between the two temples and certain observations have been made which can be placed under four categories namely (a) architecture, sculpture and (b) iconography, (c) other aspects and (d) inscriptions.

(a) Architecture

(1) Tekal temple has maintained its architectural lineage with Kāñchi To begin with the main shrines at both places face west, the goddesses' shrines face east. The features of *adhiṣṭthana,* the *bhiti,* the four-sided pilasters. the bevel-tenon *polika, kapota* and *prastara* have Chola features like the Kāñchi temple. The *pādabandha* is present at Tekal. As far as pilasters go *padmabandha* and *kumbhapañjaras* are absent unlike at Kāñchi goddess's shrine. There is however the beautifully carved petalled blossoms in the pilasters of the goddess's shrine at Tekal.

(2) As far as the plan of the main shrine goes at Tekal we have the *garbhagṛha, antarala* covered *rangamaṇḍapa* with pillars and a *mahāmaṇḍapa* which is not covered has *adharastambhas* and only one *prākāra.* At Kāñchi there is *garbhagṛha antarāla* and two axial-*maṇḍapas* and a pillared *mahāmaṇḍapa* including the *māḍavīfthis* it is five.

(3) The *garbhagṛha* of the main shrine at Tekal is rectangular with an *ekatala* stepped pyramidal *drāviḍa* type *vimāna* with an empty central niche. At Kāñchi the *garbhagrha* is square with a beautiful *dvitala vimāna* of the oblong, type with the sāla (wagon-vault) *śikhara* over the *garbhagrha.* It is unique, looks as if it is 'super-posed' (K.V. Raman, 1975, p.l49).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(4) Tekal has one *prākāra* only and only one independent shrine for the goddess. There are four (five) *prākāra* in the Kāñchi temple complex housing different shrines, including for Narsimha, Karumāṇikkapperurnal, Sudarśana, Ananta, Garuḍa, Viṣvaksena, Angal, Malayāla Nacciyar, Ālvārs and Ācāryas, and also Ganesa.

(5) At Tekal, there are only three *maṇḍapas (covered rangamaṇḍapa* with pillars and an open *mahāmaṇḍapa, sahasrakālamaṇḍapa).* Kāñchi temple complex has many more *maṇḍapas* like the *abhiṣekamaṇḍapa,* ornate *kalyāṃa maṇḍapas* with exquisite sculptures, *unjal maṇḍapas* etc.

(6) There is only a *mahādvāra* at Tekal but no *gopuras.* At Kāñchi there are two imposing *gopuras.* The architectural details of the western *gopura* (latter half of 13th century) shows that it is earlier to the eastern one which has the Vijayanagar insignia carved on the ceilings of the gateway (later half of the 16th century) .

(7) At Tekal and Kāñchi on the wall of the *garbhagṛha* we find empty niches at regular intervals with three pilasters on either sides.

(8) At Tekal we are shown a hillock which is supposed to have a shrine for Varadadija The Kāñchi main shrine is located on the Hastigiri hill. K.V. Raman feels that it may not be a natural hill but could be a constructed mound..In both places the present temple at Tekal and Kāñchi are at an elevated level though the former is not located on a hill as such.

Sculptures: Tekal stands in sharp contrast to Kāñchi as far as the sculptural splendour is concerned. No doubt, there is a beautiful Ranganatha sculpted on the lintel of the *antarāla* and some carvings of Garuḍa, Hanumān, and elephant on the *bhitti* of the *garbhagṛha.* There is a carving of Ganeśa to the right side in the outer *prākāra* of the temple. At Kāñchi there is an independent shrine for Ganeśa The image is that of *Valampuri* Ganeśa. The lizard motif is seen in both the temples. At Tekal, it is in the north-eastern part of the *bhitti* just below the *prastara.* At Kāñchi the lizard is supposed to cure illnesses when the devotees touch them.

At Tekal there is no independent shrine for Garuda. Instead there is a bisectional monolithicstone with carved figures of Garuḍa and Hanumān in a standing posture kept between the *dhvajastambha* and *balipīātha* with two *piidas* carved on another stone. And which they call *Garudapāda* and *Hanumānpiida.* At Tekal apart from the reliefs of Garuḍa, Hanumān, Sudarsana we do not have independent shrines. For that matter, there are no Garuḍa images on either's the walls or the corners of *maṇḍapas* as we see in Kāñchi.

(b) Iconography

(l) The *mūlaberas* of Varadaraja at both temples are alone.There is independent shrines for the goddesses. The *utsavaberas* at Kāñchi are with Śrī and Bhū. At Tekal I did not see the *utsavaberas* in the *garbhagrha* though there was a bronze image of Sudarśana.

(2) Iconographically both the *mūlaberas* are the same. However, the Kāñchi Varadarāja is much bigger than the one at Tekal. But the unique aspect at Tekal is He holds a *guliganji* seed in His thumb which I feel uniquene. Both the goddesses appear similar in iconography, seated with four arms, the rear ones carrying lotus buds, and the other two lower in *abhaya* and *varada mudrās.*

(3). At Tekal Ālvārs and Ācāryas do not have independent shrines. There are only images of Viṣvaksena, Ramanuja, Nammalvar, Anjaneya and Bhairava in the rangamanṇḍapa.

(4) Viṣvaksena looks similar to the one at Kāñchi except that the *tarjani mudrā* in his right hand is not very clear.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(4) The image of Ramanuja at Tekal is different from that in Kāñchi. At Tekal he is with *anjali hasta* where as at Kāñchi he is with *vyākhyānamudrā* and installed in 1191CE, one of the earliest depictions of him (K.V.Raman, 1975. p.167).

(c) Other aspects

(1) Legends develop over the years pointing to the antiquity of a temple. At Tekal, sage Bhṛugu is supposed to have lived in the mountains and worshipped Varadarāja every day in the night As a proof flowers would be found scattered at the doorstep. There is a *śilā* in front of the maindeity called *Bhṛugusibilā*

(2) Kāñchi has a proper *Sthalapurana* called *Hastigiri-mahātmiyam. Infact* Vedānta Desika (*circa* 1269-1370CE) composed his well-known work *Satyavrata-mahiitmiyam* based on the purāñic legends. The significant aspect is Hastigiri-*mahātmiyam* consists of the dialogue between sage Bhṛrgu and Nārada.

(3) Kāñchi one of the hundred and eight *Divyadesas* remained the centre for the development of Vaiṣṇavism and many Ācāryas like Ramanuja, Tirukaccimnambi and others and their connection with Varadarāja. It also figured greatly in sectarian disputes.

(4) Among the festivals the *Ter utsava* (car festival) in the month of Vaiśālkha on śuddha pūrṇmā day and the Saturdays during the month of *Śrāvaṇa* attract crowds. On the other hand the, *Garuḍia-sevai* at Kāñchi during the Brahmotsava in the month of Vaisākha is very popular. The Lord wears the *makarakaṇṭhi* presented by Robert Clive.

(d) Inscriptions

(1) Inscriptional records available are not many in Tekal as compared to Kāñchi. At Tekal, the inscriptions from 14th century onwards do point out the strong financial background because there were about eight priests who were provided with grants. The inscriptional records of 1343 CE and 1355CE indicate the recitation of *Divyaprabandhas.* The records from Kāñchi from 13th century point to the recitation of *prabandhas.* A record also shows the existence of dancing girls. There are endowments for offerings during specific festivals at Kāñchi

In short, Tekal Varadarāja temple exhibits certain features that can be compared to the one at Kāñchi. Perhaps that led to the tradition to call it Te Kāñchi (Ten Kāñchi) as far as the devotees were concerned. Moreover, for those who could not visit Kānchi the deity was Varadarāja of Kāñchi. And for a Vaiṣṇava devotee. the minute the name of the deity Varadarāja is mentioned he would only think of Kāñchi. And so Tekal being called Te Kāñchi is not surprising.

References

1. Paper read at the 18th session of Kamataka History Congrss, Hampi, (26th-28th Oct, 2006). I am extremely privileged to contribute this paper to the Felicitation volume of Dr. K.V. Raman whose contribution to the world of Archaelogy is noteworthy. I am happy that this paper deals with the monograph written by him on Varadaraja temple at Kāñchi and is very appropriate one for the volume *Rama Vijayam History and Archaelogical Studies.*
2. The seven being Ayodhya, Mathura, Haridvar, Kasi, Kāñchi, Avanti and Dvaraka.
3. *Iraṇḍām Tiruvantāti-96:Attiyurān puḷḷai yūram (The* Lord of Attiyur rides the bird, *i.e.* Garuḍa. Based on this there are some who say that the Garuḍa-sevai which is very popular could have been celebrated during the Ālvār's time which I doubt as the Ālvār could have referred to the Lord in a general sense as Viṣṇu's *vahana* is Garucja.
4. The song commences as "*varadaraja ninnukori*" is set to *svarabhvsani rāga* set *to rūpeka* (T.S. Parthasarathi, *Tyāgarāja svami kīrtanaikal* pt. I, 1991, pp. 160f.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

72

The Interface Between India and Suvarnabhūmi short and Suvarnadvīpa

Amar Nath Khanna

Nagapattinam, how a district of Tamil Nadu, was the first port on the mainland touched by vessels from the East. The Sailendra king, Sri Mara Vijayattunga Varman, the lord of Srivijaya and Kataha or Kadaram (now, Kedah, Malaysia), constructed a Buddha Vihara here in 1006 CE with the consent and support of the Chola king Rajaraja I and named it after his father as Chudamani Vihāra. In 1859, the British found here a ruined tower but could not collect any historical information about it. The tower was 50 ft. high and occupied a square of 41 ft. with an interior space of 12' x 11'. It was built of brick and mud. The upper part of the tower was in a dilapidated condition, one or two layers having fallen off from various parts, both of the interior and the exterior of this tower. The District Engineer, Thanjavur, had reported that it was supposed to have been a portion of the Buddhist temple from the fact of a small image of the Buddha having been discovered in it by the Jesuit priests, who appreciating its artistic value and to hide this fact of the discovery, had sent it to France. The Chief Engineer reported to the Government as under: 'The ancient tower comprised 5 storeys in the beginning. In 1859, there were only 3 storeys.' It was 50 ft. in height and 41 ft. square'. The ancient Buddha Vihara tower was destroyed because of ignorance and negligence and now there is no ruined tower anywhere at Nagapattinam.

The Sailendras (lords of the mountains) were also in close contact with the Pāla kings and such famous Buddhist centres in India as Nalanda. Nalanda's great fame attracted the attention of the king of such distant countries as Java and Sumatra. "With the mind attracted by the manifold excellence of Nalanda, he (Maharaja Balaputradeva, the king of Suvarnadvipa) built there (at Nalanda) a monastery which was the abode of the assembly of monks with various good qualities and was white with the series of stucco and lofty dwellings." (The Nalanda copper-plate of Devapaladeva, *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p.327, verse 32.)

The Chola king Rajaraja I gave the entire village of Anaimangalam, Nagapattinam taluk, to the Buddha Palli. The taxable land in the village consisted of 97 *velis* of land which yielded 8,943

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

kalams of paddy. On a representation made by the king of Kadaram or Kataha through his ambassadors, this grant was supplemented by a fresh gift in the reign of Kulottunga I (Sastri, K.A.N. *The Colas*, p. 656).

It appears that the principal port of departure for Suvarnabhumi was Guduru, modern Kodura at the mouth of the Godavari, and thus on the Andhra Coast, and giving access to the West. This agrees well with the fact that it is really the art and culture of the Deccan, rather than those of south India, of which traces can be seen in the earliest art of Cambodia, Champa and Java. Indians are still referred to as Orang Kling, a survival of the name Kalinga, by which the Oriyas were once known.

There were three phases of classic Indonesian architecture: (i) 600-900 CE, (ii) 900-1250 CE and (iii) 1250-1450 CE.

The Sanskrit inscriptions discovered in Cambodia certainly excel in literary merits those discovered in the Indian sub-continent and reflect an intimate contact with India. A series of hermitages (*ashramas*) were also established in Cambodia for the growth of religion and spirituality there. These inscriptions also reveal something more — a spirit of piety and renunciation, a deep yearning for emancipation from the trammels of birth and evils of the world and a longing for the attainment of the highest bliss and salvation by union with Brahman, the Ultimate Reality.

In the 7th century CE, a Silla monk, Chollyun (Aryavarman in Sanskrit) came to Ch'angan for study in China and later decided to go to India. He studied there at the Nalanda University and died there at the age of 70. He had specialized in the study of the Vinaya texts. More Silla monks, *e.g.* Hyeeop, Hyeon't, etc. also came to India for study. The last-named came back to India once again also.

Near Busan (South Korea), there is a small town, Kimhae, where people fondly recall the arrival there of an Indian princess from Ayodhya, U.P., India, the reputed capital of Lord Rama, in 21 CE and she married their king Kim Sy-roh and became known as Queen Ho. The Kim family now numbers over six million people in South Korea and along with the Ho or Oh clan pray regularly to their great grandmother from Ayodhya. There is even a shrine for this Indian princess in Kimhae.

India relations with South-east Asia thus go to prehistoric times.

References

1. The matter has been taken from my look, *Hindu and Buddhist Monuments & Remains in South-East Asia*, Aryan Books International New Delhi, 2008.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

73

Some Essential Materials for Construction Works in Ancient India

Nandita Bhattacharjee Goswami

The literary works of the Vedic period carry testimony to the art of architecture. Frequent references to the word *pura* indicative of fort or fortification[1], hundred walled forts[2], fort made of stone[3], great forts[4]and others along with door, pillar, beam show that construction of strong built structures were not at all unknown to the Vedic people apart from the ordinary houses as we have a pen picture of the same in the *Atharvaveda*[5]. The Gṛhyasūtras of the later Vedic period contain details account of the spacious houses with fire room, assembly hall, kitchen, retiring room, wife's apartment, latrine, water point and others[6]. Constructions associated with *yūpa*, sacrificial alter, burial mounds also exhibit some form of art of architecture prevailed. Evidences of constructions of bridge, road, cross roads[7], temporary shades specially required to perform sacrifices[8] also formed the culture of the age. While reaching to the period of epics we have description of varieties of constructions that include very clear picture of sophisticated and high quality architectural designs[9]. Purāṇas like Matsya, Skanda, Garuḍa, Agni, Viṣṇudharmottara can be said to be the store house of the Indian form of art of architecture[10]. The literary creations like *Swapnavāṭsavadatta* of Bhaṭasa *Harsacharita* and Kādambarīs of Bāṇabhatta and others of the classical period also have the depictions of palaces, temples, houses of rural area, gardens and so on. But the Vedic and classical works do not provide information on the materials used for the construction of these art forms of architecture. It is only the Śūlva Sūtra where we have ample information of bricks making. The paper aims at carrying out an investigation on this subject that formed a very significant part of culture of people of ancient India. Our search is based on classical Sanskrit works including the Vedic texts as well as Śilpa Sūtra oriented works.

This write up is split up in two parts – (1) Tools to give layout and (2) Materials for construction works.

Tools to Give Layout

To construct a house or like the first and foremost task to be undertaken is to give layout of the project at hand. The earliest document of the same is preserved in the works of Śūlva Sūtra

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(800-500 CE) that form the essential part of the Kalpa Sūtra (science of rituals). These deal with the measurement and structural details of the sacrificial complex. Just like a housing complex the same also requires to be equipped with various structures like sacrificial pavilion, fire hall (*agnyāgarā*) cooking chamber (*vratasrapanāgāra*), various shades (*sadas*), wife's apartment (*patnīsadana*), water point, toilet and others. To provide layout some implements are indispensable. Now, we shall deal with some of such materials.

Peg

The first and foremost tool required is the peg (*śaṅku*). It should be straight *i.e.*, without any bend[11]. The Karkabhāṣya on the Śūlva Sūtra states that it should be preferably made of *khadira* (*acacia catechu*) wood. According to Maya[12], a leading figure on the science of architecture of ancient India, apart from *khadira*, other woods like *madhuka*, or any hard wood may be used for this.The famous work Mānasṭra records that the peg is made of the wood of some trees. It may be 24, 18 or 12 *angulas* in length, and the width at the base is 6, 5 and 4 *angulas*. It tapers from the bottom to the top[13].

Hammer

Hammer (*mudgara*) is used to fix the peg on the ground. It is stated to be four angled. The length of the same should be 16 or 24 *angulas* without having any knot. It should be preferably made of the interior portion of the wood named *khadira*.[14]

Axe

Axe (*sphya*)[15] is used at random to dig the earth. Normally, it is made of wood.

Cord

Cord (*śūlva*) plays key role throughout the whole layout process. The MSS opens thus: "Now, I shall deal with śūlva. While providing the traits of measuring cord it rejoins the following points:

(i) The two ends of cord should have knots.

(ii) It should have same diameter.

(iii) It should be prepared in such a way that even if dragged length is not changed.[16]

Munja grass is the ingredient to prepare the cord. The finishing is required to be neat.[17] A person expert in handling the cord to give layout is known as *sutravit*. He is considered to be a honorable personality.[18]

Materials to shape Ordinary Constructions

Normally, a sacrificial complex is formed with temporary structures. The ingredients used in such structures are clay, *i.e.*, soil mixed with water.[19] Sand also is essential material. It is described to be used to get polished brightness.[20] Straw mats for enclosures [21], screens and roofing are indispensable. For roof use of the grasses like *kuśa* and *dūrvā* are clearly mentioned.[22] Bamboo, cane, wood preferably *khadira* are used for pillar and beam.[23] Constructions with the above materials give shape to ordinary houses. It may be conceived that along with these some other ingredients available from local area laudable house architecture concept developed time to time. We have pen-picture of ordinary house construction in the AV.[24] This is most probably the oldest document of the description of building a house meant for ordinary people.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Materials to Give Shape to Permament Structures

Bricks

It (*iṣṭaka*) is an indispensable ingredient for any sort of construction. The remains of the Sindhu civilization show that the use of bricks was already well known to the people of those days. The Vedic literature also has reference to brick.[25] But it is the Śūlva Sūtra where we have ample information on the same which were used at random for construction works of *Citis.*[26] The above mentioned branch of study relates *citis* of different shape. *Cyena citi* was shaped like a bird, *ratha citi* like a chariot. Similarly *citis* named *kaṅka, kūrma, drona* (a kind of vessel used in sacrifice) and others also may be taken into account in this context. The pictures[27] of some of such citis provide the impression of the scope of formation of bricks of various shapes.[28] It may be noted that this branch of knowledge have very clear mention of the fact that in no case bricks broken or damaged or disfigured or showing any sort of decay should be used in the construction of citis.[29] Such ideas most probably became instrumental to manufacture quality bricks.

Thus, the art of brick making developed on strong footing. To get perfect bricks priority was laid on the proper soil fabrication. The sacred literature has thrown some light on this act. Three methods have been traced from different texts. Of these one is recorded in the BSS. It has been stated here that bricks which are required to be used for the citi for one month duration (or for a year) may be designed with the soil mixed with ash received from ukhā. It is very clearly pointed out in this context that ash from ukhā is not required to be mixed in soil for bricks that are to be used for one night only.[30] The MM also contains similar view in the point.[31] This method is still in vogue. Now bricks used in buildings are prepared with fly ash. The second method of soil fabrication is noted in the SB. The ingredients according to this are soil, collected from ground nearby the sacrificial complex, gum, extracted from palṭúa tree, rock flour, hair of goat, bullock and hoarse. At first the above mentioned gum is mixed with water in such a quantity that stirred vigorously foam is generated. Then the soil is mixed with other materials well so as to increase the strength of the mixture. At last the gum with water is added to this soil mixture in such a quantity that lumps of soil develop putty like consistency.[32] The third method is contained in the above mentioned text.[33] It is stated that *surkhi i.e.*, the powder of the pot called ukhṭ is mixed with the soil. This mixture gives formation of very strong bricks. It is well known that *surkhi* is the substitute of puzzolana that is an aid to enhance the strength of the soil.

Manufacturing of bricks by the help of moulds is known. We have no idea about the construction of the same in the texts apart from some guess work laid by some researchers[34]. But as to its size the Śūlva Sūtras have supplied some information. According to the MSS it should be somewhat more than necessary dimension of bricks required. It is because bricks are formed of wet stabilized soil. Hence, it should be designed in such a way so that during the whole process of drying in sun and burning in fire bricks receive desired forms only after shrinking.[35] It is rejoined that once a mould designed of such a dimension that its area will be equal to 150 sq. *angulas* then one can have a brick of the 144 sq. *angulas i.e.*, 12X12 *angulas.*[36] What has clearly been suggested with this that the size of the bricks at the final stage of preparation process become lesser by one thirtieth part (1/30). So, the mould should proportionately be bigger than one thirtieth part.[37]

Stone

It (*aḍma*) is another essential ingredient for built up construction. The stone made fort is already mentioned in the RV.2.7. Suitable stones of even color, hard, perfect, pleasing to the touch and embedded in the earth with an eastward and northward orientation are appreciated for house building and other required constructions.[38]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Timber

People from all walks of life consider wood to be unavoidable for any sort of constructions like house, chariot, cart, boat and so on. It is due to this reason wooden architecture occupies high status in the history of architecture. To get a house of high qualities leading to prosperity and good fortune, choice of tree is very important. Authorities have outlined some traits of trees generating good timber. According to Maya the chosen tree should be perfect, hard and vigorous. They should neither be old nor should they be saplings. They are expected not to be crooked and damaged. They should grow in a holy place, mountain, wood or river-bank. They should be pleasing to eyes and mind. Timber product of such trees is believed to be conductive to prosperity and good fortune. For shafts and pillar the trees recommended are: *purusa, khadira, śala, madhūka, śiśampā, campaka, arjuna, ājakarnī, ksirinī, padma, candana, piśita, dhanvana, simha, rājādana, śamś and tilaka. Other trees like nimba, asana, śīrisa, eka, kīla, katphala, timisa, likuca, panasa, saptaparnaka, bhauma, gavāksī* also are equally suitable.[39]

Coatings and mortars?

No construction is possible without the above. Sanskrit texts specialized on the architecture have information on the matter.

The BS mentions three types of glues. Of these the preparation of the foremost one is directed thus: "Take the unripe fruits of *ānduka* (*Diospyros paniculata*) and *kapittha* (*Feronia elethantam*), flowers of silk cotton (*Morus acedosa*), seeds of *śallakī* (*Boswellia serrata*), bark of *dhanvana*, and *vaca* (*Orros root*); boil all of them in a *drona* (256 Palas) and reduce the decoction to an eighth of its original volume (*i.e.*, 32 *Palas*). Mix the sediments with the following substances, *viz.* (asectarian of a tree used as incene, Turpentine), *raktabola* (myrrh), *guggulu* (*Commiphora roxburghii*), *bhallātaka* (*Semecarpus anacardium*), *kunduruka* (*cunduru, exudation* of Deodar?), resin, atasī (*Linum usikatissimum*) and *bilva* fruit (*Aegel marmelos*)". The paste that resulted was named as Adamantine Glue. It is added that when this glue, being heated is used in the construction of temples, mansions, windows, walls and wells as well as in fixing Śiva's emblems and idols of gods, it will last for a crore of years.[40]

According to the MM the assembling of the entablature and pillars is to be done with the aid of a mixture of bricks and lime to which the following five ingredients are required to be added: *karalā, mudgi, gulmasa, kalka* and *cikkana*. It has been stated that a mixture of these when made with lime is suitable for every kind of works.[41]

While providing some idea on these five the above mentioned work laid thus :

Karalā is gravel stones the size of *abhaya* or *aksa* fruits. Mudgi is gravel the size of a bean. Gulmasa is composed of one part of grains of sand (which are) one and a half, one and quarters or twice the size of a lotus fibre, and (of one part) each of lime gravel and shells. Karalā and *mudgi* are also prepared in this way. To make *kalka*, grains of sand of the dimension indicated above and (morsels) of lime the size of chickpea should be crushed together. Cikkana must be a homogeneous (liquid). It is further stated that these five products are used separately in order to join bricks securely together without any gap and as prescribed. The proper one should be chosen for each usage. First each above substances is crushed with pure water then (they are ground) anew with sap from *ksiradruma, kadamba, mango, abhaya* as well as with juice of fruits of the three myrobolance and water of broad bean; next after the gravel, shells and lime have been mixed with well water, the mixture should be pounded by horses' hooves, then filtered through fine linen; this is how well advised people impart viscosity to *kalka* and *cikkana*.[42]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The BS very clearly states that wall of the house used to be made of burnt bricks. Constructions of wooden houses also were in vogue.[43] According to Hiraṇyagarbha, a legendary figure in the field, there are fourteen types of houses made of fourteen different materials like stone, burnt bricks, dry bricks, clay, wood, cloth, straws, gold, silver and others.[44]

Conclusion

From above we can derive that apart from the materials like bamboo, timber, different types of straws, clay mortar required to shape thatched or ordinary houses there is the evidence of the same to build sky scrapers and the like. Choice of timber was considered to be the very important task for house building. Stone, sand, chips of at least two sizes, brick, gum and others as referred, identified to be used to strong built construction works. We have very clear mention of the art of brick preparation from the day of the Veda. Over and above manufacturing of coatings and mortars also became the culture of people of the land. Ingredients used for the purpose seems to vary from authority to authority. It will not be wrong to put the view that the experts in the field used to carry out continuous research to get quality product of the same so as to give shape to long lasting constructions. Now the question arises whether the coatings and mortars were known to the Vedic people or not. In this context all that we can observe is that a separate department called Vāstu Śāṭstra did not develop still but the crux of the same was in floating form. It may be deduced in fine that what already was in practice since the Vedic period or earlier that was coined later on to give the formation of the branch of study called architecture. The leading works like Viśvakarmā Śilpa, Viśvakarmā Prakāśa, Viśvakarmā Vāstu Śāstra assigned to Lord Viśvakarmā, the divine architect credited to fabricate the universe[45], are testimonies in support of our viewpoint.

References

1. *RV.* I.53.7; 58.8; III. 15.4 etc.
2. *Ibid.*, I.166.8; VII. 15.14
3. *TS.* VI. 2.3.1; *AB.* I. 23.2
4. *RV.* 30.20
5. *AV.* III.12; IX. 3
6. *PGS.* III.4, 5
7. *BAU.* VI.2.1, 10
8. The *Śūlva Sūtras* contain information on the same.
9. *PIAHC*, pp. 14-17
10. Apart from palace architecture Puranas contain details of temple architecture and iconography
11. *MSS.* 10.3.2
12. *MM.* VI. 6
13. *VS*, p. 180
14. *Karkya Bhāsya on KSS.*
15. *BSS.* 10.1
16. *MSS.* 10.1.1-2
17. *Ibid.*, 10.3.1-2
18. *Ibid.*, 10.3.1
19. *MSS.* 10.2.2.4
20. *BSS.* 9.27
21. *Ibid.*, 6.27

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

22. *Ibid.*, 10.1.
23. cf. *Śūlba Sūtras.*
24. *op. cit.*
25. Kaṭha Upaniṣad, I.1.15.
26. *citi* is indicative of a platform shaped of burnt bricks and mud mortar.
27. Pictures enclosed.
28. Pictures of different shape of bricks enclosed.
29. *BSS.* 2.52-56.
30. *Ibid.*, 2.78-79.
31. *MM.* 15.68-70.
32. *SB.* VI. 5.1-6.
33. *Ibid.*, VI. 6.4.8-9.
34. *LCC*, p. 7.
35. *BSS.* 2.60.
36. *MSS.* 10.2.5-3.
37. *Ibid.*, 10.3.4.17.
38. *MM.* 15.67.
39. *Ibid.*, 62-66.
40. *BS.* 57.1-4.
41. *MM.* 16.41-4.
42. *Ibid.*, 18.92-101.
43. *Ibid.*, 53.91-101.
44. *BS*, p. 466.
45. *RV.*, X. 4; X. 82.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

74

Women of India – A Birds Eye view

D. Ranganathan

Introduction

Unlike Europe and the west generally India's population comprises more men than women. Since the beginning of the century there has been a steady full in the proportion of women to men and the latest all India census of 2001 shows that the tendency continues. According to the latest computation, India's total population is nearly 110 crores. For Muslims the all India ration is 902 women for every 1000 men; for Hindus it is 944 women for every 1000 men. The only states in which there is actually an excess of women ever men are Tamil Nadu an Orissa.

Contrary to popular belief in the West, the Indian women has always occupied a high place in society. Reverence for womenhood goes back to very early times in India.

Women position in Ancient period

According to the Vedas, which throw much light on the social organisation of the Aryan speaking tribe, the wife was mistress of the house and ruled over the servants and women members of the family. Child marriage was not practiced in those days.

In the Mahābhārata the wife is described as "half the man, his truest friend, a perpetual spring of virtue, pleasure and weath. A sweetly speaking wife is a companion in solitude, a father in advice, and a rest in passing through life's wilderness. From time immemorial, the Hindu wife has shared her husband's pleasures and sacrifices."

Sati or the immolation of a widow on her husband's funeral pyre was expressive of this loyalty; it was voluntary, but the widow who refused to burn herself was looked upon with contempt.

Abbe Dubbois, who traveled through India in the 18th Century CE described the practice as very rare in Southern India. Akbar, the Moghul Emperor, made efforts to suppress Sati, and it was prohibited by the Portuguese. For a long time the East India Company tolerated it, and it is worth recording that the abolition of this custom under the British was due largely to the efforts of the Hindu reformer, Rajaram Mohan Roy. Lord Bentinck to declare Sati illegal in 1827.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Manu, the great law giver, holds that the Hindu wife is the lawful custodian of her children. Reverence for the mother is part of the Hindu code. Thus the Upanishads, a collection of Vedic hymns, which incidentally inspired much of schopenhanur's philosophy, enjoins on the son:

Mātṛi Devo Bhava - Consider your Mother as your God.
Pitṛ Devo Bhava - Consider your Father as your God.
Āchārya Devo Bhava - Consider your Teacher as your God.

Historical women

The pages of Indian history testify to the high place, which women held not only in the domestic household, but in other spheres.

Chand Bibi of Ahamednagar, Padmini of Chittoor, Ahalya Bai of Indore, Lakshmi Bai, the Rani of Jhansi, Mumtaj Mahal, beloved of the Emperor Shah Jehan, and the masterful Nurjehan, Jehangir's consort, rank high among Indian heroines.

Padmini's story is one of the great legends of India. This lovely Rojput princess sacrified herself, in the rite of Jauhar when Ala-ud-din's forces menaced the great fortress of Chittoor.

Chand Bibi, a muslim princess, fought to defended Ahamed nagar against the Moghuls clad in full armour and wearing a silver veil, she rode at the head of her troops, and the story goes that when the ammunition was exhausted, she used *cannon* balls of copper, silver and gold from the treasury and even fired away her jewels.

Ahalya Bai was ruler of Indore for 30 years from 1765 to 1795 CE. She it was who raised Indore from a village to a wealthy city, and at a time when the greater part of India was in turmoil, this masterful Maratha princes kept her state peaceful and prosperous.

Another Royput heroine is princes Padmavathi, who buckled on her husband's sword when prithviraj ment out to do battle on the historic field of Kurushetra.

Jehangir's wife, Mehr-un-Nisha, on whom the Emperor bestowed the title of Nur Jehan or light of the World, was a remarkable women. She was a masterful person of singular beauty and intelligence, a fearless horse women, and an excellent shot, Jehangir in his memoirs relates how she once killed four tigers in quick succession. When the emperor sodden with drink with opium was unable to rule effectively Nur Jehan virtually managed the kingdom. She conducted the business of the state, used her power wisely and helped to keep the administration intact.

Another empress, Mumtaz Mahal, wife of Shah Jehan, lives in Indian history as the women whose love inspired her husband to erect one of the most beautiful mausoleums in the World, the incomparable Taj Mahal. She was a poetess of distinction and a finely talented women. In this marble edifice Shah Jehan rests side by with the empress he loved.

Women Today

In India's women have played a heroic and distinguished role in past history, they occupy today a no less important place and have done much to contribute to the Country's welfare in many fields.

India's educated women have done and are doing splendid work in this war against ignorance. Seeing the enormous obstacles overcome in other countries, particularly in China and Russia, they are not disheartened by their own difficulties. They remember also that 200 years ago not half the number of men and women in Lancashire (England) could sign their names to the register when married.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Social Welfare

Not unnaturally women have played a large part in improving the Country's social welfare. In India, where the average expectation of life is 24 years and where the rate of infant mortality is still appallingly high, there is much for women to do in this sphere.

India's women have done much to rouse a health consciousness in the Country. Particularly have they rendered valuable service for child welfare movements.

The infant welfare movement in India has both official and non-official backing, but without widespread co-operation from the public no appreciable progress can be achieved. That co-operation is ensured by various women's organizations, some of which work jointly with officials bodies, while other labour on their own initiative.

To Gandhiji goes the credit for the emancipation of India's women since his civil disobedience movements have given a great impetus to feminine initiative. Thousands of Indian women and girls have taken part in those movements and the cause of feminine emancipation has benefited as a result.

As far back as 1921 the province of Madras bestowed the franchise on women and other provinces were quick to follow suit. Within a decade all the Indian legislatures had recognized women's right to vote.

Indian women as a whole display a remarkably progressive outlook and such issues as the reservation of special seats and the extension of separate electorates based on communal distinctions have normally no appeal for them.

In addition to maternity and child welfare schemes, educated women have interested themselves in matters like the protection of women and children employed in industry. Even citadels of Hindu orthodoxy like Poona have taken an active part in the new movement. The Shrimati Nathibai Damodar Thackersey Indian Women's University was started at Poona by Professor *Karve* in 1916 and has now its headquarters in Bombay.

The old prejudice against the remarriage of Hindu widows is slowely being eradicated. Though Hinduism permits polygamy the movement for Monogamous marriages is growing and 40 years ago the state of Baroda adopted both a Divorce Act and a Monogamy Act. Hindu society is gradually beginning to recognize the necessity for monogamy and divorce though orthodox elements still present a stubborn front.

Medicine is proving increasingly attractive to Indian girls and the lady Hardinge Medical College for women at New Delhi continues to retain its all India character by drawing students from all over the Country. At Ludhiana, in the Punjab is the Women's Medical College which is affiliated to the Punjab University for the first professional M.B.,B.S., examination.

Women may be found today in the profession of law and here and there women advocates compete with men in some of the high courts. Marriages between Hindus and Muslims, occur from time to time, Pandit Nehru's only daughter was married to a *Parsi.*

Women are also taking an increasing part in athletics, they play tennis hockey and cricket, they ride and swim. The average university girl takes an active part in the community life of her College. Some Indian women have also taken to flying and have qualified themselves for pilots.

Most prominent among Indian women of today was Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, poet and politician, whose early books of verse attracted the appreciation of discerning critics like the late Sri Edmund Gosse and Arthur symons. Mrs. Naidu who was perhaps the liveliest conversationalist in the country has also the distinction of being the first Indian women President of the Indian National Congress. She was an entertaining public speaker.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Among other outstanding women are Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, sister of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, she was a Minister in the Congress Government of the United Provinces and has personality of great charm and distinction. Mrs Subbarayan from Madras is a member of the Central Legislative Assembly and a prominent figure in the women's movement.

Begum Shah Nawaz is the only women representative on India's National war council. The working committee of the Muslim league has one women member Begam Mahomed Ali, widow of the noted political leader, who died in London during the first round Table conference. Miss Jinnah sister of the Muslim league leader is a qualified dentist.

The First Supreme Court Women Judge, was the Fathima Beevi, and the first women M.B., B.S., graduates in India was Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy.

Presently a separate Women University was founded at Kodaikkanal in Tamil Nadu namely Mother Theresa Women's University. In the recent decodes women have occupied several top positions like the president of India, Prime Minister (Mrs. Indira Gandhi), Chief Ministers an Governor of states, not to nation several I.A.S. as I.P.S. posts.

References

1. F.R. Moraes., "The Story of India", The Noble Publishing House, Bombay, 1943.
2. V.A. Smith., *History of India*, Oxford University Press London, 1928.
3. *An Advanced History of India.*, R.C. Majumdan Roy Chaudry & Datt.
4. "*Social Justice and Law*" Justice K. Subba Rao.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

75

Social Response to A Venereal Disease in Medieval Andhradesa

P. Hymavathi

The concept of health is so interwoven with an individual's life as well as of the society in Andhradesa that it is an usual custom to greet each other with an enquiry about health either in person or in letters of correspondence. Any kavya of the period is ended with a caption "*sarve janah sukhino bhavantu*". The *Dharma-śāstras* proclaim that health is a prerequisite to achieve any of the *purusarthas viz., dharma, artha, kāma* and *mokṣa*. The institution of marriage is prescribed by the ancestors mainly for the maintenance of either personal or social health and hygiene. But in course of time, certain evil practices like *oli* and *kanyasulkam* crept into this institutions which indirectly encouraged other social evils such as child-marriage, prostitutions, etc. In addition to these internal social causes, some external factors also led to complicate the situation by the spread of contagious diseases. The present paper tries to trace out the challenges faced by the later medieval Andhra society in the form of venereal diseases and to examine how the society responded to them.

Syphilis, which spread in medieval Indian society especially in the south, became a serious threat like AIDS, which is proved to be an incurable disease so far. A perusal into the medical works of India proves that syphilis was not there in the country till 1500 CE. it was for the first time, it was referred by Bhavamisra in his work *Bhavaprakasa* as *phirangi-roga*. The disease was so called because it spread in the society by the physical contacts with the Portuguese, who were popularly called as *phirangis*. Bhavamisra originally belonged to Mudgal (Raichur doab region) and resided in the Vijayanagara empire at about 1530 CE. He observed the spread of this disease in the society, made investigations and formulated chemico-mineral drugs and prescribed them as more efficacious in this regard.[1]

The disease was also referred by the other medical scholars and poets by different names. The anonymous author of *Yogaratnakara* and Sarabharaja, the author of *Sarabharajiyam* (both medical) named it as *sava-meha*. Another medical scholar Trimalla Bhatta of 17th century named it as *Candrakavrana*. Venkatanatha, the author of *Pancatantra* in Telugu, referred to it as *sava-bhavani*.[2]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Tavernier informs us that in the beginning, the Portuguese were called as phirangis by the natives.[3] This fact attests to why Bhavamisra called the disease as *Phirangiroga* and gives a glimpse into how it entered and spread in south India.

The Portuguese had peacefully settled in south India after they entered into a treaty with Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagara in 1510 CE. This treaty expanded their commercial transactions in South India, especially in the fort-towns of the Coromandal coast. As a result of it they imported many soldiers and workmen from their native land. But these people were not allowed to come over with families. Gradually, they became drunkards and used to misbehave with the native women in the coastal region. In the words of Linschoten, the Dutch traveler (first half of the 16th C.) "the Portuguese soldiers were used too much company of women because that land is natural to provoke them there unto, as also the most part of the soldiers by such means have their living and their maintenance, which often times costeth them both life and lime".[4] This statement of Linschoten reveals that the Portuguese soldiers who came alone to this part of India leaving their families at home could not control their natural biological urge and added to this, the country's climate also provoked it high. As such, the natives suffered a lot as their women had no safety. It was because of their ill-conduct and physical relations with whomever they met with, the disease known as *phirangiroga* spread in the society, which was already identified as syphilis in the western countries.

In the initial days, the people of Andhradesa felt it as an epidemic disease like *Atalamma* and *Peddamma* and hence called it as Sava-Bhavani. Though the exact sense of using the term '*sava*' is not known, it can be surmised as to denote 'of foreign origin' or it might be a transliterated form of '*syphi*' or '*sapha*' of the European term as '*sava*' as opined by V.Sankara Sastry.[5] the usage of 'Bhavani' indicates that they believed the new disease as a result of the wrath of the mother-goddess. Though it was identified in the beginning as a single entity, later the medical scientists made investigations and found it in many forms. Venkatanatha, describes in his literary work *pancatantra* the symptoms and ailments of the victims.[6]

After Bhavamisra, the other scholars like Sarabharaja, Trimallabhatta and the author of *Yogaratnakara* belonging to medieval Andhradesa, identified the minute differences in the symptoms of the disease on the affected person's body and categoriesed different forms of this disease. The author of *Yogaratnakara* described 12 forms of provocation of this disease and explained their symptoms.[7] Later, Sarabharaja, the author of *Sarabharajiyam* gave a description of 18 forms of the disease appeared on different parts of the human body and explained their symptoms. He named them in such a way that the symptoms could easily be grasped. For ex: *Kharju-sava, tila-kalaka-sava, caccu-sava, dadduru-sva,* etc.[8]

Bhavamisra accepted the drug-substance brought by the portuguese from China as a remedy to symphilis. He named it as *phirangi-cekka* and *cinijam*[9] and the Portuguese called it as China-root. In administering this drug-substance (*phirangi-chekka*) according to the Dutch observations, the South Indian physicians were experts. Linschoten gave a description of the treatment of the disease by the natives in an unique manner with the root-china.[10] The writings of Tavernier and John Fryer inform us that in most of the cases, the method of blood-letting was the only remedy for the Europeans here, whereas the natives had good remedies. The quantity of blood the European doctors used to extract was so high that the Portuguese soldiers feared of their life and complained it to their governor.

Not only the China-root, but many other herbs were used to cure syphilis or *sava-meha*. Trimallabhatta, in his *Brihad-yogatarangini* explained many prescriptions in treating this disease. John Fryer (17th C.) gives a description of the venereal diseases and the usage of mango tree with

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

all its components as remedial herb in this case.[11] Vallabhacarya, the author of *vaidya cintamani* prescribed the bark of the mango-tree in the treatment of venereal dieseases.[12] above all, the chemico-mineral drugs, whose main components were mercury and sulphur, were prescribed as highly efficacious in treating syphilis or *sava-meha.*

Social Response

The writers and reformers of the period like Venkatanatha and Vemana highlighted the repercussions of ill-conduct of men and women and tried to make the people realize the miseries thereof. Vemana laid much stress on individual morale and condemned in sharp terms the illicit conduct either in men or women.[13] In another verse, he says that one who is of bad character and visits the houses of the prostitutes will die of dieseases.[14] He expresses more hatred towards the misconduct of family women rather than prostitutes, he says that "Coition with a family woman of illicit conduct is more dangerous than that of a prostitute and it definitely leads to death". He might have said so, perhaps with the view that they do not take any precautions against venereal diseases.

The contemporary literary works give a glimpse into the precautions taken by the prostitutes to save themselves and the society from the spread of diseases. The literary works of ancient and medieval times are replete with many references in this regard. But in the light of the entry of a serious disease like syphilis, it seems that they started appointing doctors who were experts in administering the chemico-mineral drugs, which were proved to be efficacious in treating this contagious disease. The visitors to brothel houses were tested before-hand and the in-mates also might have been given preventive medicines. In addition to this, wrestlers also were appointed to control the mis-conduct of the visitors and to make them observe the rules and regulations to be followed at such places. *Bahulasva-caritra* gives information regarding the appointment of a doctor will-versed in *rasa* system of medicine and a wrestler in a house of a prostitute[15] Bhava Misra's father was mentioned as Lataka-misra, which means a scholar-physician for 'leud-fellows'. He might have been appointed as a doctor to treat such people. Barbosa, Abdur Razaak and many other foreign travelers described the wealth of the courtesans and prostitutes. Barbosa, the Portuguese traveller of early 16th century describes the extraordinary wealth of the prostitutes "wherein there is no great marvel, for this kind of merchandise is the greatest and the richest found in this world"[16]. Both Abdur Razaak and Paes described the *Vesyavatikas* of the city of Vijayanagara and the domestic and environmental hygiene observed there.

Abdul Razaak describes their houses and the protection provided by the state "opposite the mint, is the office of the perfect of the city, to which it is said 12,000 policemen are attached; and their pay, which equals each day 12,000 fanams is derived from the proceeds of the brothels".[17] This might be an exaggerative figure. But it is an accepted fact that prostitutions was considered as a profession and the prostitutes paid professional tax to the state. Anything inappropriate on the part of the host or customer was generally settled in the *jaradharmasanas* (courts established to settle the disputes of the brothal houses). According to *Mitaksara*[18], if the customer misbehaves by acting against the will of the lady, or causes wounds on her body, he is to be punished by imposing heavy penalty (eight times against the normal fees) to the lady also the same amount as a penalty to be paid to the government. But Ketana, who translated the work as *Vijnaneswaram,* excludes the penalty to be paid to the government.[19] Thus, the sources reveal that protection was accorded to the women who were engaged in this profession as they paid tax to the state. On their part, they too maintained their personal physician and a wrestler.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In many of his verses, Vemana expresses that a healthy married life leads to prosperity of the family and of the society, if not results in disaster. Venkatanatha also describes the terrible sufferings of the victims of syphilis to give a message to the contemporary society in this regard.

The contemporary writers tried to connect this disease to religion to give an impression that it was the result of the wrath of mother-goddess Bhavani on the encroachment of the *dharmic* conduct by such peoples disturbing the social hygiene.

The fore-going observations regarding the entry and spread of syphilis in medieval Andhra society and the response of the medical men and the society in general indicate the following facts:

1. The medical men of medieval Andhradesa were so alert that they identified the new disease immediately, felt the urgency of undertaking investigations into its multifaceted attack on the people of illicit conduct and succeeded in formulating drugs of greater efficacy.
2. The act of deifying the disease indicates the impending danger if neglected and the need to maintain hygiene and regimen. The physicians tried to make the people believe that the *phirangiroga* was a common disease so as the patient would not be treated as untouchable and to ease the patient psychologically. But these attempts sometimes resulted adversely and the patient did not much bother about the threat of the disease and some had become victims more than once. Linschoten mentioned in this regard that this disease did not frighten the people nor did the people felt it a shameful thing to have become victims twice or thrice.[20]
3. Not only the medical men who were expected not to be indifferent to such kind of sudden health-hazards in the society[21], the writers of the period also realised their responsibility in making the people feel the need to lead an ideal family life to avoid such calamities.
4. Above all, it is a noteworthy thing that the prostitutes realized the need to check the spread of the disastrous disease by appointing a physician and a wrestler. As the prostitutes were licensed and rich, they were in a position to patronize them and were in a position to force the reluctant client to undergo medical examination by force with the help of the wrestlers. It may be surmised that they were at liberty to reject coition with a person having a contagious disease.

Thus, the experience of the society in 16th century in facing the wrath of syphilis, a disastrous disease like AIDS of today, makes us think of in many a way to find out ways and means to adapt as an immediate measure in the changing social scenario.

References

1. *Bhavaprakasa*, II, pp. 805-07.
2. V. Sankara Sastry, *Ayurveda Itihasam*, Telugu Akademi, Hyderabad, 1987, p. 132.
3. John Philip Esquire (Tr), *Tavernier's Travels in India*, Calcutta, 1905, p. 220.
4. D.V. Subba Reddy, "A Dutch Traveller of XVI Century", *Bulletin of Department of History of Medicine*, Vol. III(3), 1965, p. 176.
5. V. Sankara Sastry, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 132.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 134-135.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Bhavaprakasa*, Madhyamakhanda, pp. 805-07.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

10. *Bulletin of IHM,* II (2), 1972, pp. 95-97.
11. *Bulletin,* Vol. II (4), p. 249.
12. *Vaidyacintamani,* II, p. 458.
13. Vemana's verses
14. *op. cit.*
15. N. Krishna Rao, *Srikrishna Rayandhra Sahitya Vijnana Sarvasvamu,* Bapatla, 1987, p. 386.
16. Barbosa, I, p. 226.
17. Elliot, *History of India,* Vol. IV, MP. 111-112, Major, *India,* p. 29.
18. *Mitaksara, Vyavaharakanda,* V. 290.
19. Ketana's *Vijnaneswaram, Prayoscittakanda,* vv. 112-113, *Kridabhiramam,* vv. 265-71.
20. *Bulletin,* Vol. II (2), p. 95.
21. R. Shyama Sastry, *Kautilya's Arthasastra,* Ch. II, Book IV, p. 233.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Folklore of Nilgiri tribes as a source of History

G. Balaji

The Nilgiris district has been designated as a tribal district as it shelters ten different tribal groups. Among them Todas, Kotas, Kurumbas, Irulas, Kattu nayakas and Paniyas were popularly known tribes. These tribal people are generally very artistic by temperament, and poverty does not limit their talent. In the Nigiris, the daily activities of the tribes bring out their folkloric characteristics in various dimensions and manifestations.

The discovery of Ooty by the British has given us a wonderful summer resort. But the tribal inhabitants are the sons of the soil who have suffered a lot due to loss of their isolated peaceful life. They have lost their homes, identity, culture and related aspects. The early European scholars who documented the tribes of the Nilgiris, given us some information regarding the origin, culture and other aspects of different tribal groups. This information is having wide difference in the view of different scholars. So, still now the history of tribal community living in the Nilgiris is not written exhaustively. The folklore of these tribes will help us to understand the oral traditions of these tribes which will help as a valid material for Historical Research.

The article under the heading "Historiography" in the *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* (1972: Vol.6) contains a section on African hisotiography, with a very appreciative cover of the African heritage in the field which is almost unique in some ways. It begins thus: A belief in the continuity of life, a life after death, and a community of interest between the living, the dead and the generations yet unborn is fundamental to all African religious, social and political life. Thus, although the serious writing of African history only just begun, a sense of history and tradition has always been a part of the African way of life. Like the African heritage our tribal people in the Nilgiris has the rich heritage and traditional knowledge of their own. It will be useful for us to reconstruct the History of these tribes.

The folktales of the tribes are vital factor in understanding their culture and these tales very often throw light on the complex traditions and social beliefs of the tribal community. Folklorists consider such folktales as reliable index to the cultural background of the ethnic groups and communities. As the same the historians should also deeply study these folktales to cull out the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

historical facts. Folklore travels beyond language boundaries but it always represents the cultural background of the particular ethnic groups. Folktales and myths are transmitted to posterity.

One particular tribe of the Nilgiris is taken here for further discussion. The Kurumba tribes of the Nilgiris have different groups, the origin of different groups and their socio cultural practices are unique. Alu Kurumba, Betta Kurumba, Jenu Kurumba, Mullu Kurumba, and Urali Kurumba are the major groups. But some scholars beliefs that the Kurumba is a common name applied to different ethnic communities according to the nature of life the adopted. While tracing the History of different ethnic groups of Kurumbas, Edger Thurston (1909), in his volumes on 'Caste and Tribes of Southern India', described the Kurumbas under the caption Krumba or Kuruman. Thuston, while dicussing about the Kurmbas, has written that, "there are two sharply defined bodies of Kurumbans – those who live on the Nilgiris plateau, speak the Kurumba dialect, and wild jungle men; and those who live on the plains, speak canarese and are civilized". In his study he differentiated the ethnic groups of Kurumbas by their social setup as well as their verbal communication.

Further Thurston, after referring to the difficult problem of distinguishing between the civilized Kurubas and hill Kurumbas, tried to extract the distinction between them on the results of anthropometric observation and concluded that "there is a closer affinity between the Kurumbas of Nilgiri hills, Paniyans and Kadirs in their physical features than to the Kurubas of the plains".

The comment by Kapp and Paul Hackings that, "It is certainly ironic that while the Kurumbas were the first Nilgiri community to become known to scholars, they were the last to be studied at all closely" is true and the real fact.

On the book "Folklore and Traditional History", 1973, edited by Richard M. Dorson, He quotes that: 'Historian and folklorist can find common ground in the area of traditional history. Such history may include personal, family, neighborhood and township historical traditions. In countries where literary, formal school and printed publications dominate the culture, traditional history is slighted or scorned by professional historians. Yet in these societies large numbers and groups of people still possess their own traditions. They differ markedly from conventional written history".

Folktales also some times be as an oral history, according to one definition, oral history is "essentially an account of first hand historical experience, recalled retrospectively and communicated to an interviewer for historical purposes." (Lummis 1992: 92). 'Oral history' itself has a long history, dating back to the time of the ancient Greeks, when historians like Thucydides collected memories of the experiences of individuals for the purpose of historical records. Being the tribes and non educative the Kurumbas have no written records for their history except the oral traditions.

The Kurumba folk tales have an amazing repertoire of folktales which reflect the tribe's socio-religious and family life. Some of the folk tales speak about their origin and relationship with other tribes. Apart from this the legends, folk songs and dances, riddles, and folk arts and crafts are also taken into account while studying writing history. There are so many folk tales related to Kurumba origin. There is a story that relates how Kurumba came to existence. Once there were three brothers who lived together as one family. One day, one of the brothers killed a buffalo. As punishment for his mistake the other two brothers set him apart and the Kota tribe originated from him. Another brother took the thol (skin of the buffalo) and the Toda tribe descended from him and from the last brother who remained with the flesh of the buffalo, the Kurumba was born.

According to a Kota legend, the Toda, Kota and the Kurumba were the earliest inhabitants of the Nilgiris. They were born as the brothers who originated from the three drops of the God's perspiration. They separated after God asked them what they wanted in life. The Toda asked for

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

buffaloes and he became a dairy-man. Kota asked for the talents of arts and crafts and he became the talented blacksmith, musician, potter etc. The Kurumba the last brother, asked for power to destroy enemies with sorcery and black magic, which the other two dreaded. (Varghese: 1974, 106)

But the Madras District Gazetteers described the origin of Kurumbas of Nilgiris as: "A powerful race called Kurumbas of Pallavas, about whom much has been conjectured but little is known, once held sway over much of south India but was over thrown about the 9th century CE by the Chola dynasty of Tanjor. It is usually supposed that the scattered communities of Kurumbas or Kurubas which are found in many parts of his Presidency are the descendants of refugees belonging to this conqueror".

So, the Origin of the Kurumba tribe is not yet defined. The folklore of these tribes helps us to understand the earlier and late settlements. Kurumbas are noted for their medicinal and magic knowledge. Only few medicine men now left among the kurumbas and they too very old. One of the folk tale of the Toda confirms the magic power of the Kurumba. The legend goes like this "when *On* (male God) saw that his son was in Amnodr (the world of the dead), he did not like to leave him there alone, and decided to go away to the same place. So, he called together all the people, and the buffaloes and the vegetation, to come and bid him farewell. All the people came except a man Kwodrdone name Arsan kutan. He and his family did not come. *On* blessed all the people, buffaloes and tress present, but said that, because Arsankutan had not come, he and his people should die by sorcery at the hands of the Kurumbas, and that, because the Arsaiir had not come, they should be killed by tigers, and that the trees which had not come should bear bitter fruit. Since that time the Todas have feared the Kurumbas, and buffaloes have been killed by tigers".

In another folktale of Kota, "a Kota woman had a dream. According to her dream if her brother would go to the Badaga commemorative funeral, a Kurumba could pour medicine and kill him. He had disregarded the elder sister's dream message. He ignored the dream message and attended the Badaga commemorative funeral. Having gone to the Badaga funeral that night he had stayed there. According to his sister's dream, a Kurumba caught the Kota and poured the medicine and killed him. After hearing the news of the death of her brother she felt sorry. This folktale also reveals that it was customary in the olden days for the Kotas to attend the Commemorative funeral of a Badaga. This act shows the existence of fraternity between Kotas and Badagas.

Mr. Harkenss (1832) mentions, "a few years before a Badaga had been hanged by the sentence of the provincial court for the murder of a Kurumba. The act of the former was not without what was considered great provocation. Disease had attacked the inhabitants of the hamlet, a murrain their cattle. The former had carried off a great part of the family of the murderer, and he himself had but narrowly escaped its effects. No one in the neighborhood doubted that the Kurumba in question had, by his necromancy, caused all this misfortune, and, after several fruitless attempts, a party of them succeeded in surrounding him in open day, and effecting their purpose." Further Thurston mentions in 1835 no less than forty-eight Kurumbas were murdered, and smaller number that in 1875 and 1882. In 1900 a whole family of Kurumbas was murdered, of which the head, who had reputation as a medicine man, was believed to have brought disease and death into a Badaga village.

During my research one elder of the Kurumbas told me, "our fore fathers are very powerful persons. They lived as warriors. They protected our land and people form the alliance. They had the power of magic and sorcery. The God we worship gave this to them. They used this power for good causes only but the other native tribes feared about or forefather. Chenna Kurumba a powerful man was killed by the other because he was a hurdle to land encroachment".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

So the folktales and the facts are having some close affinity that has to be correlated.

The oral tradition of the Kurumbas includes Folk dramas which they conduct during festival times in their settlements. The popular dramas for them are "catching the bull and cow", "Sandeha hennu", "Kuruda Ganda, "Jenu-thuppa Muthu" etc. The old women are experts in creating stories around happenings in Kurumba settlements (*seema kathe*). One such story of historical importance was notice by me at Baviyur near Kotagiri. In this village during festival time, they play drama as Dottatta the theme of the story is that an alien with suit and hat, who demands the people to surrender, will be killed by the tiger. It suddenly remembers me the story of Tippu sultan who was the tiger of Mysore. The Tiger toy in the Tippus palace museum which made as to kill a white man. The folk drama of the particular village of Kurumba tribes shows some historical connection between this people with Mysore.

Their festivals, customs, and occupation have traditional values. During a festival they celebrate for their god *kadabilla* a group of Kurumba men stay inside the forest for seven days during that time they eat only fruits and roots they collect from the jungle. They also dress or cover their body with leaves of the plants. This shows the primitive nature of the tribes. During the ceremonies they use stone or wooden sticks for making fire, this they call it as sacred fire. Some ethnic group of Kurumbas worships dolmens and megalithic stone circles.

Apart from this the Kurumba folktales related to honey hunting are important to note. There is folklore about a lady called *Peechi*, who lived about five generations back, during the time when women also did honey hunting and climbed down steep cliffs. One such high cliff with many colonies was the arena for a challenge by the man folk to *Peechi* – climb down from the rope and harvest the colonies. She took up the challenge and successfully harvested the colonies. While she was climbing up the men, due to jealousy, cut the rope on top and she fell into the deep abyss and died. Till today, her spirit is supposed to be hunting the place and nobody harvests honey from these cliffs. Since then, they worship this lady and seek pardon for the act of jealousy, and protect them while hunting honey. The folklore shows the status of women during that period, women were strong and independently took up activities, which are now dominated by men.

The art and craft traditions of these tribes were having historical importance. Some ceremonial craft items supplied by the Kurumbas are still used by the Toda tribe. This shows some deep root between these two tribal communities.

In the Kurumba village of Vellerikombai which is situated near a rock art site, we can see the practice of wall painting. This tribe believes that all the depictions in this rock art site are aboriginal in nature belonging to their ancestors, based on the oral narratives of the present day. They locally call it as *eluthuparai*. They still practice this type of painting on the wall of their huts during festival times. The local myth about this is that Kurumba medicine men draw the geometrical designs on the body of the persons to drive out the evil sprit which causes illness.

During the research of the Villarikombai rock art site, I came to know that the tradition of painting still existed among the Kurumbas and that there was only one old man still practicing the art. Further, it was limited to decoration and painting during the annual festival of the Kurumbas. To ensure that this tradition was not lost, the C.P.R. Foundation took up, in 1999-2000, a project to train Kurumba youth in painting on paper, so that they could make a livelihood out of their traditional art form. Thereafter, the grandson of the artisan was given a brush and paper and asked to draw the motifs which they used to decorate the walls of their homes and the temple.

Now, this folk art form becomes a pictorial record of this tribe. The traditional knowledge like honey hunting, gathering food from the forest, preserving cattle, agriculture and irrigation,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

architectural pattern of their huts, festivals, ceremonies, livelihood, dressing, crafts, performing arts, plants, animals, their own historically important places, geometrical patterns, are all recorded by this generation for the future. Now, the documentation of this painting which has the influence of rock art is become necessary because this will help the historians to cull out the socio-cultural history of this people.

We are not able to find any chronological material for writing the history of this common people. But we cannot say that they don't have any history. The history of these tribal people bond with their tradition. Continues practice of traditional knowledge and customs of this people should not be neglected as folk tales and myths. So, I conclude this paper with the quotation on the book "Folklore and Traditional History", 1973, edited by Richard M. Dorson :

> "History as written by historians usually has little relation to the historical traditions orally preserved by a people. Such traditions have a value for revealing what episodes of the past endure and what forms they take in popular memory unaided by the crutch of print and the catechism of the school master. They may also fill in gaps in the historical records although of course historical facts need to be shifted from folklore tradition". (Dorson 1973: 75)

Reference

1. Chokkalingam, K., *Census of India*, 1971.
2. Hokings, P.E. ed. *The Nilgiris Hills: The Ethnography of an Indian Region*, 1980.
3. *Honey hunters and Beekeepers of Tamil Nadu – A survery document*, Keystone foundation, Nilgiris, 2001.
4. Nanditha C. Krishna, Vibrant tribal expressions, *The Hindu Folio*, India, March 21, 1999.
5. Pilo Iruthaiyaraj, *Palzan kudigal (Tamil)*, Malligai pathippagam, Chennai, 1962.
6. Thurston, E. and Rangachari, K., *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Vol. I to VII, Madras, 1909 and 1975.
7. Venkatesan, G., *A Study of Historiography*, V.C. Publications, Rajapalayam, Tamilnadu, 2005.
8. Balaji, G., *Tribes of The Nilgiris – Art and Crafts of the Kotas, Kurumbas, Irulas and Paniyas*, The C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar Foundation, Chennai, 2007.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

77

History of Oil Seeds in India : A Study

A.K. Singh

The domestication of animals and cultivation of certain plants was one of the greatest steps forward taken by mankind as it marks the beginning of mans' intervention with nature. So long as man was a hunter and food gatherer, he was a part of nature, like animals and birds. But once he invented agriculture and the art of domesticating animals, he was no longer part of nature. With the beginning of cultivation of cereals man increased his control over environment, a process which is believed to have begun by 8000 BCE (Moore,1982 : 232; Hillman *et.al.* 1989 : 240).

Scholars have tried to differentiate between the term 'cultivation' and 'domestication'. Cultivation denotes the whole of mans' efforts to look after plants and in this sense it is quite possible to cultivate wild plants. Domestication involves genetic and accompanying morphological changes by which the plants becomes more suited to conditions of a man-made environment and less to those of a natural environment (Glover 1979 : 10).

Oil seeds (*Tila*, mustard, linseed, safflower etc.) are among the World's most important crop for the inhabitants of the tropical regions. They are the main source of protein and energy. Oil seeds were used in cooking, medicine and religious ceremonies, the last particularly by the vedic people, oil is used for lighting. Today *Tila* (*seasame*) is grown in Gujarat, Tamilnadu, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh. Mustard is grown mainly in the states Rajasthan Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh. *Alsi* (*Linseed)* is also a crop of Rabi. India is a third country in the production of *Alsi* after Russia and Canada. The main productive states of *Alsi* are Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattishgarh and Maharashtra. In the following pages an attempt has been made to present the data pertaining to their cultivation as are available in the archaeological record till date and trace the history of their cultivation through the ages.

Archaeological studies of plant and grain remains obtained from excavated sites in India during the past three decades have resulted into an almost continuous history of oil seed cultivation atleast from 3rd millennium BCE *Tila* and Mustard have been reported from Harappa and Harappan sites in Punjab, Haryana and Gujarat, from Chalcolithic levels at Senuwar (district, Rohtas, Bihar), Narhan, Imlidih Khurd (both in district Gorakhpur) and number of sites in the Deccan and from south – eastern Rajasthan. *Alsi* (Linseed) is reported from the chalcolithic levels at Chandoli,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Navdatoli, Senuwar and Narhan. Oil seeds have been found at sites such as Maski, Sangankallu and Brahmgiri in the second millennium BCE. A large number of Harappan sites have been excavated which reveal the data on the plant economy of Harappan culture complex in the eastern region of the Indus civilization. The excavations at Kalibangan, Banawali and Dholavira have brought to light some very noteworthy evidence regarding agriculture and water supply. At Kalibangan (district – Ganganagar, Rajasthan) the most important is an evidence of ploughed – field surface, ascribable to the Early Harappan times and datable to *circa* 2800 BCE. This field showing the marks of furrows in two directions at right angle of each other (Lal, 1970-71). It is most interesting to note that this very pattern of ploughing the fields is still prevalent not only in northern Rajasthan, where Kalibangan is located, but also in Haryana, Punjab and western Uttar Pradesh. At present, mustard is grown in the widely distanced furrows and horse gram or *seasame* in the outer (Allchin & Allchin, 1982). It is most likely that the same crops were raised during the early Harappan and Harappan times, since physical evidence for these items is available from the excavations (Lal, 2002 : 98-99).

A good quantity of archaeo-botanical remains recovered by the Birbal Sahni Institute of Palaeobotany, Lucknow at the various sites of middle Ganga Valley. *Tila* (*Sesamum indicum*) was reported from the Ochre Coloured pottery Culture, dated to *Circa* 1050–1000 BCE at Sringaverapura, district – Allahabad (Saraswat, 1989 : 109-111). An extensive investigations carried out by K.S. Saraswat on the plant remains of Narhan in district Gorakhpur. It thrown a fresh light on the plant economy of Black and red ware people in the middle Ganga plain. The mustard oilseeds (some form of *Brassica campastris*), *tila* (*Sesamum indicum*) and flax / linseed (*Linum usitatissium*) from Period I and safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*) from Period II have been recovered in a good quantity (Saraswat, 1994 : 323). It may be noted that the find of mustard from Narhan is the first record of this oil-seed in the Indian sub-continent. The above evidence clearly demonstrates that the authors of the Narhan Culture possessed extensive agricultural experience. The remains of oleiferous seasame (*Sesamum indicum*), field brassica (*Brassica juncea*) and linseed (*Linum usitatissium*) from Period I, safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*) from Period II and further *sesame* in Period III also, testify to the high esteem in which the different oil-seeds and oils were held by the ancient settlers at Narhan for their uses in cooking, medicine, toiletry and rituals. The oil-seed crops of mustard, linseed and safflower were also grown. All this evidence shows that they were an intelligent lot of farmers with considerable experience of agriculture.

A large number of plants remains have been collected by K.S. Saraswat from Khairadih, district - Ballia. It indicates similar advancement in agricultural economy, as from Narhan. In addition to field-brassica (*Brassica juncea*) already known, finds of yellow mustard (*Brassica campestris*) and castor (*Ricinus communis*) are new additions to the Chalcolithic culture of the middle Ganga valley.

Systematic collection of plant remains at Senuwar has been made by floatation technique by K.S. Saraswat (Saraswat, 2004). The oil seeds recovered from the chalcolithic level at Senuwar include linseed (*linum usitatissimum*), seasame (*seasamum indicum*), field Brassica/brown mustard (*Brassica juncea* L), castor (*Ricinus communis*) and safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*).

Cultivation of oeliferous crops were obtained from Kunal, district - Hissar, Haryana from Early Harappan level. It comprised seasame (*seasamum indicum*) and linseed or *Alsi (Linum usitatissimum)*. These oil-seed affirm the high value in which the seeds and oil were held by Early Harappans for their varied uses. It is well known that the oil - yielding seasame and field brassica were grown by Harappans in Indus valley (Saraswat, *et.al.*, 2003 : 124). *Tila* is a crop of African origin. Linseed (*Alsi*) belongs to Near-Eastern group of crops, where evidences of its cultivation go back as far as to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

those of barley and wheat. Original home of castor is dubious; some authors favour Africa, while others India, because it occurs wild in the scrubby jungles of the outer Himalayas. (Hutchinson, 1974). The recovery of a variety of oil seeds affirms the high value of its content held by the people of chalcolithic community at Senuwar, for their diverse uses in cooking, medicine, toiletry, illumination, rituals and other purposes.

Discussion

That the mighty Harappa culture flourished on a sound agricultural base has been amply proved by the discovery of a ploughed field from pre - Harappan levels at Kalibangan, terracotta model of a plough from Banawali and actual recovery of archaeo-botanical remains of cereals, legumes and other related objects from several sites. The discovery of granaries at Harappa and Mohenjodaro suggest that cereals were produced in such a large quantity that not only were all the immediate needs of the people duly met with, but there was also a surplus to face any future emergency (Lal, 1997 : 159).

References

1. Ghosh, A., 1979, An Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology, Vol. I & II, New Delhi.
2. Glover, Ian C., 1979, Prehistoric Plant Remains from South East Asia, *South Asian Archaeology1997*, (Ed.) M.Taddie, Naples.
3. Hillman, Gordon C., *et al.*, 1989, Plant food economy during Epipalaeolithic period at Tell Abu Hureyra, Syria, *Foraging and Farming* (eds.) David R. Harris and Gordon C. Hillman, London, Unwin and Hyman Limited, 240-266.
4. Hutchinson, J.B., 1974, Crop Plant Evolution in the Indian Sub Continent. In : Hutchinson, Sir Joseph (Ed.), *Evolutionary Studies in World Crops*, Cambridge University Press.
5. Lal, B.B., 1970-71, Perhaps the Earliest Ploughed Field So Far Excavated Anywhere in the World, *Puratattva*, 4 : 1-3.
6. Lal, B.B. 1997, *The Earliest Civilization of South Asia*, New Delhi, Aryan Books international.
7. Lal, B.B. 2002, *The Saraswati Flows On, The Continuity of Indian Culture*, New Delhi, Aryan Books international.
8. Moore, A.M.T., 1982, Agricultural origins of the Near East : A Model for the 1980s, *World Archaeology*, 19(2), 224-236.
9. Saraswat, K.S., 1989, Ancient Wood Remains from Sringverapura, Allahabad, UP (C. 1050- 700 BCE). In : S.K. Pandey and K.S. Ramchandran (Ed.) – *Dimensions in Indian Archaeology and History* : 109-111. Indian History and Culture Society, New Delhi.
10. Saraswat, K.S., 1992, Archaeological Remains in Ancient Cultural and socio- Economic Dynamics of the Indian Sub - Continent, *Palaeobotanist*, 40 : 514-545.
11. Saraswat, K.S., N.K. Sharma and D.C. Sani, 1994, In : P. Singh, *Excavations at Narhan (1984-89)*, B.R. Publishing Corporation, New Delhi and Banaras Hindu University.
12. Saraswat, K.S., 2004. Plant Economy of Early Farming Communities, In : B.P. Singh, *Early Farming Communities of the Kaimur* (Excavations at Senuwar, 1986-89, 89-90), Vol. II, Jaipur, Publication Scheme.
13. Saraswat, K.S. & A.K. Pokharia, 2003, Palaeoethnobotanical Investigations at Early Harappan Kunal, *Pragdhara*, No.13, 2002-2003, pp. 105-139.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Harappan Elements in Tamil Culture -An Overview

D. Dayalan

Tamil Nadu, an enchanting land abounding in several spots of scenic beauty, has hoary past and rich cultural heritages. The Pre-historic face of Tamil Nadu is well known through the discovery of hundreds of sites yielding stone tools of various types. The primitive man opted to setup his camps in this region owing to the availability of raw materials for making tools, wide variety of fauna and flora for his subsistence, perennial source of water, etc in this area. The Neolithic people of Tamil Nadu alike their contemporaries not only shifted their way of life from hunting and gathering to food production but also developed contact with contemporary civilizations. The Neolithic people of Tamil Nadu seems to have maintained contact or influenced by the Harappan civilization[1] which spread an area greater than that of the contemporary civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia put together. This presumption may be corroborated by the resemblance of the graffiti symbols, pottery making technique and shapes, burial practice, tools and the art objects found in the Neolithic and Megalithic cultures in Tamil Nadu with Harappan materials. Such similarities in these cultures are not mere coincidence but they are the result of infiltration of human thought and imagination from one culture to the other.

Dwelling pit:

The Neolithic people (earlier phase) of Paiyampalli,[2] Vellore Dist lived in pits of different sizes and depths which were roughly circular and oblong with the longer axis along east-west or north-south. Sometimes the pits were partitioned by means of stones laid in a row. A few of them were also delimited by stones along the periphery on top. Presence of post-holes on the ground level of these dwellings is suggestive of some kind of superstructure and roofing of perishable materials. Inhabitants of the later phase preferred to live in built-up huts, possibly over the pits.[3]

The subterranean dwelling (pits cut into the nature of soil) a practice common in Kashmir Neolithic as reported at Burzahom, Gufkral, Kanispur (Kanishkapura) [4] and other places. The excavation at Burzahom revealed that the dwelling pits were circular or oval on plan, narrow at

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the top and wide at the base and also pit chambers, square to rectangular in shape.[5] The pit dwellings are also reported from many of the Early Harappan and Harappan sites.

The excavations at Bhirrana, District Fatehabad Haryana have brought to light the evidences regarding the gradual evolution of a complex Harappan culture without any break from the period of initial settlers at the site. The cluster of subterranean circular pits of different dimensions exposed here represents the dwelling pit complex of early inhabitants of the area. The pits are directly cut into the natural soil and are bereft of any superimposing cultural deposit of the subsequent periods. The dwelling pits are shallow in depth, varying from 34 to 58 cm., with a diameter of 230 to 340 cm. The walls and floors of these pits are plastered. In one of the pits, a chunk of reed-impressed earth was recovered, which implies the existence of feeble superstructure of wattle and daub.[6] Such practice in Early Harappan context can also be seen at Mitathal, Haryana.[7]

The first settlers at the site at Kunal, a Harappan site in Hissar District, Haryana inherited the so called pit-dwelling tradition. They dug circular pits about a metre in depth and two metre in diameter. Along the edge of these pits, post holes have been noticed indicating that these shallow pits were supplemented with some kind of a wattle-and-daub superstructure to make them habitable. By sub period 1B the size of the pit-huts increased ranging between 2.64 meter and 2.92 meter in diameter. The pits were also now lined with mud bricks.[8]

Burial Practice:

The burial in the typical Harappan style is that the body laid supine in an extended position. The head was invariably on the north. Along with the body were placed pottery and some food items, probably under the belief that these might be of use to the dead. Sometimes jewellery and other objects were also found along with the dead body.[9]

Interestingly none of the four graves excavated at Surkotada, Gujarat was of the usual extended burial type. On the contrary these yielded only fragments of skeletal remains or even to bones at all. In one case the pit yielded a red ware sherd of an urn and very small charred human bone splinters or remains. Another noteworthy feature of the Surkotada burials is the use of stones for lining the graves. Often these were also covered with capstones and even had a scattering of stone-rubble over them. The use of stones and fragmentary burial type in the aforesaid manner reminds the Megalithic burials of South India.[10]

The origin of the concept of Megalithism is in a way rooted in the Harappan tradition. The provision of orthostats is just a replication of the mud-brick walls encountered in many of the standard Harappan graves In an area where the stone is available the use of stone slabs for lining the graves is but natural.[11] At Kalibangan the rectangular grave-pit was lined with mud bricks which were given a coating of mud plaster In some of the cases the pit was circular or ovoid and not rectangular. Moreover there are burials without skeletal remains or only few bones.[12] In one of the burial at Rupar, Haryana a dog perhaps a pet was also interred along with the master.[13]

The Megalithic stone cairn is also seems to be an extension of the Harappan tradition. During the course of excavations at Harappa, M.Wheeler came across two the evidence of tumulus in circular in plan above the grave.[14] At Yelleswaram District Nalgonda, Andhra Pradesh joint burial was found in the Megalithic context.[15] Interestingly similar type of joint burial was also reported from the Harappan level at Lothal, Gujarat.[16]

The excavation at Dholavira, Gujarat revealed that one of the burials of the Harappan people is similar to that of the Megalithic people.[17] The grave-pit was rectangular measuring 2.75 metre X 1.35 metre and oriented along the cardinal directions. It had no bones, but three pots. The Megalithic element consisted of orthostats and an overlying stone cairn. The other grave also rectangular 2.55

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

metre X 1.70 metre and oriented north-south and east-west, had clay coffin in it but without any bones. However, there were pots some of which were placed even below the coffin. The grave was lined with vertical stones and seems to have a capstone overlain by stone rubble.

The sarcophagi are generally a coffin with oblong or bathtub shape having cylindrical leg fluted at the bottom either in one or more rows.[18]A vast majority of sarcophagi reported from the Megalithic context were of terracotta while a very few are of stone. The digging at Sankavaram in the Cudappah district revealed a terracotta sarcophagus of zoomorphic form in the Megalithic context. The Sarcophagus is with three pairs of legs and the head of a ram comparatively of smaller proportion was fixed in to the socket provided in the lid. Fragmentary human bones were found inside the sarcophagus in addition to one iron lance and some pots which were arranged outside.[19]

In this context it may be well worth mentioning that on a jar of Cemetery H was painted with peacocks entomb in their bodies the therianthrophic figures in a supine position. The peacocks themselves are within a double band or circles and each bird is separated by star symbols.[20] Some of the scholars observes that the authors of the Cemetery R-37 and Cemetery H considered the peacock as the power of transporting the body of the dead to the land of eternal bliss or to help the dead to cross the mighty gulf of darkness and so on.[21]

The sarcophagus were used by the Megalithic people for keeping the remains of the dead perhaps for same purpose as suggested for the painting on the cemetery jar of Harappan period. The sarcophagi were mainly concentrated in the eastern coastal plain particularly north of river Pennaiyar in Tamil Nadu and south of Godavari in Andhra Pradesh. In Tamil Nadu, the sarcophagus is found in abundance in the district of Chinglepattu and northern part of South Arcot districts.[22] The available evidence suggests that the sarcophagus had its origin in the eastern coastal plain between Godavari and Pennaiyar and moves slowly westward and merged with the local tradition of the respective area.[23]

The practice of burial system exists right from the human civilization. The Palaeolithic people particularly Middle Palaeolithic followed the tradition of disposing the dead body with certain rituals and procedures. Teshik-Tash in Uzbekistan exhibits an evidence of a burial of Neanderthal man provided with circle of horns of goat around the grave.[24] Bhimbetaka (M.P), the amphitheatre of the pre-historic man also retains the evidence of pre-historic burials. The system of disposal of the dead is developed gradually and reached its climax during the Megalithic time.

Graffiti

The graffiti are found often on ancient pottery in India. Albeit majority of them are in geometric form there are also graffiti resemble to the natural objects and man-made objects. Although it is not certain what they really stand for, some take them as pictographs, others as marks of identification and still others as representation of magic. The graffiti are though found rarely on the Neolithic pottery they are common on the Harappan, Late Harappan, Chalcolithic and Megalithic pottery.

B.B. Lal made an analysis of 61 basic graffiti symbols and observed 47 of them are common to the Harappan, Chalcolithic and Megalithic cultures; 6 belong to the Megalithic exclusively and 8 to the Harappa and Chalcolithic combined.[25] The above statistical analysis reveals that around 85% of the Harappan-Chalcolithic symbols continue down to the Megalithic times. The resemble of the graffiti symbols of the Megalithic and Harappan and Late Harappan cultures is quite interesting and it is difficult to explain the reason for the commonness of ideas of these two cultures as there was a wide chronological different between them. The logical explanation at present is that the Harappan people either whole or part of them might have moved downwards abandoning their home land at the later stage and were responsible for spreading their ideas and techniques to the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

people in the south. The graffiti similar to that of Harappan and Late Harappan ones are reported on the potsherds and paintings of Megalithic period from many places in Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry i.e. Sanur, Kunnattur, Perumbair (Tozhupedu), Vallam, Adiichanallur, Vellalur Kodumanal,

Arikamedu (Pondicherry), Kilvalai, Maharajakadai, Mallachandiram, Kuruvinayanapalli, Oramanagunta and many other places.[26] Some of the common graffiti symbols are:

1. Two oblique lines joining each other at the upper end
2. An oblique line joined about its middle by a smaller oblique stroke.
3. The symbol roughly resembles to a trident
4. The symbol resembles to an arrow
5. The symbol looks like a *damaru* in outline or looks like two triangles meeting each other at the apex.
6. The symbol looks like the English letter "V" with one or two strokes usually on the outer side/sides.
7. The symbol looks like English letter "X" or plus symbol or its variations
8. The symbol perhaps a simplified or devolved version of an equipoise
9. Stylized representation of the fish
10. The symbol looks like a ladder i.e. two vertical lines cut by a series of horizontal lines comparatively smaller in size
11. The symbol consists of many lines cutting one another at a common point
12. The symbol consists of a circle from the circumference of which radiates outwards a series of strokes (Sun symbol?)
13. The *svastika* symbol and its variants
14. The symbol consists of a vertical line joined by a series of horizontal strokes usually on one side
15. The symbol consists of a set of two parallel loops.
16. The symbol consists of a loop in the middle of which is a vertical stroke
17. The symbol consists of an uneven circle cut by a vertical line
18. The symbol consists of few parallel vertical lines
19. The symbol consists of few parallel lines cut by a transverse line
20. The symbol consists of a vertical line joining of which on each is a series of oblique strokes
21. The human figure in various stylized forms
22. The symbol seems to be the conventional representation of a star. The triangle subdivided by horizontal strokes

Script

The Harappan had a monumental script which appears on their seals, sealing, metallic objects, pottery, etc. Notwithstanding there is no unanimous opinion among the scholars about the language of the writing, many experts strongly felt that they are in Dravidian language.[27] However some considered them as a kind of proto-Sanskrit and few others even go to the extent of reading the whole version of Vedic verses in certain seals.[28]

There is yet another argument that is advanced to support the Harappan Dravidian equation. This relates to the occurrence of some Dravidian words in the Vedic language. This may be

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

explained that the Indo-Aryan conquerors perhaps picked up certain words of Dravidian origin in early Sanskrit. The limited Dravidian-to-Sanskrit borrowing can also be explained that the Harappans spoke Sanskrit could have borrowed the Dravidian words from their contemporaries in the south, viz. the Southern Neolithic people, who, logic suggests, are likely to have spoken a Dravidian tongue.[29]

Bead

Etched carnelian beads are found in large number at Lothal. Perhaps the technique of etching might have traveled to other parts from Lothal or Gujarat.[30] The carnelian beads of Harappan origin have been found at a number of sites in contemporary Iraq, Iran, Persian Gulf and Central Asia. The discovery of raw material, lots of beads in various stages of manufacture and even a kiln at Lothal shows that the occupant must have been a bead-manufacturer.[31] In fact, this part of Gujarat even today specializes in the manufacture and export of beads. The Etched carnelian beads are reported from many Harappan sites viz., Baror, Rajasthan,[32] Bhirrana, Haryana[33] and other places. It is interesting to note that the etched carnelian beads are found frequently in the Megalithic context in Tamil Nadu.

The evidence has been brought light regarding the supposed trade between the Neolithic folk of the Deccan and South India on the one hand and the Harappans on the other. At Tekkalakota, a Neolithic settlement in Bellary District of Karnataka and at Sivavaram in Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh, disc-bead (wafer) and micro-beads of burnt steatite, characteristic of the Harappan civilization have been found. It is therefore suggested that the Harappan obtained steatite either directly from the Neolithic folk of South India or indirectly through some other agency. Similarly they might have obtained gold from the Hatti mines or the Kolar mines in the neighbourhood of which Neolithic settlement have come to notice. In return of the raw steatite and gold obtained from the Neolithic folk Harappan seem to have given finished beads of burnt steatite and copper tools.[34]

Pottery

Notwithstanding the black-and-red ware forms a distinctive diagnostic trait of the Megalithic culture of Deccan and South India, it occurs in India in different archaeological contexts right from the Neolithic[35] and Harappan periods. Black-and-red ware was occurred continuously in the Harappan and Post-Harappan levels at Lothal and Rangpur in small quantities.[36] It is also found in very small quantities in the Harappan context at Rupar,[37] Kot Diji and Alamgirpur (U.P).[38] In stage VI, when the Dholavira was reoccupied, the black and red ware also appeared along with other Harappan pottery.[39]In the Sub-period IC of Surkotada a white painted Black-and-Red ware had made its appearance.[40].In central India the Black-and –Red ware is use mostly in the Late Harappan times.[41] At Gilund, Rajasthan the white painted Black-and-Red ware has found at the earlier stage i.e. 1500 B.C.[42] Navadatoli, Maheshwar Bahal, Tekwada is also yielded black-and-Red ware.The technique of inverted firing was common to all the sites but not the shape or the treatment or the decoration of the vessels surface. [43]

Burnished Grey Ware, a pottery generally associated with Neolithic culture of South India is also reported from Harappan level at Lothal[44] and Late Harappan level at Daimabad.[45]

In the later stage it seems the standard of living of the Harappan was declined due to many factors such as climatic changes, decline of trade, the withering out of the landscape, shifting of river courses and a host of other factors which resulted into degeneration, devolution or transformation of this culture. The town-planning and maintenance of drainage system vanished .Gradually the cities were abandoned and people reverted to rural areas. This shift is fully confirmed by the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

statistic of settlement in the late and devolved Harappan scenario. Of this time there are no cities but only villages.[46]

When the Dholavira was reoccupied in stage VI the layout of the houses had changed and the size of the settlement diminished although the typical Harappan weights continued, the seals were now bereft of the figures. However, when the site came under occupation for the last time (Stage VII), the houses became small and circular in size. There was no town-plan, not to speak of a drainage system. In spite of all these changes, the similarity of many of the pottery-forms and other artifacts between Stages VI and VII indicates that it was just a case of cultural devolution.[47] The picture found at Lothal and Rangpur indicate the degeneration of the Harappan Civilzation from the highly developed urban form to a rural scenario. The decline or devolution of the Harappan culture is observed at many Harappan sites in north-eastern Haryana and western Utttar Pradesh namely at Balu,[48] District Jind, Haryana; Mitathal,[49] District Bhiwani, Haryana; Bhagwanpura,[50] District Kurukshetra, Haryana; Hulas,[51] District Saharanpur, U.P.; Alamgirpur,[52] Meerut District, U.P.

Some of the Harappan sites excavated in the southern domain of this Civilization namely Daimabad, [53] Kuntasi, [54] Rojdi, [55] Desalpur, [56] Padri (Dist.Bhavanagar), [57] Rangpur and other places also indicate the degeneration of the Harappan Civilzation At Rojdi the houses inside the fortification wall is not so impressive. These were made of mud on stone foundation. There was no drainage system. No seal and sealing were found but few typical Harappan weights.

On the basis of the above factors it is reasonable to presume that the Harappan people who were familiar both in internal as well as external trade might have maintained trade contact with the contemporary Neolihtic people in the south at their prosperous stage. After the degeneration of their culture, a part of Harappan people likely to have moved towards south and amalgamated or had contact with the people of that area and also further south. By this time the urban character of this culture got diluted. The resemblance of some of the features found in the Megalithic culture of Tamil Nadu with the Harappan culture is perhaps due to influence of the degenerated culture of the latter either directly or indirectly.

References:

1. The civilization extended far beyond the Indus valley-right into the upper Ganga-Yamuna Doab in the north and to as far south as the upper reaches of the Godavari in Maharashtra. Hence it is named as Harappan civilization after the name of the site where it was first discovered.
2. *IAR* 1964-65, pp.22-23 and *IAR* 1967-68, pp.26-30
3. Some of the scholars observed that the dwelling pits found at Paiyampalli does not fall in line with the pattern of the culture and would apparently seem not warranted by either ecological or climate factors. Hence it is rather difficult to agree with the excavator that the pits of Paiyampalli are really pit-dwellings.(K.S.Ramachandran, *Archaeology of South India- Tamil Nadu*, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi,1980, pp.36-37)
4. *IAR* 1998-99, pp.30-48.
5. *IAR* 1960-61,p.11; *IAR* 1961-62,p.17; *IAR* 1962-63,p.9; *IAR* 1965-66,p.19; *IAR* 1966-67,p.17; *IAR* 1968-69,p.10; *IAR* 1971-72,p.24; T.N.Khazanchi, "Pit Dwellers of Burzahom," *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, No.36, Bombay, Sep.5. 1976, pp.25-27
6. L.S Rao, et.al. New Light on the Excavation of Harappan Settlement at Bhirrana in K.N.Dikshit (ed) *Puratattva*, No.35,2004-2005, Indian Archaeological Society, New Delhi, 2005, pp.60-68.
7. Suraj Bhan, "Excavation at Mitathal(1968) and Other Explorations in the Sutlej Yamuna Divide", *Kurukshetra*,1975,p.12

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

8. *IAR* 1991-92, pp.37-39; *IAR* 1995-96, p.24; J.S.Katri and M.Acharya, "Kunal : A New Indus-Saraswati Site", *Puratattva*, No.25, 1995, pp.84-86.
9. B.B.Lal, *India 1947-1997: New Light on the Indus Civilization*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1998,pp.102-.108
10. J.P.Joshi, *Excavation at Surkotada 1971-72 and Exploration in Kutch*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1990
11. B.B.Lal, *op.cit.*,1998, p.108
12. B.B.Lal , "Kalibangan and the Indus Civilization", in D.P.Agrawal and D.K.Chakrabarti (eds) *Essays in Indian Protohistory*, B.R.Publishing Corporation, New Delhi, 1979, pp.65-97
13. *IAR* 1953-54,p.4; *IAR* 1954-55,p.9
14. B.B.Lal, *India 1947-1997: New Light on the Indus Civilization*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1998, p.108
15. *IAR* 1957-58, p.9; *IAR* 1958-59, p.11; *IAR* 1959-60, p.12
16. S.R.Rao, *Lothal- A Harappan Port Town 1955-62*,Vol.II, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1985,pp.403-407 & 464-65; S.R.Rao, *Lothal- A Harappan Port Town 1955-62*,Vol.I, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1979.
17. *IAR* 1989-90, pp.15-20; *IAR* 1990-91, pp.10-12; R.S. Bisht, "A New Model of the Harappan Town Planning as Revealed at Dholavira in Kutch: A Surface Study of its Plan and Architecture," in B.Chatterji (ed), *History and Archaeology*, Ramanand Vidya Bhavan, Delhi,1989, pp.397-408; R.S.Bisht, "New Horizons of the Indus Civilization," *Puratattva*, No.20, 1991, pp.71-82; R.S.Bisht, "Dholavira," in J.P.Joshi and R.S.Bisht, *India and the Indus Civilization*, New Delhi, 1994, pp.23-31; R.S.Bisht, "Dholavira Excavations: 1990-94" in J.P.Joshi (ed) *Facets of Indian Civilization-Essays in Honour of Prof.B.B.Lal*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1997, pp.107-120
18. The sarcophagus found at Paiyampalli had 24 legs (*IAR* 1964-65, pp.22-23; *IAR* 1967-68, pp.26-30). Sarcophagus without legs also reported at Perambair (A.Rea, "Prehistoric Antiquities in Tinnevelli," *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1908-09, pp.92-97). This looks like another form of urn burial.
19. K.P.Rao, *Deccan Megaliths*, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1988,p.54; M.O. Raghavan and N. Devasahayam, "A Pottery Sarcophagus in the Form of a ram, and Associated finds from Cuddapah", *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, New Series, 1974, vol. 12(1), pp.29-31.
20. Sudha Satyawadi, *Proto-Historic Pottery of Indus Valley Civilization*, D.K.Printworld (P) Ltd, New Delhi, 1994, pp.122-23 &179; R.E.M.,Wheeler, "Harappa 1946:The Defence and Cemetery R 37," *Ancient India*, No.3, 1947, pp.59-130
21. K.N.Shastri, *New Light on Indus Valley Civilization*, Vol.II, New Delhi.1965. p.36; Sudha Satyawadi, *Proto-Historic Pottery of Indus Valley Civilization*, D.K.Printworld (P) Ltd, New Delhi, 1994, pp.122-23 &179
22. The sarcophagi were reported at Permbair (A.Rea, "Prehistoric Antiquities in Tinnevelli," *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1908-09, pp.92-97), Kunnattur (*IAR* 1955-56, p.23; *IAR* 1956-57, pp.31-34; *IAR* 1957-58, pp.37-38), Sanur (V.D.Krishnaswami, *et.al*, "Megalithic Excavations at Sanur", *Proceedings of the Indian Science Congress Association*,1957,pp.189-190), Pallavaram (Bidie, "Prehistoric Graves near Pallavaram", *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol.30,1887, pp.693-695), Karikal, Mamanadur and Wandivasal (B. Narsimhaiah, *Neolithic and Megalithic Cultures in Tamil Nadu*, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi.1980, pp.124-125), Karkur, Pogalur and Kilseppuli.(K.Rajan, *Archaeological Gazetteer of Tamilnadu*, Manoo Pathippakam, Thanjavur,1997,p.283), Mottur *(IAR* 1978-79, pp.72-73), Odugattur (F.J. Richards, "Note on Some Iron Age Graves in North Arcot District, South India", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol.54,1954,pp.154-165), Ariyur and karikanthangal. (K.Rajan, "Archaeology of Dharmapuri District, Tamil Nadu", *Man and Environment*, Vol.16 (1), 1991, pp.37-52), Mallachandram (K.Rajan, "Archaeology of Dharmapuri District, Tamil Nadu", *Man and Environment*, Vol.16 (1), 1991, pp.37-52), Devanur (J.H. Garstin, "Dolmens of the Coramandal Coast", *Indian Antiquary*, Vol.5, 1876, p.159) and many other places.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

23. A few were also reported inland regions in the sites like at Maski (B.K.Thapar, "Maski 1954, A Chalcolithic Site of Southern Deccan," *Ancient India*, No.13, 1957,pp.4-142), Sankavaram (M.O. Raghavan and N. Devasahayam, "A Pottery Sarcophagus in the Form of a ram, and Associated finds from Cuddapah", *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, New Series, 1974, vol. 12(1), pp.29-31.), Jadigenahalli (*IAR* 1956-57, pp.34-35), Iralabanda, (B.R. Branfill, "Old Slab Stone Monuments in Madras and Maisur", *Indian Antiquary*, Vol.10, 1887, pp.47-100), Kudatini, District Bellary, Karnataka (terracotta sarcophagus with six legs) (Veena Mushrif, et.al,. "Skeletal Remains from the Kudatini-Sarcophagus Burial," in K.N.Dikshit, et.al (eds) *Puratattva*, No.33, 2002-203, Indian Archaeological Society, New Delhi, 2003, pp.74-86), etc. Another set of sarcophagus found in the districts of Trichur and Kozhikode in Kerala. Those sites are Chevayur (W. Logan, *Religions in Malabar*, 1887, pp.179-183), Feroke (A. Aiyyappan, "Rock-Cut Cave Tombs of Feroke, South Malabar', *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society*, Vol.23, No.3, 1933, pp.299-314) and Kattankampal (*IAR* 1956-57, pp.93-115)
24. S.P.Gupta, *Archaeology of Soviet Central Asia and the Indian Borderlands*, Vol.I, B.R.Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1979, pp.60-62.
25. B.B.Lal, "From the Megalithic to the Harappa : Tracing Back the Graffiti on the Pottery", *Ancient India*, No.16(1960), 1962 pp.4-24; A.Ghosh (ed) *An Encyclopedia of Indian Archaeology*, Vol.1, 1989, pp.361-363; S.Gurumurthy, "The Indus Script and Iron Age Graffiti of South India", *Tamil Civilization*, No.4, Part.3&4, 1986, pp.9-14
26. D.Dayalan, *Kalpavrksa: Eassys on Art, Architecture and Archaeology*, 2003,pp.134-165; K.Rajan, *Archaeology of Tamil Nadu (Kongu Country)*, 1994,pp.117-122; K.Rajan, "New Light on Graffiti Marks", *Marine Archaeology*, Vol.2, July, 1991, pp.47-54; K.Rajan, *Archaeological Gazetteer of Tamilnadu*, 1997; Er.Poundurai, *Tamilagap Parai Oviyankal* (Tamil), 1986
27. Asko Parpola, *et.al., Decipherment of the Proto-Dravidian Inscriptions of the Indus Civilization*, Copenhagen, 1969; Asko Parpola, *Deciphering the Indus Script*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994; W.A. Fairservis, *The Harappan Civilization and Its Writing*, Oxford and IBH Publishing Co., New Delhi, 1992;
28. S.R.Rao, *The Decipherment of the Indus Script*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1982; M.V.N.Krishna Rao, *Indus Script Deciphered*, Agam Kala Prakashan, New Delhi, 1982; E.Richter Ushanas, *The Fifth Veda: The Indus Seals in Comparison with the Rigveda*, Germany, 1992
29. B.B.Lal, *India 1947-1997: New Light on the Indus Civilization*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1998, pp.116-123
30. According to Beck etched is done by the application of an alkali such as Sodium Hydroxide or the alkaline juice of a herb by which desired pattern is drawn over the bead and heated to a required high temperature until the alkali enters the stone and leaves a permanent impression. (Beck, Horace, C., "Notes on Sundry Asiatic Beads", *Man*, vol.30, no.134,1930, pp.166-182; S.R.Rao, *Lothal- A Harappan Port Town 1955-62*, Vol.II, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1985,p.582)
31. S.R.Rao, *Lothal- A Harappan Port Town 1955-62*,Vol.I (1979) & Vol.II (1985), Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi
32. Urmila Sant, *et.al*,. "Baror- A New Harappan Site in Ghaggar Valley- A Preliminary Report," in K.N.Dikshit (ed) *Puratattva*, No.35, 2004-2005, Indian Archaeological Society, New Delhi, 2005, pp.50-59
33. L.S Rao, *et.al.* New Light on the Excavation of Harappan Settlement at Bhirrana in K.N.Dikshit (ed) *Puratattva*, No.35,2004-2005, Indian Archaeological Society, New Delhi, 2005, pp.60-68.
34. S.R.Rao.*op.cit*,1985.p.580
35. Chirand, Bihar (L.A.Narain, "The Neolithic Settlement at Chirand," *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* , LVI, 1970-71; B.S.Verma, "Excavations at Chirand: New Light on the Indian Neolithic Culture Complex," *Puratattva*, No.4, 1970, pp.21-22)
36. S.R.Rao, *et.al.*, Excavation at Rangpur and Other Explorations in Gujarat, *Ancient India* ,Vol.18 & 19 (1962-1963), Archaeological Survey of India, 1963, pp.4-207; S.R.Rao, *Lothal- A Harappan Port Town 1955-62*,Vol.II, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1985,pp.403-407 & 464-65
37. *IAR* 1953-54,p.4; *IAR* 1954-55,p.9

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

38. *IAR* 1958-59.p.50
39. *IAR* 1989-90, pp.15-20; *IAR* 1990-91, pp.10-12;R.S. Bisht, "A New Model of the Harappan Town Planning as Revealed at Dholavira in Kutch: A Surface Study of its Plan and Architecture," in B.Chatterji (ed), *History and Archaeology*, Ramanand Vidya Bhavan, Delhi,1989, pp.397-408; R.S.Bisht, "New Horizons of the Indus Civilization," *Puratattva*, No.20, 1991, pp.71-82; R.S.Bisht, "Dholavira," in J.P.Joshi and R.S.Bisht, *India and the Indus Civilization*, New Delhi, 1994, pp.23-31; R.S.Bisht, "Dholavira Excavations: 1990-94" in J.P.Joshi (ed) *Facets of Indian Civilization-Essays in Honour of Prof.B.B.Lal*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1997, pp.107-120
40. J.P.Joshi, *Excavation at Surkotada 1971-72 and Exploration in Kutch*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1990
41. The hand made coarse variety and generally ill-fired Black-and-Red ware is found at Lahuradeva in the middle Ganga plains in period 1A datable in between c.7000- 8000 and 5000 years BP.(R.Tewari, *et.al.*"Preliminary Report of the Excavation at Lahuradeva, District Sant Kabir Nagar, U.P. 2001-2003, *Pragdhara*, No.13, 2003.p.54; R.Tewari, *et.al* " Archaeological Studies in Lahuradeva Area, Ganga Plain: Epilogue: Implications for the Archaeological Studies in Ganga Plain", in *PJAC:AGP*, Lucknow, pp.59-60)
42. *IAR* 1959-60, p.41
43. While firing the pot the oxidization of iron-compounds was prevented and the destruction of carbonaceous materials was complete, which was responsible for the black colour all over the interior and partly on the rim and below on the exterior. The rest of the exterior surface fired under oxidizing conditions turned red.
44. S.R.Rao, *op.cit*, 1985, p.464
45. S.A.Sali (ed), *Daimabad 1976-79, MASI*:83, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi,1986,pp.246-47
46. B.B.Lal, *India 1947-1997: New Light on the Indus Civilization*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1998,pp.48-56
47. *IAR* 1989-90, pp.15-20; *IAR* 1990-91, pp.10-12; R.S.Bisht, "New Horizons of the Indus Civilization," *Puratattva*, No.20, 1991, pp.71-82
48. U.V.Singh and Suraj Bhan, "A Note on the Excavations at Balu, District Jind (Haryana)" in R.K.Sharma (ed), *Indian Archaeology: New Perspectives*, Agam Kala Prakashan, New Delhi, 1982, pp.124-26
49. Suraj Bhan, "Excavation at Mitathal(1968) and Other Explorations in the Sutlej Yamuna Divide", *Kurukshetra*,1975,p.12
50. J.P.Joshi, *Excavation at Bhagwanpura 1975-76*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1993
51. K.N Dikshit, "Hulas and the Late Harappan Complex in Western Uttar Pradesh", in G.L.Possehl (ed), *Harappan Civilization: A Contemporary Perspective*, Oxford and IBH Publishing Co., New Delhi, 1982, pp.33
52. *IAR* 1958-59, p.50; A.Ghosh (ed) *An Encyclopedia of Indian Archaeology*, Vol.2, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Delhi,1989, pp.11-14
53. S.A.Sali (ed), *Daimabad 1976-79, MASI*:83, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi,1986
54. M.K.Dhavalikar, *et.al., Kuntasi: A Harappan Emporium on West Coast*, Deccan College Post-Graduate Research Institute, Pune, 1996
55. *IAR* 1957-58,p.10; *IAR* 1958-59, p.19; *IAR* 1962-63, p.8; G.L. Possehl and M.H.Rawal, *Harappan Civilization and Rojdi*, Oxford and IBH Publishing Co., New Delhi, 1989
56. *IAR* 1955-56,p. 69: *IAR* 1963-64, p.10
57. *IAR* 1990-91, pp.8-10; Vasant Shinde, "Excavations at Padri-1990-91: A Preliminary Report," *Man and Environment*, Vol.XVII (1), 1992, pp.79-86; Vasant Shinde, "Padri and the Indus Civilization," *South Asian Studies*, No.8, 1992, pp.55-66

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

79

Indian Art and Nature

V. Meena Kumari

Art concretizes invisible and abstract thought processes into material forms. Art is also a vehicle of expression for inspiration. It is a medium of communication. It is a reflection of culture. Hence Indian Art is nothing but the reflection of Indian Culture. Indian Art is mythological, ideological, symbolical, religious, natural, philosophical and nature is also an integral representation in it. All these features uplifted spiritualism to become the backbone of Indian Art. Hence without Nature, Indian Art becomes insignificant. Arts may be Visual Arts and Audio Arts. But their basic feature is the same.

The continuity of art motifs is equally undeniable whether one looks to animal motifs or motifs drawn from the: plant world or geometrical designs or human figures. On the other hand, the stylistic connection between animal modeling and motifs on Harappan seals with those on some punch marked coins and Aśokan sculptures is too striking to be ignored. Infect Harappan art shows some of the most general characteristics of Indian Art quite clearly. It clearly maintains the widespread ancient figures of continuity between art and craft and between the sacred and the secular. Again we notice in Harappan art the contrast of representing animals naturalistically but emphasizing Chetana or Prana rather than musculature as far as the human figure is concerned. Animals are represented with loving observation and sympathy, whereas the human form is felt to be expressive of inner Psychic energy.[1]

As inspired by the Vedic view. Indian Art became the visual expression of the sacred joy of life. The tension between the spiritual and the sensuous and to urge to overcome has become a characteristic feature of the classical tradition and expressed itself in art in diverse ways.

The symbolism of Indian Art suggests to many the numerous conventions which necessarily enter into iconography. Intact this symbolism is deeper, since it seeks to create a form appropriate to an abstract idea.

In the Vedic conception beauty was inseparable from goodness and the vision of truth. The Vedic hymns of invocation to dawn reveal the reverence with which the seers approached conformity with divine law. The Upanishads identify beauty with Rasa, the beatific aspect of the spirit. In

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Buddhist literature beauty is what gives rest and lucidity to the mind. With image worship and contemplation in classical times there evolved the notion of form as symbolic of psychic or supernatural realities. Idealized form as the symbol of psychic or spiritual varieties ultimately as expressive of *Rasa*, may be said to define the basic conception of beauty in classical thought.

Architecture (***Vastusastra***) is nothing but a matrix of culture. Hence Indian Architecture is the matrix of Indian Culture. The Hindu temple was not meant for large congregational worship. It was considered to be the sacred abode on earth of the 'Ruler of the Universe'. Hence the word *Prasada* (originally meaning 'palace'). Probably applied to the temple. The Hindu temple is considered as the image of the *Mahapurusha* or the cosmic man. According to rituals of Hindu worship, a temple' should comprise a *Garbhagriha* 'the sanctum santorium' (literally meaning 'the womb') - an inner chamber to house a deity or the image or idol of a deity. This forms the nucleus of the temple. Above the *Garbhagriha*, a high *sikhara* tapers upwards to the crowning finial. The term *sikhara* meaning 'mountain peak', may indicate that it signified Meru, the mountain or Kailasa, the mountain abode of Lord Siva. Man could invade hills and hillocks and reduced them into pieces and made those pieces quite instrumental in making temples. All those examples indicate a wider growth in the arena of imagination of man to find out the relation between man and nature. And as long as such relation is not identified the development in structure of the temple cannot be seen. But as the imagination acquired both the vertical and horizontal dimensions along with the speed, the technology of making a temple resulted in varying dimensions, wherever the natural framework varied and resulted in a distinctive vitality of each society, the form of temple varied. The temple, thus speaks the relation between nature and man, and the cause for the variety of temples, in Indian context is no other than the variety in nature.[2] That is why the Southern, Deccan and Northern Indian Regions exhibited their individual relations with nature in varying dimensions and hence the Dravida, Nagara and Vesara styles of architecture are considered even by the *Silpa Sastras* to be the major styles of architecture, North Indian Temples are based on human body. Specially the parts of the *Garbhagriha* (Sanctum Sanctorium known as Rekha deul in Orissan architecture) from bottom to superstructure Vimana are as follows:

Pabhaga	–	Pada; Foot
Jangha	–	Skin
Gandi	–	Trunk
Mastaka	–	Head
Khapuri	–	Kapala or Skull

Whereas South Indian temple architecture is based on human habitation. The entire township used to reside in the *Prakaras* of the temple. The last Prakara of the temple used to act as a compound wall for the entire town. All the structural examples including the rockcut and monolithic examples need not be taken as different stages in the evolution and practice of different religions ideologies but they must be understood more as an index of the varying .contacts of different groups of people with many varying pockets of nature.[3] Hence, "*Deham devalaya prokto jiva devah sanatanah*". As the analogy between the human body and the temple is very much accepted, entire human body can be considered as a part of Nature, and the temple as reflecting the ideas and ideologies of mankind, and as a cultural unit representing his social and individual identity. As the impact of God as an ideology is felt on society, the impact of the temple cannot be underrated as a religious unit. The structural architecture, thus speaks of a relation between man and nature in different segments in representative terms and identifies a perfect control over nature of the man.[4]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It is very interesting to note the walls of the Hoyasala Temple Architecture (Vesara style). The lowest on the ground consisting of a procession of elephants signifying strength and stability; then of a border of horsemen denoting speed, to the eyelevel, a succession of scenes from great epics representing *Purusharthas* with marked dramatic effect and wealth of details. Above this series there is a border of Yalis which symbolizes the sacredness. Crowning all this is a running pattern of *Hamsas*, which swim in the waters of the mind of the great (peace). This wall indicates that with strength and stability with *Chetana* (moment) an understanding *Dharma, Artha, Kama, Moksha* (*Purusharthas*), the sacredness is achieved, with which the peace (Santa) of life is obtained. Therefore the wall in the temples of Hoyasalas is called "Jagati" as it denotes the replicas of the world. The entire philosophical significance is expressed purely by animals and birds with their symbolical characterization in it.[5]

It is evident that the object of the plastic artist in India, in representing gods was not to imitate the excellence or beauty of human forms as in the case of the Greeks, but to give expression to a spiritual message that the forms of gods were intended to impart. In representing human beauty also the idea of beauty was drawn not by the idealization of human forms but by a reference to the appeal of beauty that we hope from nature. Thus Kālidāsa, while attempting to describe the beauty of Pārvati, says that all her limbs were created by God in consonance, with all that is beautiful if Nature. The Greeks were not so sensible to the beauty of nature. But the Indian mind sought the expression of Nature for its ideal conception of beauty. For the Greeks idealized human body was the standard of beauty, while with the Indians it was idealized Nature that was regarded as the highest standard. In India, however man is regarded as a part of Nature and the representation of Jan or of gods was indispensably associated with the representation of such lovely forms of Nature as could be in harmony with it. On the one hand, faithfulness to nature and natural forms was attended to and, on the other, it was transcended by the inner intuitive vision, throbbing with the emotive personality of the artist. The emotive realization as revealed in intuition or meditation had also to be incorporated by the artist through the realization of the tune of the external nature with which the inner perception must be in harmony. If man is a part of nature, like flower on the creeper or the green foliage of the trees, the spirit of man must be so realized that the inner nature may not be in conflict with the outer nature. But at the same time the object of the artist is not only to be faithful to nature, but to transcend it. This transcendence is an inevitable consequence of the fact that the objects of representation must first be ideally conceived and steeped in the emotion and inner intuition of the artist. This latter fact involves the element of human contributions without which there cannot be any creation. Art doesnot mean merely the copying of nature, but creating nature from out of the creative contributions of one's own personality.[6]

In accordance with the Sāṅkhya Philosophy which inspired many forms of Hindu religion and art. There are two principal categories, the *Prakritis* and the *Purusa*, *Prakritis* often represented as feminine. She is continually creative and evolves out of herself the universe. She is the principle of matter and all that we call mental and physical are derived from her creative energy and creative substance. All minds are modifications or the products of extremely subtle material entities of the Prakruti. Purusha is pure consciousness and absolutely changeless.

The art of the Indus Valley gave preference to various animals like the bull, the monkeys etc. The Mauryan art emphasized the forms of the Elephant, Lion, Bull, Deer etc. as symbolic manifestation of Buddha. The symbols of Buddha were also conceived in the form of the Bodhi tree. Similarly, *Kalpa Vriksha, Kamadhenu*, are the symbols of the cosmic tree and the cosmic cow, *Purna Kumbha* represents the prosperity of human beings. The symbolism is another very significant feat: re of our

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

art. For instance *Kalpa Vruksha*, *Kamadhenu* and *Puma Kumbha* are the cosmic symbols in Hindu, Buddhist and Jain religions.[7]

The painting in India, can be broadly divided into Mural and Miniature Traditions. The period between the Buddhist cave paintings and the contemporary Modern Rajput pictures of the 18th century is a long interval; nevertheless, these to schools of painting are closely connected by their technique, process and execution. Pre-historic paintings also emphasized animals. Ajantaism gave importance to Nature both in sacred and secular themes. Birds and Animals in the form of Bodhisattva teach '*Dhamma*' Ajantaism becomes insignificant without Nature. Similarly, other mural traditions like Bagh, Ellora, Tanjore, Panamalai, Lepakshi, Anegundi etc. also emphasized the importance of Nature.

Based on the ecological, climatic, geographical, conditions of a local area, the classification of Miniature tradition is done as Pahari, Rajastani, Deccani, etc., in India. The Baramasa theme of Miniature paintings explain how Nature becomes important and significant.[8]

The main and essential characteristic of Indian Music is its linearity of one line movement, with which it is melodic. The line possesses *Saptaswaras* (the seven notes) Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Da. Ni. These *swaras* were evolved from the cries of brids and animals.

Sa – is the sound produced by the Peacock.

Sa – Ri is the sound produced by the Cow.

Ga – is the sound produced by the bleating goat

Ma – is the sound produced by the cry of the Heron.

Pa – is the sound produced by the Cuckoo.

Da – is the sound produced by the neighing of the horse.

Ni – is the sound produced by the trumpetng of the elephant.

This is the common base for the two schools of classical music of India *i.e.*, Karnataka and Hindustani today.[9]

Man is not alone in wanting to dance. Many birds and animals appear to dance and sometime or other. The peacock and the lyre-bird for instance are famous for their dance. Like them man also has probably danced from the earliest stages of evolution. The classical dances in India are based on *Tandav* and *Lasya*. Tandav covers all dance which expresses action and feelings with strength and vigour. Lasya is that element of the dance which is graceful and delicate and expresses emotions on a gentle level. They also represent Śiva and Parvati. Hence our dances are based on Ardhanariswara. The importance of *Prakriti* and *Purusha*, is also revealed in our dance forms. The emphasis of symbolism , through *Karanas* and *Mudras* (postures and gestures) is found in our classical dances. 108 *Karanas* are found in Bruhadeeswara Temple at Tanjore and Chidambareswara temple at Chidambaram, representing the combination of Dance in sculpture. Similarly *Raga Ragini* theme in Indian Music is also a combination of Music and Painting. Thus Indian art reflects an interdisciplinary approach in conveying the intended message through the motifs of Nature[10]

Hence, Indian Art becomes insignificant without Nature. Arts may be Visual arts and Audio arts but their outlook and bases are same.

The meditative intuition on the one hand translated itself into visual forms and on the other the visual representation on the basis of the mental intuition. This complementary nature of intuition and concretization was sought to be realized by artistic creativity and aesthetic reception through meditation. This is the stage in which only the divine feeling inspires the mind of the devotee. This is dhyana. Ultimately, the worshipper attains to the highest condition of the Yogi, when his mind

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

becomes one with the divine being and loses all distinctions of meditation (*dhyana*), the mediator (*dhyata*) and the meditated (*dhyaya*). Now the worshipper is transformed into a seer or yogi. Indian Art is a language with which the artist communicated his feelings. This is the Visual and Audial expression used for communication. It could speak about Nature and its connection with mark to realize ultimate reality.

The problem of environment could be solved easily if we realize ourselves. Self-realisation and self analysis of man can be attained by reviving man's positive connection with Nature through Art.

References

1. Alec Miller., Tradition in Sculpture, 1949.
2. Banerje, J.N., *Development of Hindu Iconography,* II Edition, University of Calcutta, 1974.
3. Basil Grey., *Treasures of Indian Miniatures Introduction and Notes,* 1951.
4. Commaraswamy, A.K., *A History of Indian and Indonesian Art,* London, 1972.
5. Das Gupta, S.N., *Fundamentals of Indian Art,* Bharateya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1960.
6. Dougler Barret, *Painting of the Deccan XVI-XVII Century,* London, 1958.
7. Edith Tomory., *History of Fine Arts in India and West,* Orient Longman Publication, 1989.
8. Gopinatha Rao, T.A., *Elements of Hindu Iconography,* Madras 1914-916.
9. Saraswati S.K., *A Survey of Indian Sculpture,* Calcutta, 1975; Sella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple,* 1946, Calcutta; *The Art of India,* 1954; *Indian Sculpture,* I, Calcutta, 1933.
10. Sivarama Murthy, C., *Indian Sculpture,* Delhi, 1961; Wilkins, W., *Hindu Mythology* (Vedic and Puranic), 1972.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Ancient Dhanvantari Shrines of Tamil Nadu

T. Padmaja and Chithra Madhavan

Dhanvantari, the God of medicine and the divine physician is described in many works of ancient India as arising from the ocean of milk while it was churned by the Gods (devas) and the demons (asuras) to obtain nectar (amrta). According to the Valmiki Ramayana, when the devas and the asuras churned the ocean of milk (ksirabdi), there emerged a male figure with a staff (danda) and water-pot (kamandalu) in hand called Dhanvantari, who was the very embodiment of Ayurveda (science of medicine).[1] The Visnu-Purana mentions that following the emergence of the kalakuta poison during the churning of the ocean of milk, there arose Dhanvantari, robed in white and bearing in his hand the cup of amrta, beholding which the devas and the asuras and also the sages were filled with satisfaction.[2]

The Harivamsa also gives information about the emergence of Dhanvantari from the ocean of milk. It states that when Dhanvantari appeared from the ocean holding a water-pot (kamandalu) in one hand and a staff (danda) in the other, he stood worshipping Mahavisnu who gave him the name Abja. Thus, Dhanvantari is known as Abja also. He then requested Visnu to give him a portion of the yajna (yajna-bhaga) to which the former replied that this could not be done as portions of the yajna had already been allotted and that since he was born after the devas, he could not be considered one among them. Visnu told him that he would be born on earth in the Dvapara-Yuga as a deva incarnate and would become a celebrity. Even from the womb he would have knowledge of the Siddhis like Anima and Garima and would write a book in eight divisions on Ayurveda.[3]

The Harivamsa also gives information about the rebirth of Dhanvantari in the Dvapara-Yuga. It mentions that in the lineage of Suhotra, ruler of Kasi, was a king named Dhanva who did not have progeny for a long time. Therefore, he performed penance to propitiate Abajadeva (Dhanvantari) who was pleased and was himself born to Dhanva. This king named him Dhanvantari and the latter taught his disciples Ayurveda by parts, eight in number.[4] There is mention in the Ambasthacaracandrika about an eminent medical scientist, Dhanvantari (Amrtacarya), but there is no evidence in the Puranas regarding any relationship between the two Dhanvantaris.[5]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Bhagavata Purana also gives a very graphic description of Dhanvantari as he arose from the ocean of milk. This work mentions that 'there arose from the sea, a man with an unique and astounding form; His hands were long and stout and His eyes reddish in tinge; His neck resembled a conch-shell; He was blue in complexion and young in appearance and bedecked with garlands and various types of ornaments. Having smooth and curly hair, broad-chested and handsome, He wore a yellow cloth and His strides resembled that of a lion. In his arm, decorated with bracelets, He carried a pot of amrta. He was Dhanvantari, an incarnation of a part of Visnu, who is known for promulgating Ayurveda, the science of health and who is entitled to a share in the sacrificial offerings.[6]

The Visnudharmottara Purana clearly states that the image of Dhanvantari should be sculpted as a handsome person, carrying in both hands, vessels containing amrta, which is the ambrosia of the Gods.[7] Although Dhanvantari has thus been described as the promulgator of Ayurveda and a divine physician, it is rather surprising to see that there are not many shrines for this deity in temples, leave alone separate temples for Him. However, in two of the very well-known Visnu temples of South India, there are ancient shrines for this deity, which are in active worship even today.

Dhanvantari Shrine in Srirangam

The temple of Sri Ranganatha Svami on the island of Srirangam (Tiruchirapalli District), is the largest temple-complex in the whole of India. It enjoys pride of place among all the Visnu temples as the deity enshrined herein has been eulogized by eleven of the twelve Alvars (Vaisnava saints of South India) with the sole exception of Madhurakavi Alvar - a phenomenon not seen in any other Visnu temple. Moreover, architecturally too, it is unique as it belongs to the Uttamottama type of temple, with seven prakaras (sapta-prakara) or concentric circumambulatory passages, surrounding the main sanctum-sanctorum. In addition, this temple-complex houses the maximum number of sub-shrines seen in any temple, dedicated to various incarnations and manifestations of Visnu, the Alvars and Acarya (Sri Vaisnava preceptors), some of which are not found in any other temple. One such rare shrine for Dhanvantari, located on the north side of the fourth prakara is very unique as it is not met with in any other temple of South India.[8]

The shrine of Dhanvantari in this temple faces East and consists of the garbha-grha (sanctum-sanctorum), antarala, pradaksina, mukha-mandapa and an outer verandah.[9] The outer walls of the garbha-grha and the mukha-mandapa reveal vestiges of the Vijayanagara style of architecture dating to approximately the 14th-'15th centuries CE Inside the garbha-grha is the mula-bhera (stone icon) of Dhanvantari, approximately five feet in height. He is seen in a standing (sthanaka) posture with four arms (caturbhuja). In His upper right hand He holds the discus (cakra) and in His left hand the conch (sankha). In His lower right hand He holds the vessel containing the divine nectar (amrta-kalasa), while His lower left hand is in the boon-conferring attitude (varada-hasta).[10] It is interesting to note that there is no processional image (utsava-vigraha) of this deity in this shrine.

The walls of the numerous shrines and mandapas in the Sri Ranganatha Svami temple are profusely etched with hundreds of historical inscriptions belonging to the reigns of emperors and kings of various dynasties of South India. Some of these epigraphs fortunately provide important information about the shrine of Dhanvantari in this temple. An epigraph in Tamil language and Tamil script dated 1257 CE[11], inscribed on a stone slab in front of the Dhanvantari shrine, belonging to the reign of the Hoysala king Vira-Ramanatha (1255-1295 CE), who ruled for sometime over the northern parts of the Tamil country, throws some light on the antiquity of this shrine. This inscription records the founding of a salai (hospital) on the west-side of the gopura enshrining the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

deity Eduttakai-Alagiya Nayinar (Narasimha)[12] in this temple and an endowment for its upkeep by Cangadeva-Singanna Dandanayaka, a pradhani (military general) of this king. This hospital, which was located in the tirunadaimaligai (verandah) to the west of the north gopura in the fourth prakara of this temple, was entrusted to the care of his physician (raksaka) named Garudavahana Pandita.[13] This inscription mentions that the endowment of land donated for its upkeep and maintenance was situated in Mummudi-sola-caturvedimangalam in Vila-nadu, a sub-division of Pandikulasani-valanadu. This village has been identified with Mummudi-sola-mangalam in Lalgudi taluk, Tiruchirapalli district.[14] This physician of the Hoysala general appears to have been conducting a salai from even earlier times.[15]

Another Tamil epigraph found inscribed on yet another stone-slab in the same place furnished further information regarding this shrine.[16] The record dated Saka 1425 (1493 CE), probably written when Narasa Nayaka was ruling the Vijayanagara empire, records a gift of two veli of land for worship and offering to God Dhanvantari (called Dhanvantari Emberuman in this inscription), newly set up by the donor and for medicinal decoction (kudinir) to God Ranganatha by Srinivasa alias Sriranga Garudavahana-Bhatta, son of Alagiya-Manavala Mangaladaraya. This donor is mentnioned as having revived the hospital (arogya-salai) which had been in charge of his ancestor Garudavahana-Bhatta and which had been destroyed by fire.

Thus, this Garudavahana of the 15th century CE (also called Srinivasa) was a descendent of the Garudavahana who is mentioned in the 13th century Hoysala inscription. The earlier Garudavahana is believed to have composed a prabandham (a certain type of poem) called Rangaghosanai which is not extant now, while the Garudavahana figuring in the record of Saka 1415 (1493 CE) may be identified with the author of the Divyasuricaritam, a hagiological kavya in Sanskrit, narrating the lives of the Vaisnava Alvars and Acaryas.[17] It is mentioned that the land given by Garudavahana Bhatta in 1493 CE had been in possession of the earlier Garudavahana (and his descendents), having been granted to him for composing the Rangaghosanai in praise of Lord Ranganatha and that it was now transferred to the temple for conducting worship and offerings to the image of Dhanvantari.[18]

Apart from the information available from the epigraphs of this temple mentioned above, there are some valuable literary references to this shrine of Dhanvantari as well. The Koil Olugu, which is a chronicle of the Srirangam temple, mentions that a shrine for Dhanvantari which had existed even before the time of the famous Sri Vaisnava preceptor (Acarya), which had become dilapidated, was repaired when he was the trustee of the temple and that the work was entrusted to his disciple Garudavahana.[19] Since Ramanuja lived between 1017 and 1137 CE, it is not possible to identify this Garudavahana with the Garudavahana of Vira-Ramanatha's record of the 13th century CE, and the cognomen Garudavahana appears to have been in the nature of a hereditary title assumed by the successive superintendents of the arogya-salai.[20]

The practice of offering the medicinal decoction (kudinir) to Lord Ranganatha (which is mentioned in the 15th century inscription as being provided by Srinivasa alias Garudavahana Bhatta) was a custom from Sri Ramanuja's days. This preceptor had laid down that every night, before the temple doors were closed, medicinal decoction and milk should be taken in precession to the Perumal by Garudavahana Pandita.[21] It was prepared and brought from the arogya-salai, i.e., the shrine of Dhanvantari.[22]

Dhanvantari Shrine, Kancipuram

The Varadaraja Svami temple, located in the historic town of Kancipuram (Kancipuram district) is also one of the large temple-complexes of India. Like the Ranganatha Svami temple, this shrine is also considered one of the more important Vaisnava temples of South India. In this temple too,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

152730

there is an ancient shrine for God Dhanvantari. It is located on the south-western corner of the second prakara called 'Malai Pradaksinam' since it runs around the small hillock called Hastigiri on which is situated the main sanctum for Varadaraja Perumal. This small shrine for Lord Dhanvantari, probably built in the later Cola age, is found on the cloistered verandah which runs around the periphery of this enclosure and faces north.[23] The main stone icon (mula-murti) and the processional image (utsava-murti) are small in size. The deity is two-armed, holding the vessel of nectar (amrta-kalasa) and is in a seated posture. As mentioned earlier, Sri Ramanuja had made arrangements for offering medicinal decoction to God Ranganatha of Srirangam every night. Some such practice, based on Sri Ramanuja's injunctions should have inspired the construction of a shrine for Dhanvantari at Kanci too.[24]

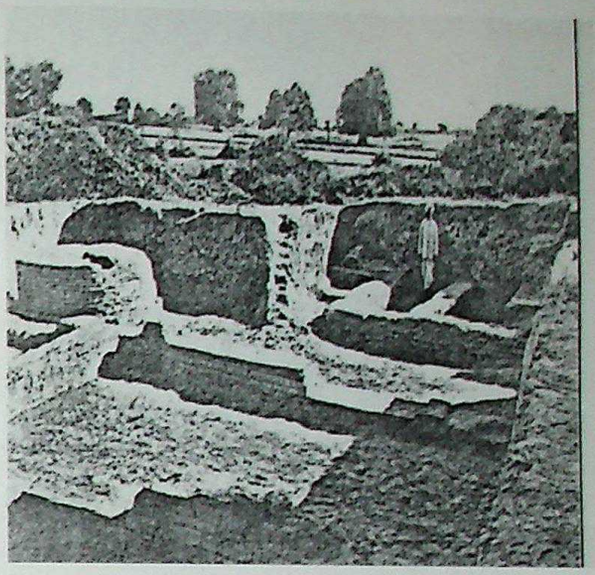
References

1. Srimad Valmiki Ramayana with Sanskrit text and translation, Gita Press Gorakpur, 2001, Part I, Balakanda, Sarga 45, vv.29-32, pp.120-21.
2. H.H.Wilson (Tr.), Vishnu Purana, Delhi, 1980, Book I, Chapter IX, v.97 p.108.
3. Vettam Mani, Puranic Encyclopedia, Delhi, 1998, p.223.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Swami Tapasyananda (Tr), Srimad Bhagavata, Madras, 1980, Vol.II, Skanda VIII, Chapter 8, vv.31-36, p.330.
7. T.A.Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol.I, Pt.I, Delhi, 1985, p.251.
8. Annual Reports on Epigraphy (A.R.E.), 1936-37, p.61.
9. V.N.Hari Rao, Srirangam Temple-Art and Architecture, Tirupati, 1967, p.41.
10. Ibid., p.95
11. A.R.E., No.80 of 1936-37; South Indian Inscriptions (S.I.I.) Vol.XXIV, No.266.
12. The stucco image of God Narasimha, called Eduttakai-Alagiyar, depicted as fighting with Hiranyakasipu, figured in the north gopura of the fourth prakara is provided with a mandapa constructed in front of it and presents a rare instance of an ornamental image in a gopura acquiring sanctitiy in course of time (A.R.E., 1936-37, Pt. II, para 9).
13. A.R.E., 1936-37, Pt. II, para 49, p. 79.
14. Ibid., pp. 79-80.
15. Ibid., p. 80
16. A.R.E., No. 81 of 1936-37; S.I.I., Vol. XXIV, No.353; Epigraphia Indica (E.I.), Vol. XXIV, No. 12.
17. A.R.E., 1936-37, Pt.II, Para 49, p. 80.
18. E.I., Vol. XXIV, No. 12, p. 91
19. V.N.Hari Rao, Koil Olugu, Tirupati, 1961, p.45
20. E.I., Vol.XXIV, No.12, p.92
21. Koil Olugu, op.cit.
22. There is a quaint account associated with this practice. When Sri Ramanuja or Udaiyavar one day came to the presence of Alagiya Manavala or Lord Ranganatha, he found the God looking ill. On enquiring about the food offered to Him, he found out that the illness was due to a naval (jambu) fruit given as offering to the deity along with curd and rice. He reprimanded his disciple, Andan who was responsible for this and cured the illness with the help of Garudavahana Pandita. He laid down that henceforth medicinal decoction (kudinir Amudu) and milk from the shrine of Dhanvantari wre to be offered to the Lord before the temple doors closed in the night.
23. K.V.Raman, The Varadarajasvami Temple, Kanchi, New Delhi, 1975, p.45.
24. Ibid., p.167

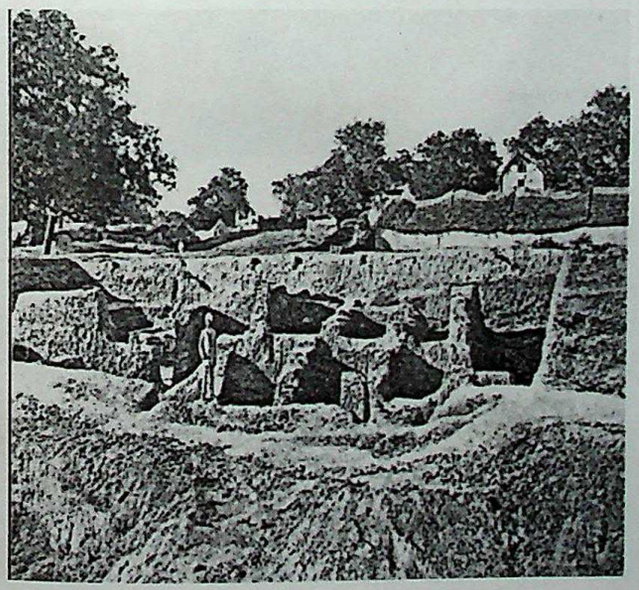
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

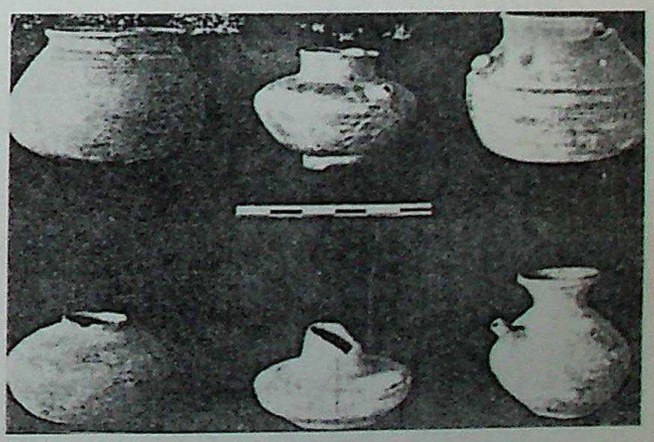
Pl. 46.1 : The Market stone at Situ at stage I[st] and the Brick wall with rich of the stage IInd



Pl. 63.1 : (a) Excavations at site B, from south East, Ahar, District Bulandshahar



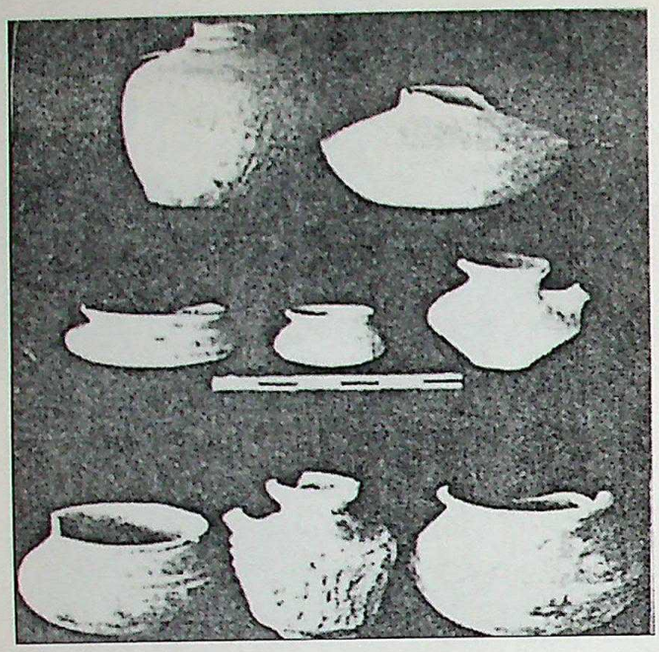
Pl. 63.1 : (b) Excavations at site E, showing circular brick structure, from North-West, Ahar District Bulandshahar



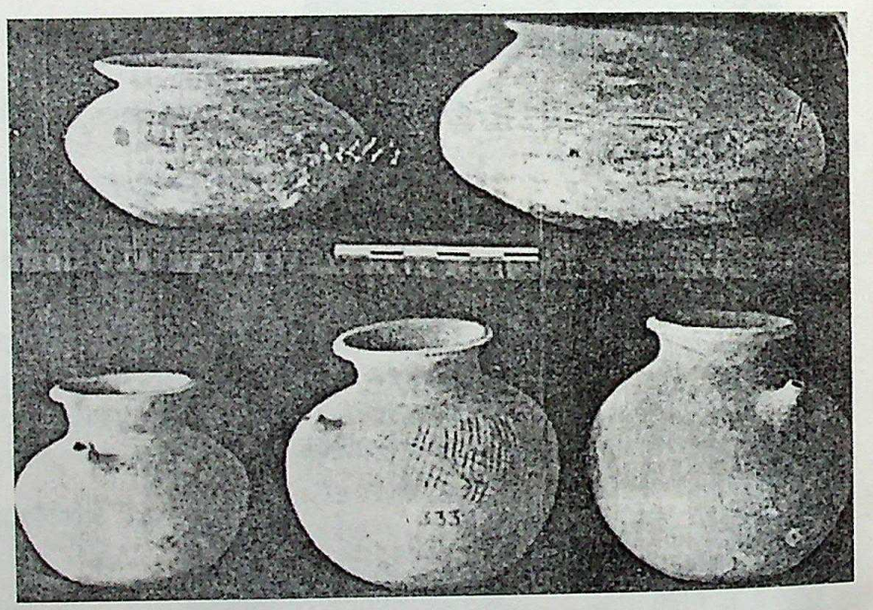
Pl. 63.2 : (a) Muhammadan Pottery from sites A and C. Ahar, District Bulandshahr

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Pl. 63.2 : (b) Earlier pottery from site B. Ahar, District Bulandshahar

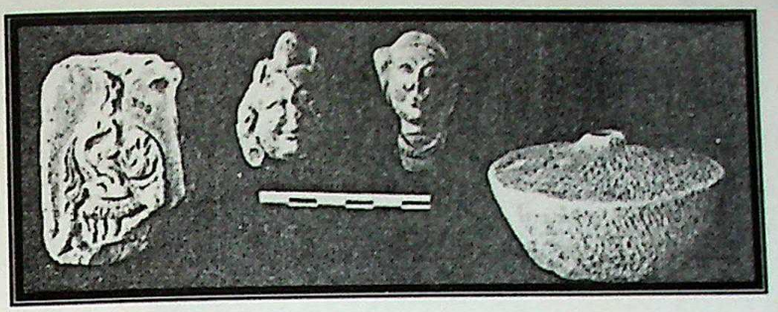


Pl. 63.2 : (c)) Earlier pottery from site B. Ahar, District Bulandshahar

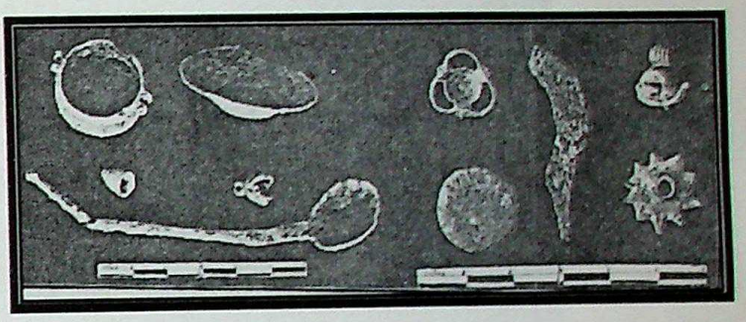
Pl. 63.2 : (d) Excavations at site A. Showing strafications from south west Ahar, District Bulandshahar

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Pl. 63.2 : (e) Medieval stone antiquities from several Excavations, Ahar, District Bulandshahar



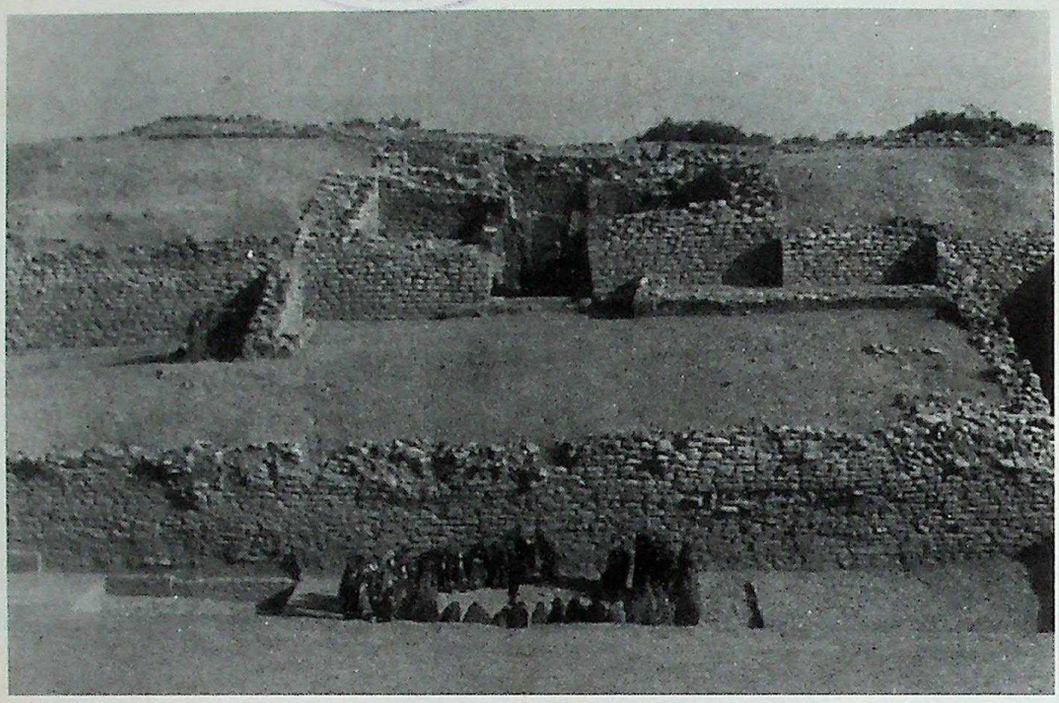
Pl. 63.2 : (f) Copper antiquities from site B, Ahar, District Bulandshahar

Pl. 65.1 The East Pillar of North Gateway.
The spread of Buddhism

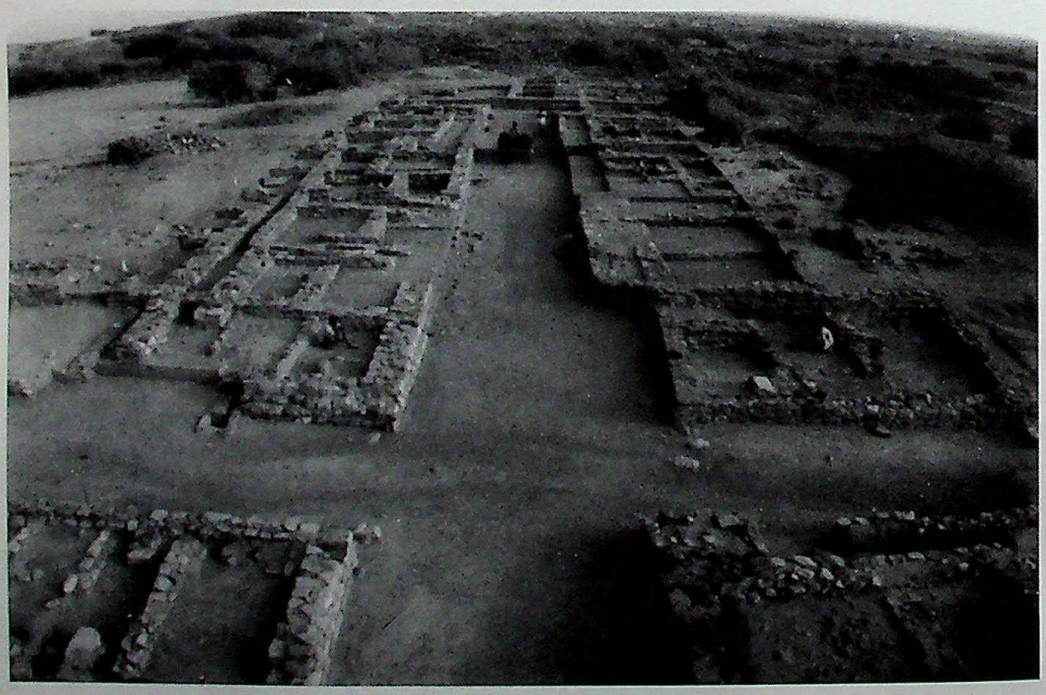
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

152736



Pl. 78.1 : Dholavira : North Gate Complex of Castle, Harappan



Pl. 78.2 : Dholavira : Street of Lower Town, Harappan

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

पुस्तकालय

गुरुकुल काँगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार

वर्ग संख्या 930.1 RED-R आमत संख्या 152736

पुस्तक विवरण की तिथि नीचे अंकित है। इस तिथि सहित ३० वें दिन यह पुस्तक पुस्तकालय में वापस आ जानी चाहिए अन्यथा ५० पैसे प्रतिदिन के हिसाब से विलम्ब दण्ड लगेगा।

STOCK VERIFY 2020

930.1,RED-A

152736

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GURUKUL KANGRI LIBRARY

	Signature	Date
Access No.	Saurabh	7/5/13
Class No.	Kuldeep	7/8/13
Cat No.	Kuldeep	8/8/13
Tag etc.	Kuldeep	8/8/13
E.A.R.		
Recomm. by.	ST° राकेश शर्मा	
Data Ent. by	[illegible]	7/5/13
Checked		

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

AGAM KALA PRAKASHAN
34, Central Market, Ashok Vihar
Delhi - 110 052
Phone: 27212195, 47098550, 65688806-07
Fax: 91-11-27212195
E-mail: agambooks@gmail.com, agambook@yahoo.com

ISBN: 81-7320-087-9
9 788173 200878

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar